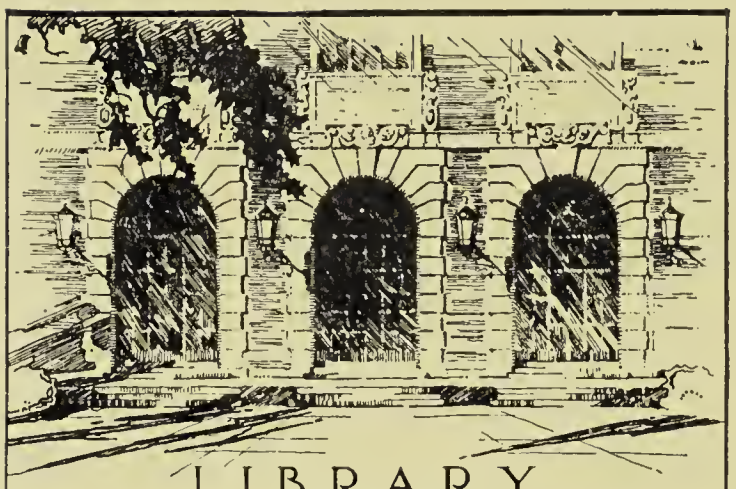

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*From the Earliest Period to the Present Time*

BY

HER GREAT NATIONAL HISTORIAN

M. FRANCOIS GUIZOT

WITH

**Valuable Tables comprising Chronological Outlines of French History to the Present Day.**

ADAPTED AND CONTINUED FOR AMERICAN READERS

BY

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*ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.*

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# AUTHOR'S LETTER TO HIS PUBLISHERS.

GENTLEMEN,

You were given to understand that for some years past I have been doing myself the paternal pleasure of telling my grandchildren the History of France, and you ask if I have any intention of publishing these family studies of our country's grand life. I had no such idea at the outset; it was of my grandchildren, and of them alone, that I was thinking. What I had at heart was to make them really comprehend our history, and to interest them in it by doing justice to their understanding and, at the same time, to their imagination, by setting it before them clearly and, at the same time, to the life. Every history, and especially that of France, is one vast, long drama, in which events are linked together according to defined laws, and in which the actors play parts not ready made and learnt by heart, parts depending, in fact, not only upon the accidents of their birth but also upon their own ideas and their own will. There are, in the history of peoples, two sets of causes essentially different and, at the same time, closely connected; the natural causes which are set over the general course of events, and the unrestricted causes which are incidental. Men do not make the whole of history; it has laws of higher origin; but, in history, men are unrestricted agents who produce for it results and exercise over it an influence for which they are responsible. The fated causes and the unrestricted causes, the defined laws of events and the spontaneous actions of man's free agency—herein is the whole of history. And in the faithful reproduction of these two elements consist the truth and the moral of stories from it.

Never was I more struck with this twofold character of history than in my tales to my grandchildren. When I commenced these lessons with them, they, beforehand, evinced a lively interest, and they began to listen to me with serious good will; but when they did not well apprehend the lengthening chain of events, or when historical personages did not become, in their eyes, creatures real and free, worthy of sympathy or reprobation, when the drama was not developed before them with clearness and animation, I saw their attention grow fitful and flagging; they required light and life together; they wished to be illumined and excited, instructed and amused.

At the same time that the difficulty of satisfying this twofold desire was painfully felt by me, I discovered therein more means and chances than I had at first foreseen of succeeding in making my young audience comprehend the history of France in its complication and its grandeur. When Corneille observed,—

> ". . . . . In the well-born soul
> Valor ne'er lingers till due seasons roll,"

he spoke as truly for intelligence as for valor. When once awakened and

really attentive, young minds are more earnest and more capable of complete comprehension than any one would suppose. In order to explain fully to my grandchildren the connection of events and the influence of historical personages, I was sometimes led into very comprehensive considerations and into pretty deep studies of character. And in such cases I was nearly always not only perfectly understood but keenly appreciated. I put it to the proof in the sketch of Charlemagne's reign and character; and the two great objects of that great man, who succeeded in one and failed in the other, received from my youthful audience the most riveted attention and the most clear comprehension. Youthful minds have greater grasp than one is disposed to give them credit for, and, perhaps, men would do well to be as earnest in their lives as children are in their studies.

In order to attain the end I had set before me, I always took care to connect my stories or my reflections with the great events or the great personages of history. When we wish to examine and describe a district scientifically, we traverse it in all its divisions and in every direction; we visit plains as well as mountains, villages as well as cities, the most obscure corners as well as the most famous spots; this is the way of proceeding with the geologist, the botanist, the archæologist, the statistician, the scholar. But when we wish particularly to get an idea of the chief features of a country, its fixed outlines, its general conformation, its special aspects, its great roads, we mount the heights; we place ourselves at points whence we can best take in the totality and the physiognomy of the landscape. And so we must proceed in history when we wish neither to reduce it to the skeleton of an abridgment nor extend it to the huge dimensions of a learned work. Great events and great men are the fixed points and the peaks of history; and it is thence that we can observe it in its totality, and follow it along its highways. In my tales to my grandchildren I sometimes lingered over some particular anecdote which gave me an opportunity of setting in a vivid light the dominant spirit of an age or the characteristic manners of a people; but, with rare exceptions, it is always on the great deeds and the great personages of history that I have relied for making of them in my tales what they were in reality, the centre and the focus of the life of France.

At the outset, in giving these lessons, I took merely short notes of dates and proper names. When I had reason given me to believe that they might be of some service and interest to other children than my own, and even, I was told, to others besides children, I undertook to put them together in the form in which I had developed them to my youthful audience. I will send you, gentlemen, some portions of the work, and if it really appears to you advisable to enlarge the circle for which it was originally intended, I will most gladly entrust to you the care of its publication.

Accept, gentlemen, the assurance of my most distinguished sentiments.

GUIZOT.

VAL-RICHER, December, 1869.

# THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

## I.

## GAUL AND THE ROMANS.

(600 B.C.—305 A.D.)

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### GAUL BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

YOUNG France inhabits a country, long ago civilized and Christianized, where, despite of much imperfection and much social misery, thirty-eight millions of men live in security and peace, under laws equal for all and efficiently upheld. There is every reason to nourish great hopes of such a country, and to wish for it more and more of freedom, glory, and prosperity; but one must be just towards one's own times, and estimate at their true value advantages already acquired and progress already accomplished. If one were suddenly carried twenty or thirty centuries backward, into the midst of that which was then called Gaul, one would not recognize France. Three or four centuries before the Christian era, on that vast territory comprised between the ocean, the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, the Alps, and the Rhine, lived six or seven millions of men a bestial life, enclosed in dwellings dark and low, the best of them built of wood and clay, covered with branches or straw, made in a single round piece, open to daylight by the door alone, and confusedly heaped together behind a rampart, not inartistically composed of timber, earth and stone, which surrounded and protected what they were pleased to call a town.

Of even such towns there were scarcely any as yet, save in the most populous and least uncultivated portion of Gaul. In the north and the west were paltry hamlets, as transferable almost as the people themselves; and on some islet amidst the morasses, or in some hidden recess of the forest, were huge entrenchments formed of the trees that were felled, where the population, at the first sound of the war-cry, ran to shelter themselves, with their flocks and all their movables. And the war-cry was often heard: men living grossly and idly are very prone to quarrel and fight. Gaul, moreover, was not occupied by one and the same nation, with the same traditions and the same chiefs.

Tribes, very different in origin, habits, and date of settlement, were continually disputing the territory. In the south were Iberians or Aquitanians, Phœnicians and Greeks; in the north and north-west Kymrians or Belgians; everywhere else, Gauls or Celts, the most numerous settlers, who had the honor of giving their name to the country. Who were the first to come, then? and what was the date of the first settlement? Nobody knows.

The Iberians, whom Roman writers call Aquitanians, dwelt at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the territory comprised between the mountains, the Garonne, and the ocean. They belonged to the race which, under the same appellation, had peopled Spain; but by what route they came into Gaul is a problem which we cannot solve. They went under the name of Basques.

The Phœnicians did not leave, as the Iberians did, in the south of France, distinct and well-authenticated descendants. They had begun about 1100 B. C. to trade there. They went thither in search of furs, and gold and silver; they brought in exchange stuffs dyed with purple, necklaces and rings of glass, and, above all, arms and wine. For the purpose of extending and securing their commercial expeditions, the Phœnicians founded colonies in several parts of Gaul, and to them is attributed the earliest origin of *Nemausus* (Nimes), and of Alesia, near Semur. But, at the end of three or four centuries, these colonies fell into decay; the trade of the Phœnicians was withdrawn from Gaul, and the only important sign it preserved of their residence was a road which, starting from the eastern Pyrenees, skirted the Gallic portion of the Mediterranean, crossed the Alps by the pass of Tenda, and so united Spain, Gaul, and Italy.

As merchants and colonists, the Greeks were, in Gaul, the successors of the Phœnicians, and Marseilles was one of their first and most considerable colonies. Their ancestors had, in former times, succeeded the Phœnicians in the island of Rhodes, and they likewise succeeded them in the south of Gaul, and founded, at the mouth of the Rhone, a colony called *Rhodanusia* or *Rhoda*. But the importance of the Rhodians on the southern coast of Gaul was short-lived. It had already sunk very low in the year 600 B. C., when Euxenes, a Greek trader, coming from Phocea, an Ionian town of Asia Minor, to seek his fortune, landed from a bay eastward of the Rhone. The Segobrigians, a tribe of the Gallic race, were in occupation of the neighboring country. Nann, their chief, gave the strangers kindly welcome, and took them home with him to a great feast which he was giving for his daughter's marriage, who was called Gyptis, according to some, and Petta, according to other historians. The custom was that the maiden should appear only at the end of the banquet and holding in her hand a filled wine-cup, and that the guest to whom she should present it should become the husband of her choice. By accident, or quite another cause, say the ancient legends, Gyptis stopped opposite Euxenes, and handed him the cup. Great was the surprise, and, probably, anger amongst the Gauls who were present; but Nann, believing he recognized a commandment from his gods, accepted the Phocean as his son-in-law, and gave him as dowry the bay where he had landed, with some

cantons of the territory around. Euxenes, in gratitude, gave his wife the Greek name of *Aristoxena*, sent away his ship to Phocea for colonists, and, whilst waiting for them, laid in the centre of the bay the foundations of a town, which he called Massilia—thence Marseilles.

The activity and prosperity of Marseilles, both within and without, were rapidly developed. She carried her commerce wherever the Phœnicians and the Rhodians had marked out a road; she repaired their forts; she took to herself their establishments; and she placed on her medals, to signify dominion, the rose, the emblem of Rhodes, beside the lion of Marseilles. But Nann, the Gallic chieftain, who had protected her infancy, died; and his son, Coman, shared the jealousy felt by the Segobrigians and the neighboring peoplets towards the new-comers. He promised and really resolved to destroy the new city. But once more a woman, a near relation of the Gallic chieftain, was the guardian angel of the Greeks, and revealed the plot to a young man of Marseilles, with whom she was in love. The gates were immediately shut, and so many Segobrigians as happened to be in the town were massacred. Then, when night came on, the inhabitants, armed, went forth to surprise Coman in the ambush where he was awaiting the moment to surprise them. And there he fell with all his men.

In the year 542 B. C., Phocea succumbed beneath the efforts of Cyrus, King of Persia, and her inhabitants, leaving to the conqueror empty streets and deserted houses, took to their ships in a body, to transfer their homes elsewhither. A portion of this floating population made straight for Marseilles; others stopped at Corsica, in the harbor of Alalia, another Phocean colony. But at the end of five years they too, tired of piratical life and of the incessant wars they had to sustain against the Carthaginians, quitted Corsica, and went to rejoin their compatriots in Gaul.

Thenceforward Marseilles found herself in a position to face her enemies. She extended her walls all round the bay and her enterprises far away. She founded on the southern coast of Gaul and on the eastern coast of Spain, permanent settlements, which are to this day towns. With this commercial activity Marseilles united intellectual and scientific activity; her grammarians were among the first to revise and annotate the poems of Homer; and bold travelers from Marseilles, Euthymenes and Pytheas by name, cruised, one along the western coast of Africa beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, and the other the southern and western coasts of Europe, from the mouth of the *Tanais* (Don), in the Black Sea, to the latitudes and perhaps into the interior of the Baltic.

By dint of foresight, perseverance, and courage, the merchants of Marseilles and her colonies crossed by two or three main lines the forests, morasses, and heaths through the savage tribes of Gauls, and there effected their exchanges, but to the right and left they penetrated but a short distance; even on their main lines their traces soon disappeared; and at the commercial settlements which they established here and there they were often far more occupied in self-defence than in spreading their example. Beyond a

strip of land of uneven breadth, along the Mediterranean, and save the space peopled towards the south-west by the Iberians, the country, which received its name from the former of the two, was occupied by the Gauls and the Kymrians; by the Gauls in the centre, south-east, and east, in the highlands of modern France, between the Alps, the Vosges, the mountains of Auvergne, and the Cévennes; by the Kymrians in the north, north-west, and west, in the lowlands, from the western boundary of the Gauls to the Ocean.

From the seventh to the fourth century B. C., a new population spread over Gaul, not at once, but by a series of invasions, of which the two principal took place at the two extremes of that epoch. They called themselves *Kymrians* or *Kimrians*, whence the Romans made the *Cimbrians*, which recalls *Cimmerii* or *Cimmerians*, the name of a people whom the Greeks placed on the western bank of the Black Sea and in the Cimmerian peninsula, called to this day *Crimea*. All the peoples that successively invaded Europe, Gauls, Kymrians, Germans, belonged at first, in Asia, whence they came, to a common stem; the diversity of their languages, traditions, and manners, great as it already was at the time of their appearance in the West, was the work of time and of the diverse circumstances in the midst of which they had lived.

The Kymrians descended southwards, to the banks of the Seine and the Marne. There they encountered the Kymrians of former invasions, who not only had spread over the country comprised between the Seine and the Loire, to the very heart of the peninsula bordered by the latter river, but had crossed the sea, and occupied a portion of the large island opposite Gaul, crowding back the Gauls, who had preceded them, upon Ireland and the highlands of Scotland.

From the earliest times to the first century before the Christian era, Gaul appears a prey to this incessant and disorderly movement of the population; they change settlement and neighborhood; disappear from one point and reappear at another; cross one another; avoid one another; absorb and are absorbed. And the movement was not confined within Gaul; the Gauls of every race went, sometimes in very numerous hordes, to seek far away plunder and a settlement. Spain, Italy, Germany, Greece, Asia Minor and Africa have been in turn the theatre of those Gallic expeditions which entailed long wars, grand displacements of peoples, and sometimes the formation of new nations.

## THE GAULS OUT OF GAUL.

About three centuries B. C. numerous hordes of Gauls crossed the Alps and penetrated to the centre of Etruria, which is now-a-days Tuscany. The Etruscans, being then at war with Rome, proposed to take them, armed and equipped as they had come, into their own pay. "If you want our hands," answered the Gauls, "against your enemies the Romans, here they are at your service—but one condition: give us lands."

A century afterwards other Gallic hordes, descending in like manner upon Italy, had commenced building houses and tilling fields along the Adriatic,

on the territory where afterwards was Aquileia. The Roman Senate decreed that their settlement should be opposed, and that they should be summoned to give up their implements and even their arms. Not being in a position to resist, the Gauls sent representatives to Rome. They, being introduced into the Senate, said, "The multitude of people in Gaul, the want of lands, and necessity forced us to cross the Alps to seek a home. We will live peacefully there under the laws of the republic."

Again, a century later, or thereabouts, some Gallic Kymrians, mingled with Teutons or Germans, said also to the Roman Senate, "Give us a little land as pay; and do what you please with our hands and weapons."

A little after the Gallic invasion of Spain, and by reason perhaps of that very movement, in the first half of the fourth century B. C., another vast horde of Gauls, who called themselves *Amhra*, *Ambra*, *Ambrons*, that is, "braves," crossed the Alps, occupied northern Italy, descended even to the brink of the Tiber, and conferred the name of *Ambria* or *Umbria* on the country where they founded their dominion. At a much later epoch, in the second century B. C., fifteen towns of Liguria contained altogether, as we learn from Livy, 20,000 souls. However, at the end of two or three centuries, this Gallic colony succumbed beneath the superior power of the Etruscans, another set of invaders from eastern Europe, perhaps from the north of Greece, who founded in Italy a mighty empire. The Umbrians or Ambrons were driven out or subjugated.

Towards the year 587 B. C., almost at the very moment when the Phoceans had just founded Marseilles, two great Gallic hordes got in motion at the same time and crossed, one the Rhine, the other the Alps, making one for Germany, the other for Italy. The former followed the course of the Danube and settled in Illyria, on the right bank of the river. Thus marching and spreading, leaving here and there on their route, along the rivers and in the valleys of the Alps, tribes that remained and founded peoples, the Gauls had arrived, towards the year 340 B. C., at the confines of Macedonia, at the time when Alexander was advancing to the same point to restrain the ravages of the neighboring tribes, perhaps of the Gauls themselves. The Gauls betook themselves to his camp. He treated them well, made them sit at his table, took pleasure in exhibiting his magnificence before them, and in the midst of his carouse made his interpreter ask them what they were most afraid of. "We fear naught," they answered, "unless it be the fall of heaven; but we set above every thing the friendship of a man like thee." "The Celts are proud," said Alexander to his Macedonians; and he promised them his friendship. On the death of Alexander the Gauls, as mercenaries, entered, in Europe and Asia, the service of the kings who had been his generals.

Before long they tired of fighting the battles of another; their power accumulated; fresh hordes, in great numbers, arrived amongst them about the year 281 B. C. They had before them Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Greece, rich, but distracted and weakened by civil strife.

Ptolemy the Thunderbolt, King of Macedonia, received with haughtiness their first message requiring of him a ransom for his dominions, if he wished to preserve peace. "Tell those who sent you," he replied to the Gallic deputation, "to lay down their arms and give up to me their chieftains. I will then see what peace I can grant them." On the return of the deputation, the Gauls were moved to laughter. "He shall soon see," said they, "whether it was in his interest or our own that we offered him peace." And, indeed, in the first engagement, neither the famous Macedonian phalanx, nor the elephant he rode, could save King Ptolemy; the phalanx was broken, the elephant riddled with javelins, the king himself taken, killed, and his head marched about the field of battle on the top of a pike.

Three years later, another and a more formidable invasion came bursting upon Thessaly and Greece. It was, according to the unquestionably exaggerated account of the ancient historians, 200,000 strong, and commanded by that famous, ferocious, and insolent Brennus, the Senonic chief. His idea was to strike a blow which should simultaneously enrich the Gauls and stun the Greeks. He meant to plunder the temple at Delphi, the most venerated place in all Greece, whither flowed from century to century all kinds of offerings, and where, no doubt, enormous treasure was deposited.

All Greece was moved. The nations of the Peloponnese closed the isthmus of Corinth by a wall. Outside the isthmus, the Bœtians, Phocidians Locrians, Megarians, and Ætolians formed a coalition under the leadership of the Athenians; and they advanced in all haste to the pass of Thermopylæ, to stop there the new barbarians.

But soon, just as in the case of the Persians, traitors guided Brennus and his Gauls across the mountain-paths; the position of Thermopylæ was turned; the Greek army owed its safety to the Athenian galleys; and by evening of the same day the barbarians appeared in sight of Delphi.

The Greeks prepared with ardor for the fight. Their enthusiasm was intense. Those barbarians, with their half-nakedness, their grossness, their ferocity, their ignorance and their impiety, were revolting. They committed murder and devastation like dolts. They left their dead on the field, without burial. Four thousand men had joined within Delphi, when the Gallic bands, in the morning, began to mount the narrow and rough incline which led up to the town. The Greeks rained down from above a deluge of stones and other missiles. The Gauls recoiled, but recovered themselves. The besieged fell back on the nearest streets of the town, leaving open the approach to the temple, upon which the barbarians threw themselves. The pillage of the shrines had just commenced when the sky looked threatening; a storm burst forth, the thunder echoed, the rain fell, the hail rattled. Readily taking advantage of this incident, the priests and the augurs sallied from the temple clothed in their sacred garments, with hair disheveled and sparkling eyes, proclaiming the advent of the god. Hearing the cries and the roar of the tempest, the Greeks dash on, the Gauls are panic-stricken, and rush headlong down the hill. The Greeks push on in pursuit. The rout was speedy and

general; the barbarians rushed to the cover of their camp; but the camp was attacked next morning by the Greeks from the town and by reinforcements from the country places. Brennus and the picked warriors about him made a gallant resistance, but defeat was a foregone conclusion. Brennus was wounded, and his comrades bore him off the field. Brennus summoned his comrades; "Kill all the wounded and me," said he; "burn your cars; make Cichor king; and away at full speed." Then he called for wine, drank himself drunk, and stabbed himself. About 278 B. C. the Gauls crossed the Hellespont and passed into Asia Minor. There, at one time in the pay of the kings of Bithynia, Pergamos, Cappadocia, and Syria, or of the free commercial cities, at another carrying on wars on their own account, they wandered for more than thirty years, divided into three great hordes which parceled out the territories among themselves, and by their bravery became the terror of these effeminate populations and the arbiters of these petty states.

Antiochus, King of Syria, attacked one of the three bands—that of the Tectosagians, conquered it, and cantoned it in a district of Upper Phrygia. Later still, about 241 B. C., Eumenes, sovereign of Pergamos, and Attalus, his successor, drove and shut up the other two bands, the Tolistoboians and Trocmians, likewise in the same region. The victories of Attalus over the Gauls excited veritable enthusiasm. He was celebrated as a special envoy from Zeus. He took the title of *King*, which his predecessors had not hitherto borne. Forced to remain stationary, the Gallic hordes became a people —the Galatians—and the country they occupied was called Galatia. At the beginning of the second century before our era, the Romans had entered Asia, in pursuit of their great enemy, Hannibal. They had just beaten, near Magnesia, Antiochus, King of Syria. In his army they had encountered men of lofty stature, with hair light or dyed red, half naked, marching to the fight with loud cries, and terrible at the first onset. They recognized the Gauls, and resolved to destroy or subdue them. The consul, Cn. Manlius, had the duty and the honor. Attacked in their strongholds on Mount Olympus and Mount Magaba, 189 B. C., the three Gallic bands, after a short but stout resistance, were conquered and subjugated; and thenceforth losing all national importance, they amalgamated little by little with the Asiatic populations around them.

From 587 to 521 B. C. five Gallic expeditions formed of Gallic, Kymric, and Ligurian tribes, followed the same route and invaded successively the two banks of the Po—*the bottomless river*, as they called it. The Etruscans could not make head against the new conquerors, aided, may be, by the remains of the old population. The well-built towns, the cultivation of the country, the ports and canals that had been dug, nearly all these labors of Etruscan civilization disappeared beneath the footsteps of these barbarous hordes that knew only how to destroy.

But in the year 391 B. C., finding themselves cooped up in their territory, a strong band of Gauls crossed the Apennines, and went to demand from the Etruscans of Clusium the cession of a portion of their lands. The only ans-

wer Clusium made was to close her gates. The Gauls formed up around the walls. Clusium asked help from Rome, with whom, notwithstanding the rivalry between the Etruscan and Roman nations, she had lately been on good terms. The Romans promised first their good offices with the Gauls, afterwards material support.

The Gauls left the siege of Clusium, and set out for Rome, not stopping for plunder, and proclaiming everywhere on their march, "We are bound for Rome; we make war on none but Romans;" and when they encountered the Roman army, on the 16th of July, 390 B. C., at the confluence of the Allia and the Tiber, half a day's march from Rome, they abruptly struck up their war-chant, and threw themselves upon their enemies. It is well known how they gained the day; how they entered Rome, and found none but a few gray-beards. All the other people of Rome had fled, and were wandering over the country or seeking a refuge amongst neighboring peoples. Only the Senate and a thousand warriors had shut themselves up in the Capitol, a citadel which commanded the city. The Gauls kept them besieged there for seven months. On the 13th of February, 389 B. C., the Gauls allowed their retreat to be purchased by the Romans; and they experienced, as they retired, certain checks whereby they lost a part of their booty. But twenty-three years afterwards they are found in Latium scouring in every direction the outlying country of Rome, without the Romans daring to go out and fight them. It was only at the end of five years, in the year 361 B. C., that, the very city being menaced anew, the legions marched out to meet the enemy. "Surprised at this audacity," says Polybius, the Gauls fell back, but merely a few leagues from Rome, to the environs of Tibur; and thence, for the space of twelve years, they attacked the Roman territory, renewing the campaign every year, often reaching the very gates of the city, and being repulsed indeed, but never farther than Tibur and its slopes. Then commenced the second period of struggles between the two peoples. Rome had taken breath and had grown much more rapidly than her rivals. Instead of shutting herself up, as heretofore, within her walls, she forthwith raised three armies, took the offensive against the coalitionists, and carried the war into their territory. The Etruscans rushed to the defence of their hearths. The two consuls, Fabius and Decius, immediately attacked the Samnites and Gauls at the foot of the Apennines, close to Sentinum. The battle went badly for the Romans; several legions were in flight, and Decius strove vainly to rally them.

Decius charged into the middle of the Gauls, where he soon fell pierced with wounds; but the Romans recovered courage and gained the day; for heroism and piety have power over the hearts of men, so that at the moment of admiration they become capable of imitation.

During the second period Rome was more than once in danger. In the year 283 B. C., the Gauls destroyed one of her armies near *Aretium* (Arezzo), and advanced to the Roman frontier, saying, "We are bound for Rome; the Gauls know how to take it." Seventy-two years afterwards the Cisalpine Gauls swore they would not put off their baldrics till they had mounted the

Capitol, and they arrived within three days' march of Rome. At every appearance of this formidable enemy the alarm at Rome was great.

Rome, during the course of this period, from 299 to 258 B. C., maintained an increasing ascendency over the Gauls. She always cleared them off her territory, several times ravaged theirs, on the two banks of the Po, called respectively Transpadan and Cispadan Gaul, and gained the majority of the great battles she had to fight. Finally in the year 283 B. C., the proprætor Drusus, after having ravaged the country of the Senonic Gauls, carried off the very ingots and jewels, it was said, which had been given to their ancestors as the price of their retreat.

In the same year (283 B. C.,) several Roman families arrived, with colors flying and under the guidance of three triumvirs or commissioners, on a territory to the northeast, on the borders of the Adriatic. The triumvirs had a round hole dug, and there deposited some fruits and a handful of earth brought from Roman soil; then yoking to a plough, having a copper share, a white bull and a white heifer, they marked out by a furrow a large enclosure. The rest followed, flinging within the line the ridges thrown up by the plough. When the line was finished, the bull and the heifer were sacrificed with due pomp. It was a Roman colony come to settle at Sena, on the very site of the chief town of those Senonic Gauls who had been conquered and driven out. Fifteen years afterwards another Roman colony was founded at *Ariminum* (Rimini) on the frontier of the Boïan Gauls. Fifty years later still two others, on the two banks of the Po, Cremona and *Placentia* (Plaisance). Rome had then, in the midst of her enemies, garrisons, magazines of arms and provisions, and means of supervision and communication.

Towards the close of the third century before our era, the triumph of Rome in Cisalpine Gaul seemed nigh to accomplishment, when news arrived that the Romans' most formidable enemy, Hannibal, meditating a passage from Africa into Italy by Spain and Gaul, was already at work, by his emissaries, to ensure for his enterprise the concurrence of the Transalpine and Cisalpine Gauls. The Senate ordered the envoys they had just then at Carthage to traverse Gaul on returning, and seek out allies there against Hannibal. The envoys halted amongst the Gallo-Iberian peoplets who lived at the foot of the eastern Pyrenees. There, in the midst of the warriors assembled in arms, they charged them in the name of the great and powerful Roman people, not to suffer the Carthaginians to pass through their territory. Tumultuous laughter arose at a request that appeared so strange. "You wish us," was the answer, "to draw down war upon ourselves to avert it from Italy, and to give our own fields over to devastation to save yours. We hear that the Roman people drive out from their lands, in Italy, men of our nation, impose tribute upon them, and make them undergo other indignities." So the envoys of Rome quitted Gaul without allies.

However, the delights of victory and of pillage at last brought into full play the Cisalpine Gauls' natural hatred of Rome. At the battle of Lake Trasimene Hannibal lost 1500 men, nearly all Gauls; at that of Cannæ he had

30,000 of them, forming two-thirds of his army; and at the moment of action they cast away their tunics and chequered cloaks and fought naked from the belt upwards, according to their custom when they meant to conquer or die. Of 5500 men that the victory of Cannæ cost Hannibal, 4000 were Gauls.

This was the third period of the struggle between the Gauls and the Romans in Italy. Rome, well advised by this terrible war of the danger with which she was ever menaced by the Cisalpine Gauls, formed the resolution of no longer restraining them, but of subduing them and conquering their territory. She spent thirty years (from 200 to 170 B. C.) in the execution of this design, proceeding by means of war, of founding Roman colonies, and of sowing dissension amongst the Gallic peoplets.

The Senate, with its usual wisdom, multiplied the number of Roman colonies in the conquered territory, treated with moderation the tribes that submitted, and gave to Cisalpine Gaul the name of the *Cisalpine* or *Hither Gallic Province*, which was afterwards changed for that of *Gallia Togata* or *Roman Gaul.* Then, declaring that Nature herself had placed the Alps between Gaul and Italy as an insurmountable barrier, the Senate pronounced "a curse on whosoever should attempt to cross it."

## THE ROMANS IN GAUL.

It was Rome herself that soon crossed that barrier of the Alps which she had pronounced fixed by nature and insurmountable. Scarcely was she mistress of Cisalpine Gaul when she entered upon a quarrel with the tribes which occupied the mountain-passes. With an unsettled frontier, and between neighbors of whom one is ambitious and the other barbarian, pretexts and even causes are never wanting. The Romans penetrated into the hamlets, carried off flocks and people, and sold them in the public markets at Cremona, at Placentia, and in all their colonies.

The Gauls of the Alps demanded succor of the Transalpine Gauls, applying to a powerful chieftain, named Cincibil, whose influence extended throughout the mountains. But the terror of the Roman name had reached across. Cincibil sent to Rome a deputation, with his brother at their head, to set forth the grievances of the mountaineers, and especially to complain of the consul Cassius. Without making any concession, the Senate was gracious. Cassius was away; he must be waited for. Meanwhile the Gauls were well treated; Cincibil and his brother received as presents two golden collars, five silver vases, two horses fully caparisoned, and Roman dresses for all their suite. Still nothing was done.

Another, a greater and more decisive opportunity offered itself. Marseilles was an ally of the Romans. As the rival of Carthage, and with the Gauls for ever at her gates, she had need of Rome by sea and land. She pretended, also, to the most eminent and intimate friendship with Rome. Her founder, the Phocean Euxenes, had gone to Rome, it was said, and concluded a treaty with Tarquinius Priscus. She had gone into mourning when Rome was burnt by the Gauls; she had ordered a public levy to aid towards

the ransom of the Capitol. Rome did not dispute these claims to remembrance. The friendship of Marseilles was of great use to her. Towards the middle of the second century B. C., Marseilles was at war with certain Gallic tribes, her neighbors, whose territory she coveted. Two of her colonies, Nice and Antibes, were threatened. She called on Rome for help. A Roman deputation went to decide the quarrel; but the Gauls refused to obey its summons, and treated it with insolence. The deputation returned with an army, succeeded in beating the refractory tribes, and gave their land to the Massilians. The same thing occurred repeatedly with the same result. In the year 123 B. C., at some leagues to the north of the Greek city, near a little river, then called the Cœnus and now-a-days the Arc, the consul C. Sextius Calvinus had noticed, during his campaign, an abundance of thermal springs, agreeably situated amidst wood-covered hills. There he constructed an enclosure, aqueducts, baths, houses, a town in fact, which he called after himself *Aquæ Sextiæ*, the modern Aix, the first Roman establishment in Transalpine Gaul. As in the case of Cisalpine Gaul, with Roman colonies came Roman intrigue and dissensions got up and fomented amongst the Gauls. The Gauls ran of themselves into the Roman trap. Two of their confederations, the Æduans, and the Allobrogians, who were settled between the Alps, the Isère, and the Rhone, were at war. A third confederation, the most powerful in Gaul at this time, the Arvernians, who were rivals of the Æduans, gave their countenance to the Allobrogians. The consul Domitius forthwith commanded the Allobrogians to respect the territory of the allies of Rome. The Allobrogians rose up in arms and claimed the aid of the Arvernians. Bituitus, King of the Arvernians, was for trying accommodation. He was a powerful and wealthy chieftain. War broke out; the Allobrogians, with the usual confidence and hastiness of all barbarians, attacked alone, without waiting for the Arvernians, and were beaten at the confluence of the Rhone and the Sorgue, a little above Avignon. The next year, 121 B. C., the Arvernians in their turn descended from the mountains, and crossed the Rhone with all their tribes, diversely armed and clad, and ranged each about its own chieftain.

The Arvernians then were beaten, as the Allobrogians had been. Rome treated the Arvernians with consideration; but the Allobrogians lost their existence as a nation. The Senate declared them subject to the Roman people; and all the country comprised between the Alps, the Rhone from its entry into the Lake of Geneva to its mouth, and the Mediterranean, was made a Roman consular province, which means that every year a consul must march thither with his army. In the three following years, indeed, the consuls extended the boundaries of the new province, on the right bank of the Rhone, to the frontier of the Pyrenees southward. In the year 115 B. C., a colony of Roman citizens was conductod to Narbonne, a town even then of importance, in spite of the objections made by certain senators who were unwilling, say the historians, so to expose Roman citizens "to the waves of barbarism." This was the second colony which went and

established itself out of Italy; the first had been founded on the ruins of Carthage.

Having thus completed their conquest, the Senate, to render possession safe and sure, decreed the occupation of the passes of the Alps which opened Gaul to Italy: All the chief defiles of the Alps fell into its hands. Less than sixty years after Cisalpine Gaul had been reduced to a Roman province, Rome possessed, in Transalpine Gaul, a second province, whither she sent her armies, and where she established her citizens without obstruction.

In the year 113 B. C., there appeared to the north of the Adriatic, on the right bank of the Danube, an immense multitude of barbarians, ravaging Noricum and threatening Italy. Two nations predominated; the Kymrians or Cimbrians, and the Teutons, the national name of the Germans. A violent shock of earthquake, a terrible inundation, had driven them, they said, from their homes; and those countries do indeed show traces of such events. And Cimbrians and Teutons had been for some time roaming over Germany.

The consul Papirius Carbo, despatched in all haste to defend the frontier, bade them, in the name of the Roman people, to withdraw. The barbarians modestly replied that "they had no intention of settling in Noricum, and if the Romans had rights over the country, they would carry their arms else-whither." The consul, who had found haughtiness succeed, thought he might also employ perfidy against the barbarians. He offered guides to conduct them out of Noricum; and the guides misled them. The consul attacked them unexpectedly during the night, and was beaten.

They roamed for three years along the Danube, as far as the mountains of Macedonia and Thrace. Then retracing their steps, and marching eastward, they inundated the valleys of the Helvetic Alps, now Switzerland, having their numbers swelled by other tribes, Gallic or German, who preferred joining in pillage to undergoing it. The Ambrons joined the Cimbrians and Teutons; and in the year 110 B. C., all together entered Gaul, at first by way of Belgica, and then, continuing their wanderings and ravages in central Gaul, they at last reached the Rhone, on the frontiers of the Roman province. There the name of Rome again arrested their progress; they applied to her anew for lands, with the offer of their services. M. Silanus attacked them in their camp, and was beaten.

Three consuls, L. Cassius, C. Servilius Cæpio, and Cn. Manlius, successively experienced the same fate. The barbarians did not dare to decide upon invading Italy; but they freely scoured the Roman province, meeting here with repulse, and there with reinforcement from the peoplets who formed the inhabitants. The Tectosagian Volcs, Kymrian in origin and maltreated by Rome, joined them. Then, on a sudden, whilst the Teutons and Ambrons remained in Gaul, the Kymrians passed over to Spain, without apparent motive, and probably as an overswollen torrent divides, and disperses its waters in all directions. There was but one man, it was said, who could avert the danger, and give Rome the ascendancy. It was Marius, low-

born, but already illustrious; esteemed by the Senate for his genius as a commander and for his victories.

He was consul in Africa, where he was putting an end to the war with Jugurtha. He was elected a second time consul, without interval and in his absence, contrary to all the laws of the Republic. Scarcely had he returned, when, on descending from the Capitol, where he had just received a triumph for having conquered and captured Jugurtha, he set out for Gaul. On his arrival, instead of proceeding, as his predecessors, to attack the barbarians at once, he confined himself to organizing and inuring his troops, subjecting them to frequent marches, all kinds of military exercises, and long and hard labor. To insure supplies he made them dig, towards the mouths of the Rhone, a large canal which formed a junction with the river a little above Arles, and which, at its entrance into the sea, offered good harborage for vessels. Trained in this severe school, the soldiers acquired such a reputation for sobriety and laborious assiduity, that they were proverbially called *Marius' mules*. Two years rolled on in this fashion; and yet Marius would not move.

It was at Rome, in the year 102 B. C., that he learned how the Kymrians, weary of Spain, had recrossed the Pyrenees, rejoined their old comrades, and had at last resolved, in concert, to invade Italy; the Kymrians from the north, by way of Helvetia and Noricum, the Teutons and Ambrons from the south, by way of the maritime Alps. At this news Marius returned forthwith to Gaul, and, without troubling himself about the Kymrians, who had really put themselves in motion towards the northeast, he placed his camp so as to cover at one and the same time the two Roman roads which crossed at Arles, and by one of which the Ambro-Teutons must necessarily pass to enter Italy on the south.

They soon appeared "in immense numbers," say the historians, "with their hideous looks and their wild cries," drawing up their chariots and planting their tents in front of the Roman camp. They showered upon Marius and his soldiers continual insult and defiance. "It is no question," said he, with his simple and convincing common sense, "of gaining triumphs and trophies; it is a question of averting this storm of war and of saving Italy." The most distinguished of his officers, young Sertorius, who understood and spoke Gallic well, penetrated, in the disguise of a Gaul, into the camp of the Ambrons, and informed Marius of what was going on there.

At last the barbarians, in their impatience, having vainly attempted to storm the Roman camp, struck their own, and put themselves in motion towards the Alps. For six whole days, it is said, their bands were defiling beneath the ramparts of the Romans.

Marius, too, struck his camp, and followed them. They halted, both of them, near Aix, on the borders of the Cœnus, the barbarians in the valley, Marius on a hill which commanded it. The ardor of the Romans was at its height; it was warm weather; there was a want of water on the hill, and the soldiers murmured. "You are men," said Marius, pointing to the river be-

low, "and there is water to be bought with blood." "Why don't you lead us against them at once, then," said a soldier, "whilst we still have blood in our veins?" "We must first fortify our camp," answered Marius quietly.

The soldiers obeyed: but the hour of battle had come, and well did Marius know it. It commenced on the brink of the Cœnus, between some Ambrons who were bathing and some Roman slaves gone down to draw water. When the whole horde of Ambrons advanced to the battle, shouting their warcry of *Ambra! Ambra!* a body of Gallic auxiliaries in the Roman army, and in the first rank, heard them with great amazement; for it was their own name and their own cry; there were tribes of Ambrons in the Alps subjected to Rome as well as in the Helvetic Alps; and *Ambra! Ambra!* resounded on both sides.

The battle lasted two days, the first against the Ambrons, the second against the Teutons. Both were beaten, in spite of their savage bravery, and the equal bravery of their women, who defended, with indomitable obstinacy, the cars with which they had remained almost alone, in charge of the children and the booty. The carnage was great, for the battle-field, where all these corpses rested without burial, rotting in the sun and rain, got the name of *Campi Putridi*, or *Fields of Putrefaction*, a name traceable even now-a-days in that of *Pourrières*, a neighboring village.

The Ambrons and Teutons beaten, there remained the Kymrians. Marius marched against them in July of the following year, 101 B. C. Ignorant of what had occurred in Gaul, and possessed, as ever, with the desire of a settlement, they again sent to him a deputation, saying, "Give us lands and towns for us and our brethren." "What brethren?" asked Marius. "The Teutons." The Romans who were about Marius began to laugh. "Let your brethren be," said Marius; "they have land, and will always have it; they received it from us." The Kymrians, perceiving the irony of his tone, burst out into threats, telling Marius that he should suffer for it at their hands first, and afterwards at those of the Teutons when they arrived. "They are here," rejoined Marius; "you must not depart without saluting your brethren;" and he had Teutobod, King of the Teutons, brought out with other captive chieftains. The envoys reported the sad news in their own camp, and three days afterwards, July 30th, a great battle took place between the Kymrians and the Romans in the Raudine Plains, a large tract near Verceil, and the Gauls were beaten.

The victories of Marius arrested the torrent, but did not dry up its source. The great movement which drove from Asia to Europe, and from eastern to western Europe, masses of roving populations, followed its course, bringing incessantly upon the Roman frontiers new-comers and new perils.

## GAUL CONQUERED BY JULIUS CÆSAR.

In spite of the victories of Marius, and the destruction or dispersion of the Teutons and Cimbrians, the whole of Gaul remained seriously disturbed and threatened. In the war with the confederation of the Æduans, that of

the Arvernians called to their aid the German Ariovistus. He with 15,000 warriors at his back, was not slow in responding to the appeal. The Æduans were beaten; and Ariovistus settled amongst the Gauls who had been thoughtless enough to appeal to him. Numerous bands of Suevians came and rejoined him; and in two or three years after his victory he had about him, it was said, 120,000 warriors. One of the foremost Æduans, Divitiacus by name, went and invoked the succor of the Roman people, the patrons of his confederation. He received kindly promises, which at first remained without fruit. He, however, remained at Rome, persistent in his solicitations, and carrying on intercourse with several Romans of consideration, notably with Cicero, who says of him, "I knew Divitiacus, the Æduan, who claimed proficiency in that natural science which the Greeks call physiology, and he predicted the future, either by augury or his own conjecture." The Roman Senate hesitated to engage, for the Æduans' sake, in a war against the invaders of a corner of Gallic territory. At the same time that they gave a cordial welcome to Divitiacus, they entered into negotiations with Ariovistus himself; they gave him beautiful presents, the title of *King*, and even of *friend;* the only demand they made was that he should live peaceably in his new settlement, and not lend his support to the fresh invasions of which there were symptoms in Gaul.

A people of Gallic race, the Helvetians, who inhabited present Switzerland, where the old name still abides beside the modern, found themselves incessantly threatened, ravaged, and invaded by the German tribes which pressed upon their frontiers. After some years of perplexity and internal discord, the whole Helvetic nation decided upon abandoning its territory, and going to seek in Gaul, westward, on the borders of the ocean, a more tranquil settlement. Being informed of this design, the Roman Senate and Cæsar resolved to protect the Roman province and their Gallic allies, the Æduans, against the inundation of roving neighbors. The Helvetians none the less persisted in their plan; and in the spring of the year of Rome 696 (58 B. C.) they committed to the flames, in the country they were about to leave, twelve towns, four hundred villages, and all their houses; loaded their cars with provisions for three months, and agreed to meet at the southern point of the Lake of Geneva. But when the Helvetians would have entered Gaul, they found there Cæsar, who, after having got himself appointed pro-consul for five years, had arrived suddenly at Geneva, prepared to forbid their passage. They sent to him a deputation, to ask leave, they said, merely to traverse the Roman province without causing the least damage. He employed his legionaries, who could work as well as fight, in erecting upon the left bank of the Rhone a wall sixteen feet high and ten miles long, which rendered the passage of the river very difficult, and, on the return of the Helvetian envoys, he formally forbade them to pass by the road they had proposed to follow. They attempted to take another, and to cross not the Rhone but the Saône, and marched thence towards western Gaul. But whilst they were arranging for the execution of this movement, Cæsar, who had up to that time only

four legions at his disposal, returned to Italy, brought away five fresh legions, and arrived on the left bank of the Saône at the moment when the rear-guard of the Helvetians was embarking to rejoin the main body which had already pitched its camp on the right bank. Cæsar cut to pieces this rear-guard, crossed the river, in his turn, with his legions, pursued the emigrants without relaxation, came in contact with them on several occasions, at one time attacking them or repelling their attacks, at another receiving and giving audience to their envoys without ever consenting to treat with them, and before the end of the year he had so completely beaten, decimated, dispersed and driven them back, that of 368,000 Helvetians who had entered Gaul, but 110,000 escaped from the Romans, and were enabled, by flight, to regain their country.

Æduans, Sequanians, or Arvernians, all the Gauls interested in the struggle thus terminated, were eager to congratulate Cæsar upon his victory; Ariovistus and the Germans, who were settled upon their territory, oppressed them cruelly, and day by day fresh bands were continually coming to aggravate the evil and the danger. They adjured Cæsar to protect them from these swarms of barbarians. "In a few years," said they, "all the Germans will have crossed the Rhine, and all the Gauls will be driven from Gaul, for the soil of Germany cannot compare with that of Gaul, any more than the mode of life. If Cæsar and the Roman people refuse to aid us, there is nothing left for us but to abandon our lands, as the Helvetians would have done in their case, and go seek, afar from the Germans, another dwelling-place." Cæsar proposed to Ariovistus an interview "at which they might treat in common of affairs of importance for both." Ariovistus replied that "if he wanted anything of Cæsar, he would go in search of him; if Cæsar had business with him, it was for Cæsar to come." Cæsar thereupon conveyed to him by messenger his express injunctions, "not to summon any more from the borders of the Rhine fresh multitudes of men, and to cease from vexing the Æduans and making war on them, them and their allies. Otherwise, Cæsar would not fail to avenge their wrongs." Ariovistus replied that "he had conquered the Æduans." At the moment he received this answer Cæsar had just heard that fresh bands of Suevians were encamped on the right bank of the Rhine, ready to cross, and that Ariovistus with all his forces was making towards *Vesontio* (Besançon), the chief town of the Sequanians. Cæsar forthwith put himself in motion, occupied Vesontio, established there a strong garrison, and made his arrangements for issuing from it with his legions to go and anticipate the attack of Ariovistus. Cæsar summoned a great council of war, to which he called the chief officers of his legions; he complained bitterly of their alarm, recalled to their memory their recent success against the Helvetians, and scoffed at the rumors spread about the Germans, and at the doubts with which there was an attempt to inspire him about the fidelity and obedience of his troops.

The cheers of the troops, officers and men, were the answer given to the reproaches and hopes of their general; all hesitation passed away; and Cæsar

set out with his army. He fetched a considerable compass, and, after a seven days' march, arrived at a short distance from the camp of Ariovistus. On learning that Cæsar was already so near, the German sent to him a messenger with proposals for the interview which was but lately demanded, and to which there was no longer any obstacle, since Cæsar had himself arrived upon the spot. And the interview really took place, with mutual precautions for safety and warlike dignity. Cæsar repeated all the demands he had made upon Ariovistus, who, in his turn, maintained his refusal, asking, "What was wanted? Why had foot been set upon his lands? That part of Gaul was his *province*, just as the other was the *Roman province*." Ultimately some horsemen in the escort of Ariovistus began to caracole towards the Romans, and to hurl at them stones and darts. Cæsar ordered his men to make no reprisals, and broke off the conference. The next day but one Ariovistus proposed a renewal; but Cæsar refused, having decided to bring the quarrel to an issue. Several days in succession he led out his legions from their camp, and offered battle; but Ariovistus remained within his lines. Cæsar then took the resolution of assailing the German camp. At his approach, the Germans at length moved out from their entrenchments, and defiled in front of cars filled with their women, who implored them with tears not to deliver them in slavery to the Romans. The struggle was obstinate, and not without moments of anxiety and partial check for the Romans; but the genius of Cæsar and strict discipline of the legions carried the day. The rout of the Germans was complete. The Suevian bands, who were awaiting on the right bank the result of the struggle, plunged back again within their own territory. And so the invasion of the Germans was stopped as the emigration of the Helvetians had been; and Cæsar had only to conquer Gaul.

The expulsion of the Helvetian emigrants and of the German invaders left the Romans and Gauls alone face to face; and from that moment the Romans were, in the eyes of the Gauls, foreigners, conquerors, oppressors. Their deeds aggravated day by day the feelings excited by the situation; every where they assumed the mastery: they laid heavy burdens upon the population; they removed the rightful chieftains who were opposed to them, and forcibly placed or maintained in power those only who were subservient to them. During nine years, from A. U. C. 696 to 705, and in eight successive campaigns, Cæsar carried his troops, his lieutenants, himself, and, ere long, war or negotiation, corruption, discord, or destruction in his path, amongst the different nations and confederations of Gaul, Celtic, Kymric, Germanic, Iberian or Hybrid, northward and eastward, in Belgica, between the Seine and the Rhine; westward, in Armorica, on the borders of the Ocean; south-westward, in Aquitania; centre-ward, amongst the peoplets established between the Seine, the Loire, and the Saône. He was nearly always victorious, and then at one time he pushed his victory to the bitter end, at another stopped at the right moment, that it might not be compromised. When he experienced reverses, he bore them without repining, and repaired them with inexhaustible ability and courage. He did not confine himself to conquering

and subjecting the Gauls in Gaul; his ideas were ever outstripping his deeds, and he knew how to make his power felt even where he had made no attempt to establish it. Twice he crossed the Rhine to hurl back the Germans beyond their river, and to strike to the very hearts of their forests the terror of the Roman name (A. U. C. 699, 700). He equipped two fleets, made two descents on Great Britain (A. U. C. 699, 700), several times defeated the Britons and their principal chieftain Caswallon (Cassivellaunus), and set up, across the channel, the first land-marks of Roman conquest.

During his first campaign in Belgica (A. U. C. 697 and 57 B. C.), the Nervians and the Aduaticans, had gallantly struggled, with brief moments of success, against the Roman legions. The Nervians were conquered and almost annihilated. Their last remnants, huddled for refuge in the midst of their morasses, sent a deputation to Cæsar, to make submission. Cæsar received them kindly, returned to them their lands, and warned their neighbors to do them no harm. The Aduaticans, on the contrary, defended themselves to the last extremity. Cæsar, having slain four thousand, had all that remained sold by auction; and fifty-six thousand human beings, according to his own statement, passed as slaves into the hands of their purchasers. A little later still, some insurgents in the centre of Gaul had concentrated in a place to the southwest, called *Uxellodunum* (now-a-days, it is said, Puy d'Issola, in the department of the Lot, between Vayrac and Martel). After a long resistance they were obliged to surrender, and Cæsar had all the combatants' hands cut off, and sent them, thus mutilated, to live and rove throughout Gaul, as a spectacle to all the country that was or was to be brought to submission.

After six years' struggling Cæsar was victor; he had successively dealt with all the different populations of Gaul; he had passed through and subjected them all, either by his own strong arm, or thanks to their rivalries. In the year of Rome 702 he was suddenly informed in Italy, whither he had gone on his Roman business, that most of the Gallic nations, united under a chieftain hitherto unknown, were rising with one common impulse, and recommencing war.

A band of Carnutian peasants (people of Chartrain) rushed upon the town of Genabum (Gien), roused the inhabitants, and massacred the Italian traders and a Roman knight, C. Fusius Cita, whom Cæsar had commissioned to buy corn there. In less than twenty-four hours the signal of insurrection against Rome was borne across the country as far as the Arvernians, amongst whom conspiracy had long ago been waiting and paving the way for insurrection. Amongst them lived a young Gaul whose real name has remained unknown, and whom history has called Vercingetorix, that is, chief over a hundred heads, chief-in-general. He came of an ancient and powerful family of Arvernians, and his father had been put to death in his own city for attempting to make himself king. Vercingetorix was immediately invested with the chief command, and he made use of it with all the passion engendered by patriotism and the possession of power.

Starting from Italy at the beginning of 702 A. U. C., Cæsar passed two



The brave Vercingetorix surrenders himself and Gaul to Cæsar.
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months in traversing within Gaul the Roman province and its neighborhood, in visiting the points threatened by the insurrection, and the openings by which he might get at it, in assembling his troops, in confirming his wavering allies; and it was not before the early part of March that he moved with his whole army to Agendicum (Sens), the very centre of revolt, and started thence to push on the war with vigor. In less than three months he had spread devastation throughout the insurgent country: he had attacked and taken its principal cities, Vellaunodunum (Triguères), Genabum (Gien), Noviodunum (Sancerre), and Avaricum (Bourges), delivering up every where country and city, lands and inhabitants, to the rage of the Roman soldiery, maddened at having again to conquer enemies so often conquered. To strike a decisive blow, he penetrated at last to the heart of the country of the Arvernians, and laid siege to Gergovia, their capital and the birthplace of Vercingetorix.

The firmness and the ability of the Gallic chieftain were not inferior to such a struggle. He understood from the outset that he could not cope in the open field with Cæsar and the Roman legions; he therefore exerted himself in getting together a body of cavalry numerous enough to harass the Romans during their movements, to attack their scattered detachments, to bear his orders swiftly to all quarters, and to keep up the excitement amongst the different peoplets with some hope of success. The capture of Avaricum, though gallantly defended, justified the urgency of Vercingetorix, seeing that it was an important success for Cæsar and a serious blow for the Gauls. Out of 40,000 combatants within the walls, it is said, scarcely 800 escaped the slaughter and succeeded in joining Vercingetorix, who had hovered continually in the neighborhood without being able to offer the besieged any effectual assistance. He was approaching the happiest moment of his enterprise and his destiny. In spite of reverses, in spite of Cæsar's presence and activity, the insurrection was gaining ground and strength; in the north, west, and southwest, on the banks of the Rhine, the Seine, and the Loire, the idea of Gallic nationality and the hope of independence was spreading amongst people far removed from the centre of the movement, and were bringing to Vercingetorix declarations of sympathy or material reinforcements. The Æduans, the most ancient allies and clients the Romans had in Gaul, being divided amongst themselves, and feeling, besides, the national instinct, ended, after much hesitation, by taking part in the uprising. Cæsar, engaged upon the siege of Gergovia, encountered an obstinate resistance; whilst Vercingetorix, encamped on the heights which surrounded his birthplace, every where embarrassed, sometimes attacked, and incessantly threatened the Romans. The eighth legion, drawn on one day to make an imprudent assault, was repulsed, and lost forty-six of its bravest centurions. Cæsar determined to raise the siege, and to transfer the struggle to places where the population could be more safely depended upon. Vercingetorix could not and would not restrain his joy; it seemed to him that the day had dawned and an excellent chance arrived for attempting a decisive blow. He had under his orders, it is said, 80,000 men, mostly his own Arvernians, and a numerous cavalry

furnished by the different peoplets his allies. He followed all Cæsar's movements in retreat towards the Saône, and, on arriving at Longeau not far from Langres, near a little river called the Vingeanne, he halted and pitched his camp about nine miles from the Romans. And all did take an oath, and so prepare for the attack. Vercingetorix knew not that Cæsar, with his usual foresight, had summoned and joined to his legions, a great number of horsemen from the German tribes roving over the banks of the Rhine, with which he had taken care to keep up friendly relations. The action began between the cavalry on both sides; a portion of the Gallic had taken up position on the road followed by the Roman army, to bar its passage; but whilst the fighting at this point was getting more and more obstinate, the German horse in Cæsar's service gained a neighboring height, drove off the Gallic horse that were in occupation, and pursued them as far as the river, near which was Vercingetorix with his infantry. Disorder took place amongst this infantry so unexpectedly attacked. Cæsar launched his legions at them, and there was a general panic and rout among the Gauls. Vercingetorix had great trouble in rallying them, and he rallied them only to order a general retreat for which they clamored. Hurriedly striking his camp, he made for Alesia (Semur in Auxois), a neighboring town and the capital of the Mandubians. Cæsar immediately went in pursuit of the Gauls; killed 3,000; made important prisoners; and encamped with his legions before Alesia the day but one after Vercingetorix, with his fugitive army, had occupied the place as well as the neighboring hills and was hard at work intrenching himself.

Cæsar at once took a resolution as unexpected as it was discreetly bold. Here was the whole Gallic insurrection, chieftain and soldiery, united together within or beneath the walls of a town of moderate extent. He undertook to keep it there and destroy it on the spot, instead of having to pursue it every whither without ever being sure of getting at it. He had at his disposal eleven legions, about 50,000 strong, and 5,000 or 6,000 cavalry, of which 2,000 were Germans. He placed them round about Alesia and the Gallic camp, caused to be dug a circuit of deep ditches, some filled with water, others bristling with palisades and snares, and added, from interval to interval, twenty-three little forts, occupied or guarded night and day by detachments. The result was a line of investment about ten miles in extent. To the rear of the Roman camp, and for defence against attacks from without, Cæsar caused to be dug similar intrenchments, which formed a line of circumvallation of about thirteen miles. The troops had provisions and forage for thirty days. Vercingetorix made frequent sallies to stop or destroy these works; but they were repulsed, and only resulted in getting his army more closely cooped up within the place. Eighty thousand Gallic insurgents were, as it were, in prison, guarded by fifty thousand Roman soldiers. Before the works of the Romans were finished, Vercingetorix assembled his horsemen, and ordered them to sally briskly from Alesia, return each to his own land, and summon the whole population to arms. He was obeyed; the Gallic horsemen made their way, during the night, through the intervals left

by the Romans' still imperfect lines of investment, and dispersed themselves amongst their various peoplets. Nearly every where irritation and zeal were at their height; an assemblage of delegates met at Bibracte (Autun), and fixed the amount of the contingent to be furnished by each nation, and a point was assigned at which all those contingents should unite for the purpose of marching together towards Alesia, and attacking the besiegers. The total of the contingents thus levied on forty-three Gallic peoplets amounted, according to Cæsar, to 283,000 men; and 240,000 men, it is said, did actually hurry up to the appointed place. But whatever may be the case with the figures, it is certain that at the very first moment the national impulse answered the appeal of Vercingetorix, and that the besiegers of Alesia, Cæsar and his legions, found that they were themselves all at once besieged in their intrenchments by a cloud of Gauls hurrying up to the defence of their compatriots. The struggle was fierce, but short. Every time that the fresh Gallic army attacked the besiegers, Vercingetorix and the Gauls of Alesia sallied forth, and joined in the attack. Cæsar and his legions, on their side, at one time repulsed these double attacks, at another themselves took the initiative, and assailed at one and the same time the besieged and the auxiliaries Gaul had sent them. In four or five days the strong organization, the disciplined valor of the Roman legions, and the genius of Cæsar carried the day. The Gallic reinforcements, beaten and slaughtered without mercy, dispersed; and Vercingetorix and the besieged were crowded back within their walls without hope of escape. "The day after the defeat," says Cæsar, "Vercingetorix convokes the assembly; and shows that he did not undertake the war for his own personal advantage but for the general freedom. Since submission must be made to fortune, he offers to satisfy the Romans either by instant death or by being delivered to them alive. A deputation there anent is sent to Cæsar, who orders the arms to be given up and the chiefs brought to him. He seats himself on his tribunal, in front of his camp. The chiefs are brought; Vercingetorix is delivered over; the arms are cast at Cæsar's feet. Except the Æduans and Arvernians, whom Cæsar kept for the purpose of trying to regain their people, he had the prisoners distributed, head by head, to his army as booty of war."

Alesia taken, and Vercingetorix a prisoner, Gaul was subdued. Cæsar, however, had in the following year (A. U. C. 703) a campaign to make to subjugate some peoplets who tried to maintain their local independence. A year afterwards, again, attempts at insurrection took place in Belgica, and towards the mouth of the Loire; but they were easily repressed; Cæsar and his lieutenants willingly contented themselves with an apparent submission, and in the year 705 A. U. C. the Roman legions, after nine years' occupation in the conquest of Gaul, were able to depart therefrom to Italy.

## GAUL UNDER ROMAN DOMINION.

From the conquest of Gaul by Cæsar, to the establishment there of the Franks under Clovis, she remained for more than five centuries under Roman

dominion; first under the Pagan, afterwards under the Christian empire. She lived, during those five centuries, under very different rules and rulers. They may be summed up under five names which correspond with governments very unequal in merit and defect, in good and evil wrought for their epoch: 1st, the Cæsars from Julius to Nero (from 49 B. C. to A. D. 68); 2nd, the Flavians, from Vespasian to Domitian (from A. D. 69 to 95); 3rd, the Antonines, from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius (from A. D. 96 to 180); 4th, the imperial anarchy, or the thirty-nine emperors and the thirty-one tyrants, from Commodus to Carinus and Numerian (from A. D. 180 to 284); 5th, Diocletian (from A. D. 284 to 305). Through all these governments, and in spite of their different results for their contemporary subjects, the moral and social decadence of Gaul as well as of the Roman empire, never ceased to continue and spread.

On quitting conquered Gaul to become master at Rome, Cæsar neglected nothing to assure his conquest and make it conducive to the establishment of his empire. He formed, of all the Gallic districts that he had subjugated, a special province which received the name of *Gallia Comata* (Gaul of the long-hair), whilst the old province was *Gallia Togata* (Gaul of the toga). Cæsar caused to be enrolled amongst his troops a multitude of Gauls, Belgians, Arvernians, and Aquitanians, of whose bravery he had made proof. He even formed, almost entirely of Gauls, a special legion, called *Alauda* (lark), because it bore on the helmets a lark with outspread wings, the symbol of wakefulness. At the same time he gave in *Gallia Comata*, to the towns and families that declared for him, all kinds of favors, the rights of Roman citizenship, the title of allies, clients, and friends, even to the extent of the *Julian* name, a sign of the most powerful Roman patronage. At the same time that he was distributing to such of them as he had turned into his own soldiers the money reserved for the expense of fighting them, he was imposing upon *Gallia Comata*, under the name of *stipendium* (soldier's pay), a levy of forty millions of sesterces (328,000*l.*), a considerable amount for a devastated country which, according to Plutarch, did not contain at that time more than three millions of inhabitants, and almost equal to that of the levies paid by the rest of the Roman provinces.

After Cæsar, Augustus, left sole master of the Roman world, assumed in Gaul, as elsewhere, the part of pacificator, repairer, conservator, and organizer, whilst taking care, with all his moderation, to remain always the master. He divided the provinces into imperial and senatorial, reserving to himself the entire government of the former, and leaving the latter under the authority of the senate. *Lugudnum* (Lyons), which had been up to that time of small importance and obscure, became the great town, the favorite cityship and ordinary abiding-place of the emperors when they visited Gaul. Augustus went several times to Lyons, and even lived there, as it appears, a pretty long while, to superintend, no doubt, from thence and to get into working order the new government of Gaul. After the departure of Augustus, his adopted son Drusus, called together at Lyons delegates from the sixty Gallic *cityships*, to take part (B. C. 12 or 10) in the inauguration of a magnificent monument

raised, at the confluence of the Rhone and Saône, in honor of Rome and Augustus as the tutelary deities of Gaul.

The administrative energy of Augustus was not confined to the erection of monuments and to festivals; he applied himself to the development of Gaul in the material elements of civilization and social order. His most intimate and able adviser, Agrippa, being settled at Lyons as governor of the Gauls, caused to be opened four great roads, starting from a milestone placed in the middle of the Lyonnese *forum*, and going one centrewards to Saintes and the ocean, another southwards and to Narbonne and the Pyrenees, the third northwestwards and towards the Channel by Amiens and Boulogne, and the fourth northwestwards and towards the Rhine.

He had appointed as procurator, in "long-haired" Gaul, a native who, having been originally a slave and afterwards set free by Julius Cæsar, had taken the Roman name of Licinius. The taxes were collected monthly; and so, taking advantage of the change of name which flattery had caused in the two months of July and August, sacred to Julius Cæsar and Augustus respectively, he made his year consist of fourteen months, so that he might squeeze out fourteen contributions instead of twelve. During one of the trips which Augustus made into Gaul, strong complaints were made against Licinius, and his robberies were denounced to the emperor. Augustus dared not support him, and seemed upon the point of deciding to bring him to justice, when Licinius conducted him to the place where was deposited all the treasure he had extorted, and, "See, my lord," said he, "what I have laid up for thee and for the Roman people, for fear lest the Gauls possessing so much gold should employ it against you both; for thee I have kept it, and to thee I deliver it." Augustus accepted the treasure, and Licinius remained unpunished. In the case of financial abuses or other acts, absolute power seldom resists such temptations.

Tiberius pursued in Gaul the pacific and moderate policy of Augustus. He had to extinguish in Belgica, and even in the Lyonnese province, two insurrections kindled by the sparks that remained of national and Druidic spirit. He repressed them effectually, and without any violent display of vengeance. He made a trip to Gaul, took measures for defending the Rhine frontier from the incessantly repeated incursions of the Germans, and hastened back to Italy to resume the course of suspicion, perfidy, and cruelty which he pursued against the Republican pride and moral dignity remaining amongst a few remnants of the Roman Senate. He was succeeded by Germanicus' unworthy son, Caligula. Caligula was much taken up with Gaul, plundering it and giving free rein in it to his frenzies, by turns disgusting or ridiculous. Lyons, where he stayed some time, was the scene of his extortions and strangest freaks. He did one sensible and useful thing during the whole of his stay in Gaul: he had a light-house constructed to illumine the passage between Gaul and Great Britain.

His successor, Claudius, brother of the great Germanicus, and married to his own niece, the second Agrippina, was, as has been already stated, born at

Lyons, at the very moment when his father, Drusus, was celebrating there the erection of an altar to Augustus. During his whole reign he showed to the city of his birth the most lively good-will, and the constant aim as well as principal result of this good-will was to render the city of Lyons more and more Roman by effacing all Gallic characteristics and memories. Claudius, the most feeble indeed of the Cæsars, in body, mind, and character, was nevertheless he who had intermittent glimpses of the most elevated ideas and the most righteous sentiments, and who strove the most sincerely to make them take the form of deeds. He undertook to assure to all free men of "long-haired" Gaul the same Roman privileges that were enjoyed by the inhabitants of Lyons.

During his stay in Gaul Claudius proscribed the Druids and persecuted them without intermission; forbidding, under pain of death, their form of worship and every exterior sign of their ceremonies. He drove them away and pursued them even into Great Britain, whither he conducted, A.D. 43, a military expedition, almost the only one of his reign, save the continued struggle of his lieutenants on the Rhine against the Germans. Nero caused a new census to be made of the population whom he required to squeeze to pay for his extravagance. It was in his reign, as is well known, that a fierce fire consumed a great part of Rome and her monuments. The majority of historians accuse Nero of having himself been the cause of it; but at any rate he looked on with cynical indifference. He did more: he profited by it so far as to have built for himself, free of expense, that magnificent palace called "The palace of gold," of which he said, when he saw it completed, "At last I am going to be housed as a man should be." Five years before the burning of Rome, Lyons had been a prey to a similar scourge.

When Nero was dead there was no other Cæsar, no naturally indicated successor to the empire. Then began a general search for emperors; and the ambition to be created spread abroad amongst the men of note in the Roman world. Galba was raised to the purple by the Lyonnese and Narbonnese provinces, Vitellius by the legions cantoned in the Belgic province: to such an extent did Gaul already influence the destinies of Rome.

Neither Vespasian nor his sons, Titus and Domitian, visited Gaul as their predecessors had. Domitian alone put in a short appearance. Gaul was far from remaining docile and peaceful at this epoch; the desire for independence was reawakened. In the very centre of Gaul, between the Loire and the Allier, a peasant, who has kept in history his Gallic name of Maric or Maricus, formed a band, and scoured the country, proclaiming national independence. He was arrested by the local authorities and handed over to Vitellius, who had him thrown to the beasts. But in the northern part of Belgica, towards the mouth of the Rhine, where a Batavian peoplet lived, a man of note amongst his compatriots and in the service of the Romans, amongst whom he had received the name of Claudius Civilis, embraced first secretly, and afterwards openly, the cause of insurrection. He was joined by a young Gaul from the district of Langres, Julius Sabinus, who boasted that,

during the great war with the Gauls, his great-grandmother had taken the fancy of Julius Cæsar, and that he owed his name to him. The Druids came forth from the retreats where they had hidden since Claudius' proscription, and re-appeared in the towns and country-places, proclaiming that "the Roman empire was at an end, that the Gallic empire was beginning, and that the day had come when the possession of all the world should pass into the hands of the transalpine nations." The insurgents rose in the name of the *Gallic empire*, and Julius Sabinus assumed the title of *Cæsar*. War commenced. Several towns, even Trèves and Cologne, submitted or fell into the hands of the insurgents. Several legions, yielding to bribery, persuasion, or intimidation, went over to them, some with a bad grace, others with the blood of their officers on their hands. Petilius Cerealis, a commander of renown for his campaigns on the Rhine, was sent off to Belgica with seven fresh legions. Civilis, though not more than half vanquished, himself asked leave to surrender. Vespasian, therefore, not being inclined to drive men or matters to extremity, gave Civilis leave to go into retirement and live in peace amongst the marshes of his own land. The Gallic chieftains alone, the projectors of a Gallic empire, were rigorously pursued and chastised. There was especially one, Julius Sabinus, the pretended descendant of Julius Cæsar, whose capture was heartily desired. After the ruin of his hopes he took refuge in some vaults connected with one of his country houses. He had a wife, a young Gaul named Eponina, who was in frantic despair, but he had her informed, by the mouth of one of his freedmen, of his place of concealment, begging her at the same time to keep up a show of widowhood and mourning, in order to confirm the report already in circulation. "Well did she play her part," to use Plutarch's expression, "in her tragedy of woe." She went at night to visit her husband in his retreat, and departed at break of day; and at last would not depart at all. There they lived for nine years, during which "as a lioness in her den, neither more nor less," says Plutarch, "Eponina gave birth to two young whelps, and suckled them herself at her teat." At last they were discovered, and brought before Vespasian at Rome: "Cæsar," said Eponina, showing him her children, "I conceived them and suckled them in a tomb that there might more of us to ask thy mercy." Vespasian sent Sabinus to execution. Eponina asked that she might die with her husband. Vespasian fulfilled her desire by sending her also to execution.

In fact the Cæsars and the Flavians met the same fate; and both were extinguished without a descendant. They had to get another emperor. Nerva accepted, but not without hesitation, for he was sixty-four years old. The short reign of Nerva was a wise, a just, and a humane, but a sad one, not for the people, but for himself. "Seeing," says one, "that his age was despised, and that the empire required some one who combined strength of mind and body, Nerva, being free from that blindness which prevents one from discussing and measuring one's own powers, and from that thirst for dominion which often prevails over even those who are nearest to the grave, resolved to take a partner, and showed his wisdom by making choice of Trajan."

Five notable sovereigns, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius swayed the Roman empire during this period (A. D. 96–180). Trajan stoutly defended the empire against the Germans on the banks of the Danube, won for it the province of Dacia, and, being more taken up with the East than the West, made many Asiatic conquests, of which his successor, Hadrian, lost no time in abandoning, wisely no doubt, a portion. Hadrian passed the twenty-one years of his reign chiefly in traveling about the empire, in Asia, Africa, Greece, Spain, Gaul, and Great Britain, opening roads, raising ramparts and monuments, founding schools of learning and museums, and encouraging among the provinces, as well as at Rome, the march of administration, legislation, and intellect. At the close of this active career, when he was ill and felt that he was dying, he did the best deed of his life. He had proved in the discharge of high offices, the calm and clear-sighted wisdom of Titus Antoninus, a Gaul, whose family came originally from Nîmes; he had seen him one day coming to the Senate and respectfully supporting the tottering steps of his aged father; and he adopted him as his successor.

The series of emperors thus given to the Roman world by heirship or adoption, from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius, was succeeded by what may be termed an imperial anarchy; in the course of one hundred and thirty-two years the sceptre passed into the hands of thirty-nine sovereigns with the title of *emperor* (*Augustus*) and was clutched at by thirty-one pretenders, whom history has dubbed *tyrants*. They were Italians, Africans, Spaniards, Gauls, Britons, Illyrians and Asiatics; and amongst the number were to be met with some cases of eminence in war and politics and some even of rare virtue and patriotism, such as Pertinax, Septimius Severus, Alexander Severus, Decius, Claudius Gothicus, Aurelian, Tacitus and Probus. They made great efforts, some to protect the empire against the barbarians, growing day by day more aggressive, others to re-establish within it some sort of order, and to restore to the laws some sort of force. All failed, and nearly all died a violent death, after a short-lived guardianship of a fabric that was crumbling to pieces in every part, but still under the grand name of Roman empire. Amongst the thirty-one tyrants who did not attain to the title of *Augustus*, six were Gauls; and the last two, Amandus and Ælianus, were, A. D. 285, the chiefs of that great insurrection of peasants, slaves or half-slaves, who, under the name of *Bagaudians*, spread themselves over the north of Gaul, between the Rhine and the Loire, pillaging and ravaging in all directions, after having themselves endured the pillaging and ravages of the fiscal agents and soldiers of the Empire.

A legion cantoned amongst the *Tungrians* (Tongres), in Belgica, had on its muster-roll a Dalmatian named Diocletian, not yet very high in rank, but already much looked up to by his comrades on account of his intelligence and his bravery. He lodged at a woman's, who was, they said, a Druidess, and had the prophetic faculty. One day when he was settling his account with her, she complained of his extreme parsimony: "Thou'rt too stingy, Diocletian," said she; and he answered laughing, "I'll be prodigal when I'm emperor."

"Laugh not," rejoined she: "thou'lt be emperor when thou hast slain a wild boar" (*aper*). The Numerian had for his father-in-law and inseparable comrade a Prætorian prefect named Arrius Aper. During a campaign in Mesopotamia Numerian was assassinated, and the voice of the army pronounced Aper guilty. The legions assembled to deliberate about Numerian's death and to choose his successor. Aper was brought before the assembly under a guard of soldiers. Through the exertions of zealous friends the candidature of Diocletian found great favor. At the first words pronounced by him from a raised platform in the presence of the troops, cries of "Diocletian Augustus" were raised in every quarter. Other voices called on him to express his feelings about Numerian's murderers. Drawing his sword, Diocletian declared on oath that he was innocent of the emperor's death, but that he knew who was guilty and would find means to punish him. Descending suddenly from the platform, he made straight for the Prætorian prefect, and saying, "Aper, be comforted; thou shalt not die by vulgar hands; *by the right hand of great Æneas thou fallest*," he gave him his death-wound. "I have killed the prophetic wild boar," said he in the evening to his confidants; and soon afterwards, in spite of the efforts of certain rivals, he was emperor.

"Nothing is more difficult than to govern," was the remark his comrades had often heard made by him. When emperor in his turn, Diocletian treasured up this profound idea of the difficulty of government, and he set to work, ably, if not successfully, to master it. Convinced that the Empire was too vast, and that a single man did not suffice to make head against the two evils that were destroying it, he divided the Roman world into two portions, gave the West to Maximian, one of his comrades, a coarse but valiant soldier, and kept the East himself. At the end of eight years he saw that the two Empires were still too vast; and to each *Augustus* he added a Cæsar—Galerius and Constantius Chlorus—who, save a nominal, rather than real, subordination to the two emperors, had, each in his own State, the imperial power with the same administrative system. In this partition of the Roman world, Gaul had the best of it: she had for master, Constantius Chlorus, a tried warrior, but just, gentle, and disposed to temper the exercise of absolute power with moderation and equity. He had a son, Constantine, at this time eighteen years of age, whom he was educating carefully for government as well as for war. This system of the Roman Empire, thus divided between four masters, lasted thirteen years. Weary of his burden and disgusted with the imperfection of his work, Diocletian abdicated, A. D. 305. He had persuaded or rather dragged his first colleague, Maximian, into abdication after him; and so Galerius in the East, and Constantius Chlorus in the West, remained sole emperors. Maximian reappeared on the scene of empire, but only to speedily disappear (A. D. 310), leaving in his place his son Maxentius. Constantine Chlorus had died A. D. 306, and his son, Constantine, had immediately been proclaimed by his army Cæsar and Augustus. On the 29th of October, A. D. 312, after having gained several battles against Maxentius in Italy, Constantine pursued and defeated him before Rome: then it was that

Christianity mounted the throne. With him the decay of Roman society stops, and the era of modern society commences.

## II.

# Christianity in Gaul.—The Barbarians.—The Merovingian Dynasty.—Charlemagne.

WHEN Christianity began to penetrate into Gaul, it encountered there two religions very different one from the other, and infinitely more different from the Christian religion; these were Druidism and Paganism —hostile one to the other, but with a hostility political only, and unconnected with those really religious questions that Christianity was coming to raise.

Druidism, considered as a religion, was a mass of confusion. A general and strong, but vague and incoherent, belief in the immortality of the soul was its noblest characteristic. But with the religious elements, at the same time coarse and mystical, were united two facts of importance: the Druids formed a veritable ecclesiastical corporation; and in the wars with Rome this corporation became the most faithful representatives and the most persistent defenders of Gallic independence and nationality.

The Græco-Roman Paganism was, at this time, far more powerful than Druidism in Gaul, and yet more lukewarm and destitute of all religious vitality. It was the religion of the conquerors and of the State, and was invested, in that quality, with real power; but beyond that, it had but the power derived from popular customs and superstitions. Such were the two religions with which in Gaul nascent Christianity had to contend. Compared with them it was, to all appearance, very small and very weak; but it was provided with the most efficient weapons for fighting and beating them, for it had exactly the moral forces which they lacked. It is impossible to assign with exactness the date of the first foot-prints and first labors of Christianity in Gaul. Lyons became the chief center of Christian preaching and association in Gaul. As early as the first half of the second century, there existed there a Christian congregation regularly organized as a church.

It was under Marcus Aurelius, the most philosophical and most conscientious of the emperors, that there was enacted for the first time in Gaul, against nascent Christianity, that scene of tyranny and barbarity which was to be renewed so often and during so many centuries in the midst of Christendom itself; for in the year 177 that is, only three years after the victory of Marcus Aurelius over the Germans there took place, undoubtedly



Attila, "The Flail of God," beaten on the plains of Chalons, A.D. **451.**
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by his orders, the persecution which caused at Lyons the first Gallic martyrdom. This was the fourth, or, according to others, the fifth great imperial persecution of the Christians.

The martyrs of Lyons in the second century wrote, so to speak, their own history; for it was their conrades, eye-witnesses of their sufferings and their virtue, who gave an account of them in a long letter addressed to their friends in Asia Minor, and written with passionate sympathy and pious prolixity, but bearing all the characteristics of truth.

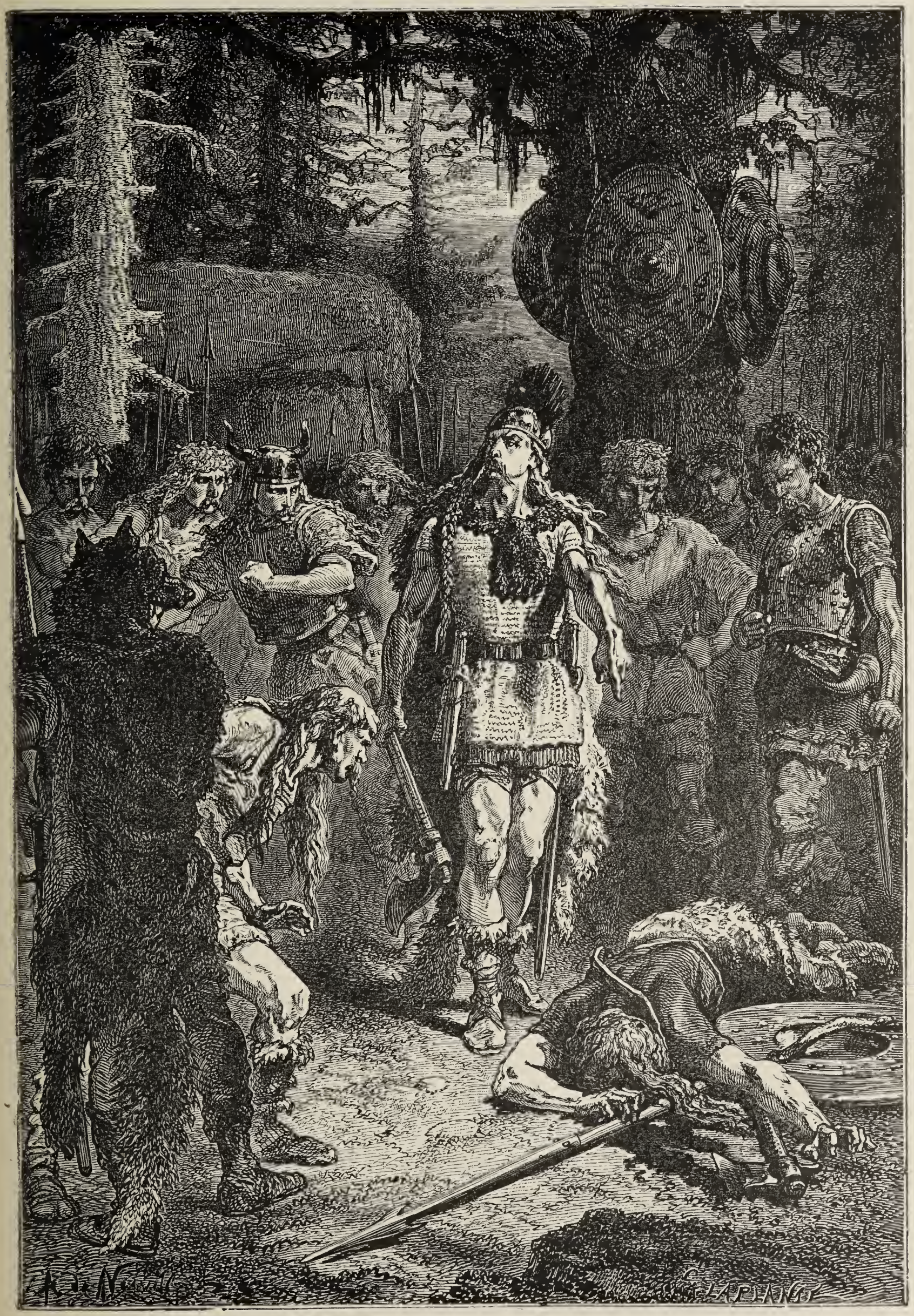
But Christian zeal was superior in perseverance and efficacy to Pagan persecution. St. Pothinus the Martyr was succeeded as bishop at Lyons by St. Irenæus, the most learned, most judicious, and most illustrious of the early heads of the Church in Gaul. At the commencement of the fourth century their work was, if not accomplished, at any rate triumphant; and when, A.D. 312, Constantine declared himself a Christian, he confirmed the fact of the conquest of the Roman world, and of Gaul in particular, by Christianity. No doubt the majority of the inhabitants were not as yet Christians; but it was clear that the Christians were in the ascendant and had command of the future. In 241 A.D. is the first appearance of the name of Franks in history, but it indicates no particular single people, only a confederation of German peoples, settled or roving along the right bank of the Rhine, from the Mayn to the ocean. The number and names of the tribes joined in this confederation are uncertain. From the middle of the third to the beginning of the fifth century the history of the Western Empire presents an almost uninterrupted series of these invasions on the part of the Franks, together with the different relationships established between them and the imperial government.

After the commencement of the fifth century, from A.D. 406 to 409, it was no longer by incursions limited to certain points, and sometimes repelled with success, that the Germans harassed the Roman provinces. Then took place throughout the Roman empire, in the East, as well as in the West, in Asia and Africa as well as in Europe, the last grand struggle between the Roman armies and the barbarians. It was in Gaul that it was most obstinate and most promptly brought to a decisive issue, and the confusion there was as great as the obstinacy. No later than A.D. 412 two German nations, the Visigoths and the Burgundians, took their stand definitely in Gaul, and founded there two new kingdoms: the Visigoths, under their kings Ataulph and Wallia, in Aquitania and Narbonness; the Burgundians, under their kings Gundichaire and Gundioch, in Lyonness, from the southern point of Alsatia right into Provence, along the two banks of the Saone and the left bank of the Rhone, and also in Switzerland. In 451 the arrival in Gaul of the Huns and their king Attila gravely complicated the situation. Attila, perceiving that a battle was inevitable, halted in a position for delivering it. "It was," says the Gothic historian Jornandis, "a battle which for atrocity, multitude, horror, and stubbornness, has not the like in the records of antiquity." Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, was killed. At this battle of Chalons in 451, he drove

the Huns out of Gaul and was the last victory in Gaul, gained still in the name of the Roman empire. Twenty-four years after, the very name of the Roman Empire disappeared with the last of the emperors. Thirty years after the battle at Chalons the Franks settled in Gaul were not yet united as one nation.

Clovis was fifteen or sixteen years old when he became king of the Salian Franks of Tournay. Five years afterward his ruling passion, ambition, exhibited itself, together with that mixture of boldness and craft which was to characterize his whole life. He first attacked the Roman patrician Syagrius, and, after putting him to death, settled himself at Soissons. His marriage with Clotilde, niece of Gondebaud, then king of the Burgundians (493), was a great matter. Clovis and the Franks were still Pagans; Gondebaud and the Burgundians were Christians, but Arians; Clotilde was a Catholic Christian. The consequences of the marriage justified before long the importance which had on all sides been attached to it. In 496 the Allemannians crossed the river and invaded the settlements of the Franks. Clovis went to the aid of his confederation, and attacked the Allemannians at Tolbiac, near Cologne. The battle was going ill; the Franks were wavering and Clovis was anxious. Before setting out he had, it is said, promised his wife that if he were victorious he would turn Christian. The tide of battle turned: the Franks recovered confidence and courage; and the Allemannians, beaten and seeing their king slain, surrendered themselves to Clovis, saying, "Cease, of thy grace, to cause any more of our people to perish; for we are thine." The baptism of Clovis took place in the Cathedral of Reims on Christmas Day, 496.

Clovis was not a man to omit turning his Catholic popularity to the account of his ambition. He learned that Gondebaud, disquieted, no doubt, at the conversion of his powerful neighbor, had just made a vain attempt, at a conference held at Lyons, to reconcile in his kingdom the Catholics and the Arians. Clovis suddenly entered Burgundy with his army. Gondebaud, betrayed and beaten at the first encounter at Dijon, fled to the south of his kingdom, and went and shut himself up in Avignon. Clovis pursued and besieged him there; and having reduced him to the humble position of a tributary, he transferred to the Visigoths of Aquitania and their king, Alaric II., his views of conquest. The king of the Visigoths prepared for the struggle, and the two armies met a few leagues from Poitiers. The battle was severe, but Alaric II. was beaten, and Clovis pursued his march to Bordeaux, and settled there for the winter. Then he marched on to Toulouse, which he occupied without opposition. There his course of conquest was destined to end, for he halted at Tours, and stayed there for some time to enjoy the fruits of his victories and establish his power. It appears that even the Britons of Armorica at this time tendered him their subordination and homage, if not their acutal submission. Anastasius, emperor of the East, with whom he had already had some communication, sent to him at Tours a solemn embassy, bringing him the titles and insignia of patrician and



Clovis, King of the Franks, meting out justice with his own hands at Tours.
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consul. On leaving the city of Tours Clovis repaired to Paris, where he fixed the seat of his government.

Paris was certainly the political center of his dominions, the intermediate point between the early settlements of his race and himself in Gaul and his new Gallic conquests; but he lacked some of the possessions nearest to him and most naturally, in his own opinion, his. To the east, north, and south-west of Paris were settled some independent Frankish tribes, governed by chieftains with the name of kings. So soon as he had settled at Paris it was the one fixed idea of Clovis to reduce them all to subjection. He had conquered the Burgundians and the Visigoths; it remained for him to conquer and unite together all the Franks. So Clovis remained sole king of the Franks when all the independent chieftains had disappeared.

In 511, the very year of his death, the last act of Clovis in life was the convocation at Orleans of a council, which bound the Church closely to the State, and gave to royalty, even in ecclesiastical matters, great power. The bishops, on breaking up, sent these canons to Clovis, praying him to give them the sanction of his adhesion, which he did. A few months afterward, on the 27th of November, 511, Clovis died at Paris.

From A.D. 511 to A.D. 752,—that is, from the death of Clovis to the accession of the Carlovingians—is two hundred and forty-one years, which was the duration of the dynasty of the Merovingians. During this time there reigned twenty-eight Merovingian kings. Five of these kings, Clotaire I., Clotaire II., Dagobert I., Thierry IV., and Childeric III., alone, at different intervals, united under their power all the dominions possessed by Clovis or his successors. The other kings of this line reigned only over special kingdoms, formed by virtue of divers partitions at the death of their general possessor. From A.D. 511 to 638 five such partitions took place. Then a new division of the Frankish dominions took place, no longer into three, but two kingdoms, Austrasia being one, and Neustria and Burgundy the other. This was the definitive dismemberment of the great Frankish dominion to the time of its last two Merovingian kings, Thierry IV. and Childeric III., who were kings in name only, dragged from the cloister as ghosts from the tomb, to play a motionless part in the drama. For a long time past the real power had been in the hands of that valiant Austrasian family which was to furnish the dominions of Clovis with a new dynasty and a greater king than Clovis.

The last of the kings sprung from Clovis acquitted themselves too ill or not at all of their task; and the *mayors of the palace* were naturally summoned to supply their deficiencies, and to give the populations assurance of more intelligence and energy in the exercise of power. The last years of the Merovingian line were full of their struggles; but a cause far more general and more powerful than these differences and conflicts in the very heart of the Frankish dominions determined the definitive fall of that line and the accession of another dynasty; we allude to the great invasions of barbarians which took place during the sixth century.

The first chief of these mayors of the palace known in history was

Pepin, of Lauden, who died in 639. His son was inglorious, but his grandson, by his daughter Biga, Pepin of Heristal, was for twenty-seven years the real sovereign of Austrasia and all the Frankish dominions under the title of duke. On the death of this Pepin, December 16th, 714, his son Charles, then twenty-five, was proclaimed Duke of Austrasia. He was destined to be known as Charles Martel. He repelled an invasion of the Frisons and Saxons, and then turned against the Neustrians, whom he twice defeated. The invasion of the Arabs soon placed Aquitania and Vasconia within his grasp. Eudes, or Eudon, duke of these provinces, had twice made a gallant effort to repel the formidable soldiers of the crescent; at last he sought assistance of the Franks, and repaired in all haste to Charles Martel to invoke his aid against the common enemy, who, after having crushed the Aquitanians, would soon attack the Franks, and subject them in turn to ravages and outrages. Charles did not require solicitation. He took an oath of the duke of Aquitania to acknowledge his sovereignty and thenceforth remain faithful to him; and then, summoning all his warriors, he set himself in motion toward the Loire. It was time. The Arabs had spread over the whole country between the Garonne and the Loire. Abdel-Rhaman, their chief, fixed his camp between the Vienne and the Clain, near Poitiers; or according to others, nearer Tours, at Mire, in a plain still called the *Landes de Charlemagne*.

The Franks arrived. It was in the month of September or October, 732, and the two armies passed a week face to face, at one time remaining in their camps, at another deploying without attacking. At the breaking of the seventh or eighth day, Abdel-Rhaman, at the head of his cavalry, ordered a general attack; and the Franks received it with serried ranks, astounding their enemies by their tall stature, stout armor, and their stern immobility. The Franks, finally, had the advantage; a great number of Arabs and Abdel-Rhaman himself were slain. At the approach of night both armies retired to their camps. The next day, at dawn, the Franks moved out of theirs, to renew the engagement; the Arabs had decamped silently in the night. Then the great duke of Austrasia strengthened his power by occupying Burgundy and Provence. After this, while making use, at the expense of the Church and for political interests, of material force, Charles Martel was far from misunderstanding her moral influence, and the need he had of her support at the very time he was incurring her anathemas. Not content with defending Christianity against Islamism, he aided it against Paganism.

Charles Martel had not time to carry out effectually, with respect to the papacy, this policy of protection and at the same time of independence; he died at the close of this same year, October 22d, 741, aged fifty-two. Five years after the death of Charles Martel, in 746 in fact, Carloman, already weary of the burden of power, and seized with a fit of religious zeal, abdicated his share of sovereignty, left his dominions to his brother Pepin, and withdrew into Italy to the monastery of Monte Cassino.

Pepin, less enterprising than his father, but judicious, persevering and capable of discerning what was at the same time necessary and possible, was

well fitted to continue and consolidate what he would probably never have begun and created. Like his father, he, on arriving at power, showed pretensions to moderation, or, it might be said, modesty. He, as well as his brother, had taken only the title of Mayor of the Palace at first, but at the end of ten years he obtained the sanction of Pope Zachary, and in March, 752, he was proclaimed king of the Franks. After Pepin had settled matters with the Church, and the warlike questions remaining for him to solve, he directed all his efforts toward the two countries which he longed to reunite to the Gallo-Frankish monarchy,—this is, Sephinania, still held by the Arabs, and Aquitania, the independence of which was defended by Duke Eudes' grandson; and soon the conquest of all Southern Gaul extended the power and territory of his monarchy further and higher than it had yet ever been, even under Clovis.

In 753 Pope Stephen, threatened by Astolphus, king of the Lombards, repaired to Paris, and asked the assistance of Pepin and his warriors. The Franks crossed the Alps with enthusiasm, succeeded in beating the Lombards, and shut up in Pavia King Astolphus, who was eager to purchase peace at any price. He obtained it on two principal conditions: 1st, That he would not again make a hostile attack on Roman territory or wage war against the pope or people of Rome; 2d, That he would henceforth recognize the sovereignty of the Franks, pay them tribute, and cede forthwith to Pepin the towns and all the lands belonging to the jurisdiction of the Roman Empire which were at that time occupied by the Lombards. Pepin disposed of them forthwith, in favor of the Popes, by that famous deed of gift which comprehended pretty nearly what has since formed the Roman States, and which founded the temporal independence of the papacy, the guarantee of its independence in the exercise of the spiritual power.

Pepin had thus completed in France and extended in Italy the work which his father, Charles Martel, had begun and carried on, from 714 to 741, in State and Church. He left France reunited in one and placed at the head of Christian Europe. He died at the monastery of St. Denis, September 18th, 768, leaving his kingdom and his dynasty thus ready to the hands of his son.

Pepin the Short divided his dominion between his two sons, Charles and Carloman, but an unexpected incident, the death of Carloman three years after, in 771, re-established unity. This Charles is known in history as Charlemagne.

A summary of the wars of Charlemagne will here suffice. From 769 to 813, in Germany and Western and Northern Europe, Charlemagne conducted thirty-one campaigns against the Saxons, Frisons, Bavarians, Avars, Slavons, and Danes; in Italy, five against the Lombards; in Spain, Corsica, and Sardinia, twelve against the Arabs; two against the Greeks, and three in Gaul itself, against the Aquitanians and the Britons; in all, fifty-three expeditions, among which those he undertook against the Saxons, the Lombards, and the Arabs were long and difficult wars.

In 772, being left sole master of France after the death of his brother Carloman, he convoked at Worms the General Assembly and decided to invade Saxony. The principal events of the war may thus be summarily enumerated: Compulsory baptism of a large number of the Saxons who had been driven beyond the Weser (774); diet of Paderborn; all the chiefs send in their submission except Wittikind (777); victories of Badenfield and of Buckholtz (780); slaughter of forty-five hundred rebels at Verden (782); submission of Wittikind, who embraced Christianity (785). The conqueror could only finish his work of subjection by removing forcibly from the country ten thousand families, which he disseminated throughout Brabant and Switzerland (803). The new king of the Lombards, Didier, and the new pope, Adrian I., had entered upon a new war; and Didier was besieging Rome. In 773 Adrian invoked the aid of the king of the Franks. Charlemagne tried to obtain what the Pope demanded. When Didier refused, he at once convoked the general meetings of the Franks at Geneva in the autumn of 773, gained them over to the projected Italian expedition, and then commenced the campaign with two armies. He finally took Pavia, where his father-in-law, Didier, had shut himself up, received the submission of all the Lombard dukes and counts, save one, and entered France with King Didier as prisoner, whom he banished to a monastery.

"Three years afterward, in 777, the Saracen chief Ibn-al-Arabi," says Eginhard, "came to Paderborn in Westphalia, to present himself before the king. He had arrived from Spain, together with other Saracens in his train, to surrender to the king of the Franks himself and all the towns which the king of the Saracens had confided to his keeping. With the coming of the spring of the following year, 778, he obtained the full assent of his chief warriors and started on his march toward the Pyrenees. The expedition, however, begun under the most brilliant auspices, came to a melancholy conclusion, the rear guard of the Franks' army being cut to pieces in the passes of Roncesvalles on their return home. This disaster, and the heroism of the warriors who perished there, became, in France the object of popular sympathy and the favorite topic for the exercise of the popular fancy.

Although continually obliged to watch, and often still to fight, Charlemagne might well believe that he had nearly gained his end. He had everywhere greatly extended the frontiers of the Frankish dominions, and subjugated the populations comprised in his conquests. He had proved that his new frontiers would be vigorously defended against new invasions or dangerous neighbors. He had pursued the Huns and the Slavons to the confines of the Empire of the East, and the Saracens to the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. The center of the dominion was no longer in ancient Gaul; he had transferred it to a point not far from the Rhine, in the midst and within reach of the Germanic populations, at the town of Aix-la-Chapelle, which he had founded, and which was his favorite residence; but the principal parts of the Gallo-Frankish kingdom, Austrasia, Neustria and Burgundy, were effectually welded in one single mass.



Roland calls for succor at the battle of Roncesvalles.
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In 799 he received, at Aix-la-Chapelle, news of serious disturbances at Rome, but he remained all the winter at Aix-la-Chapelle, spent the first months of the year 800 on affairs connected with Western France, then journeying toward Italy, he arrived on the 23d of November, 800, at the gates of Rome. Some days were spent in examining into the grievances which had been set down to the pope's account, and in receiving two monks arrived from Jerusalem to present to the king, with the patriarch's blessing, the keys of the Holy Sepulcher and Calvary, as well as the sacred standard. Lastly, on the 25th of December, 800, "the day of the Nativity of our Lord," says Eginhard, "the king came into the Basilica of the blessed St. Peter, apostle, to attend the mass. At the moment when he knelt before the altar Pope Leo placed on his head a crown, and all the Roman people shouted, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans!"

Charlemagne died at Aix-la-Chapelle on Saturday, the 28th of January, 814, in his seventy-first year. If we sum up his designs and his achievements, we find an admirably sound idea and a vain dream, a great success and a great failure. He took in hand the work of placing upon a solid foundation the Frankish Christian dominion by stopping, in the north and south, the flood of barbarians and Arabs, Paganism and Islamism. In that he succeeded: the inundations of Asiatic populations spent their force in vain against the Gallic frontier. Western and Christian Europe was placed, territorially, beyond reach of attacks from the foreigner and infidel. No sovereign, no human being, perhaps, ever rendered greater service to the civilization of the world.

## III.

# THE CARLOVINGIANS.—FEUDAL FRANCE.—THE CRUSADES.

FROM the death of Charlemagne to the accession of Hugh Capet that—is, from 814 to 987—thirteen kings sat upon the throne of France. What became of the solid territorial foundation of the kingdom of Christian France through efficient repression of foreign invasion, and of the unity of that vast empire wherein Charlemagne had attempted and hoped to resuscitate the Roman empire?

The fate of those two facts is the very history of France under the Carlovingian dynasty; it is the only portion of the events of that epoch which has exercised any great and lasting influence on the general history of France.

Attempts at foreign invasion of France were renewed very often; it were tedious to relate or even enumerate all the incursions of the Northmen, with their monotonous incidents. However, there are three on which it may be worth while to dwell particularly, by reason of their grave historical consequences.

In the middle and during the last half of the ninth century, a chief of the Northmen, named Hastenc of Hastings, appeared several times over on the coasts and in the rivers of France, with numerous vessels. When he appeared before Paris he consented to stop his cruising, to become a Christian, and to settle in the courtship of Chartres, which the king gave him as an hereditary possession, with all its appurtenances.

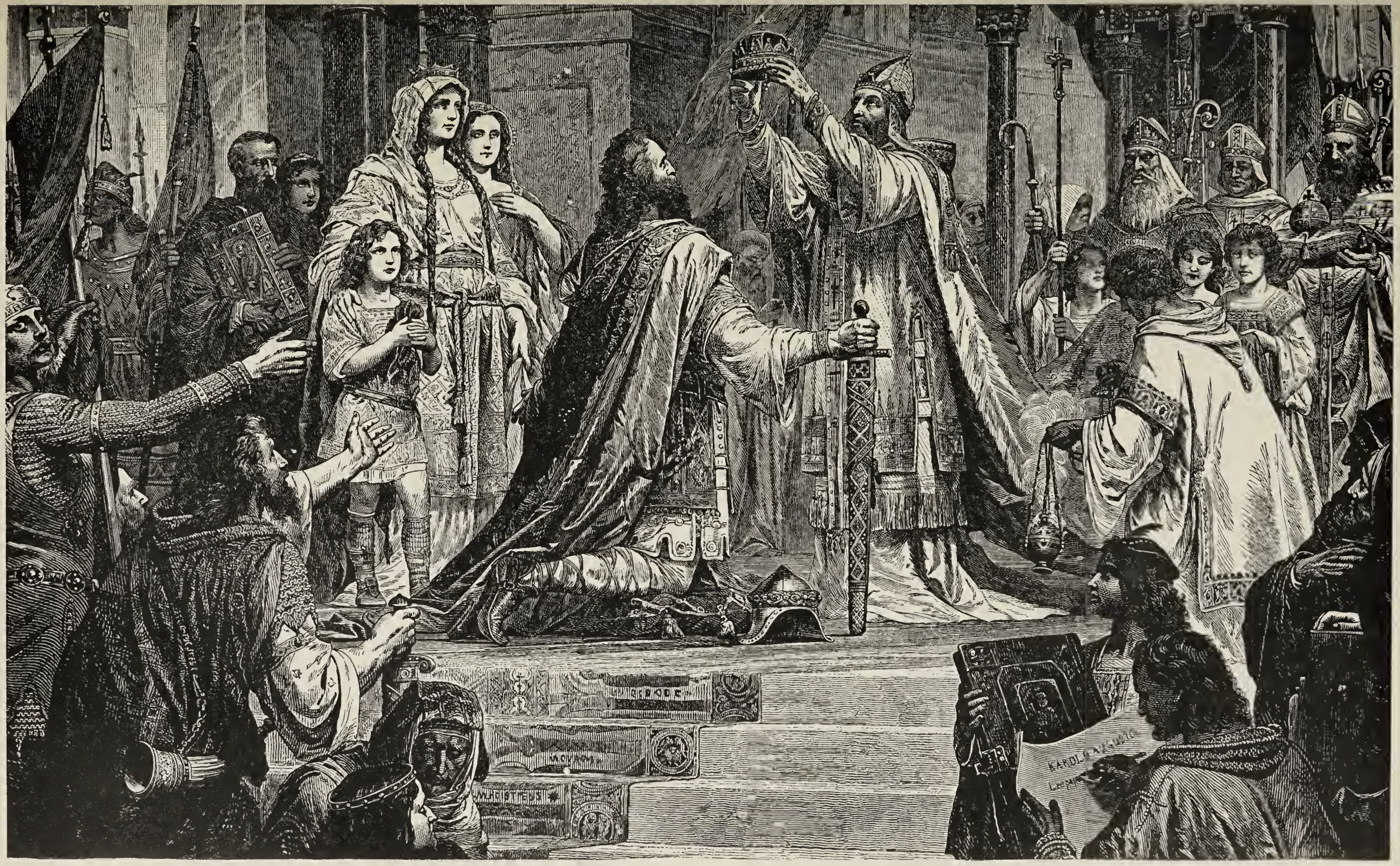
In November, 885, under the reign of Charles the Fat, the Northmen resolved to unite their forces in order, at length, to obtain possession of Paris. The siege was prolonged through the summer, and when, in November, 886, Charles the Fat at last appeared before the city, with a large army, it was to purchase the retreat of the foe at the cost of a heavy ransom. Some months afterward Charles the Fat was deposed, and Arnulf, a natural son of Carloman, the brother of Louis III., was proclaimed emperor in his stead. At the same time Count Eudes, the gallant defender of Paris, was elected king at Compiegne and crowned by the Archbishop of Sens. Guy, duke of Spoleto, was declared king at Langres, but he soon abandoned the hopeless task.

In the midst of this confusion the Northmen, though they kept at a distance from Paris, pursued in Western France their cruising and plundering. In Rollo they had a chieftain far superior to his vagabond predecessors.

When, in 898, Eudes was dead, and Charles the Simple, at hardly nineteen years of age, had been recognized sole king of France, the ascendency of Rollo became such that the necessity of treating with him was clear. In 911 Charles, by the advice of his councillors, sent to the chieftain of the Northmen, Franco, to offer him the cession of a considerable portion of Neustria and the hand of his young daughter Gisele, on condition that he became a Christian, and acknowledged himself the king's vassal. The treaty was made at St. Clair-sur-Epte; henceforth the vagabond pirates had a country to cultivate and defend; the Northmen were becoming French.

The invasions of the Saracens in the south of France were still continued from time to time; but they did not threaten, as those of the Northmen did in the north, the security of the Gallo-Frankish monarchy, and the Gallo-Roman populations of the south were able to defend their national independence at the same time against the Saracens and the Franks. They did so successfully in the ninth and tenth centuries; and the French monarchy, which was being founded between the Loire and the Rhine, had thus for some time a breach in it without ever suffering serious displacement. Substantially France was founded.

When Louis the Debonnair became emperor he began his reign by a reaction against the excesses of the preceding reign. He established at his court, for his sisters as well as his servants, austere regulations. In 817 Louis summoned the General Assembly and declared that he had resolved to share with his eldest son, Lothaire, the imperial throne. This son was, in fact, crowned emperor; and his two brothers, Pepin and Louis, were crowned kings. After the death of Hermangarde, his first wife, Louis had married Judith of Bavaria. In 823 he had by her a son known as Charles the Bald.



Charlemagne crowned Roman Emperor by Pope Leo in the Basilica of St. Peter's at Rome. F. Kaulbach. See page 35.

This son became his mother's ruling, if not exclusive passion, and the source of his father's woes. In 829, during an assembly held at Worms, Louis set at naught the solemn act whereby, in 817, he had shared his dominions among his three elder sons, and took away from two of them some of the territories he had assigned to them and gave them to the boy Charles for his share. Lothaire, Pepin and Louis thereupon revolted. Court intrigues were added to family differences; for ten years scenes of disorder kept repeating themselves again and again; rivalries and secret plots began once more between the three victorious brothers and their partisans. Louis speedily convoked at Worms, in 839, once more and for the last time, a General Assembly, whereat, leaving his son Louis of Bavaria reduced to his kingdon in Eastern Europe, he divided the rest of his dominions into two nearly equal parts, separated by the course of the Meuse and the Rhone. Between these two parts he left the choice to Lothaire, who took the eastern portion, promising at the same time to guarantee the western portion to his younger brother Charles. Louis the Germanic protested against this partition, and took up arms to resist it. His father, the emperor, set himself in motion toward the Rhine, to reduce him to submission; but on arriving close to Mayence he caught a violent fever, and died on the 20th of June, 840, at the castle of Ingelheim, on a little island in the river.

Charles the Bald was to succeed, Lothaire retaining the imperial dignity; as a matter of fact the three sons equally aspired to the throne. Charles and Louis, having united for the purpose of resisting the ambition of their elder brother, defeated him in a terrible battle near the village of Fontenailles, six leagues from Auxerre. The Austrasian influence, till then triumphant in Gaul, perished there forever (841). The victorious princes subsequently confirmed their union by what is generally called the *oaths of Strasburg*, a document regarded as the oldest specimen of the French language. Finally, in August, 843, the three brothers assembling with their umpires, at Verdun, they at last came to an agreement about the partition of the Frankish empire, save the three countries which it had been beforehand agreed to except. Thus disappeared in 843, by virtue of the treaty of Verdun, the second of Charlemagne's grand designs, the resuscitation of the Roman Empire. None of his successors was capable of exercising on the events of his times, by virtue of his brain and his own will, any notable influence.

Twenty-nine years after the death of Charlemagne—that is, in 843—when, by the treaty of Verdun, the sons of Louis the Debonnair had divided among them his dominions, the great empire split up into three distinct and independent kingdoms, the kingdoms of Italy, Germany, and France. The splits did not stop there. Forty-five years later, at the end of the ninth century, this empire had begotton seven instead of three kingdoms, those of France, of Navarre, of Provence, or Cis-juran Burgundy, of Trans-juran Burgundy, of Lorraine, of Allemannia, and of Italy.

The same work was going on in France. About the end of the ninth century there were already twenty-nine provinces, or fragments of provinces,

which had become petty States, the former governors of which under the names of dukes, counts, marquises, and viscounts, were pretty nearly real sovereigns. Twenty-nine great fiefs, which have played a special part in French history, date back to this epoch.

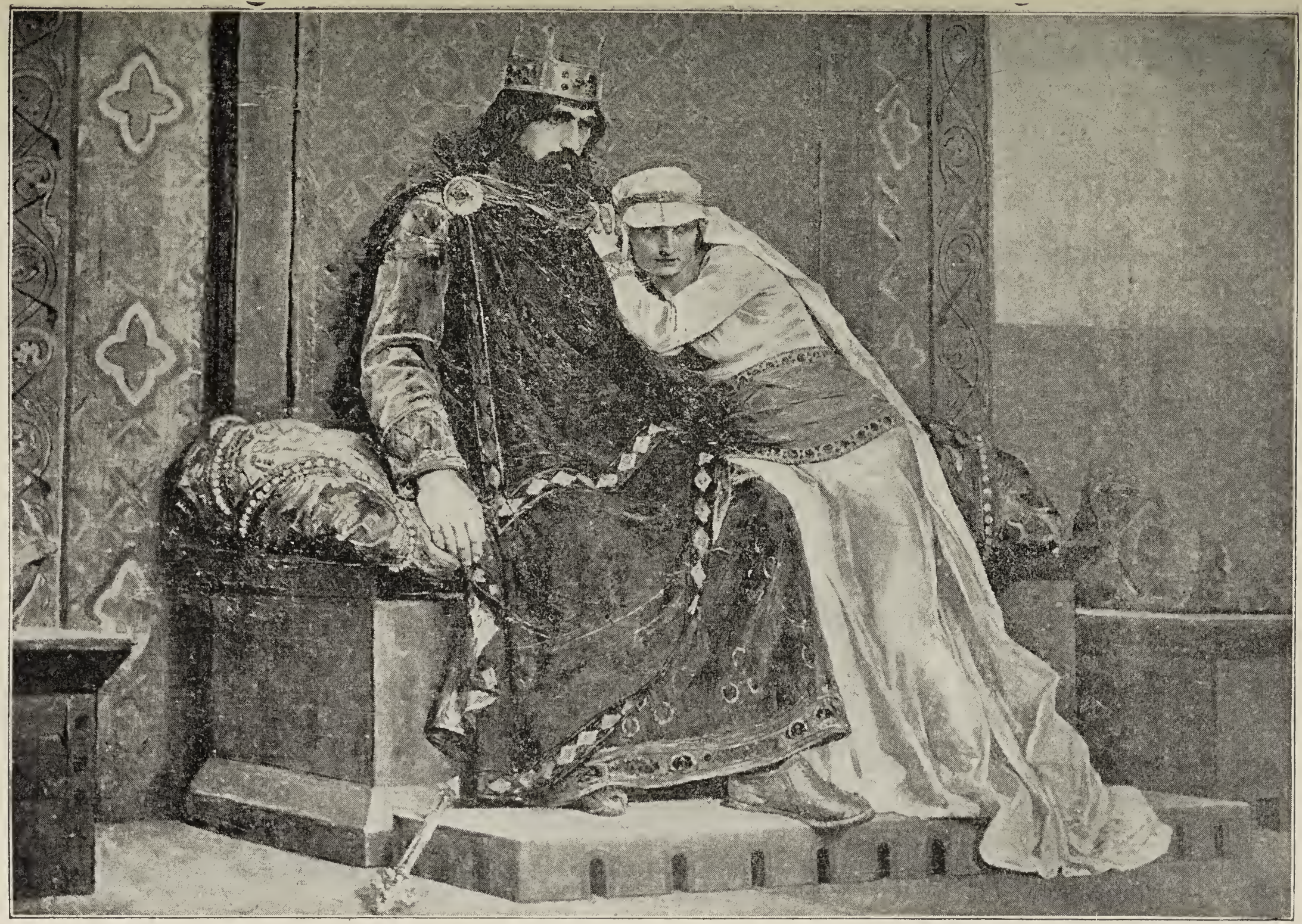
From the end of the ninth pass we to the end of the tenth century, to the epoch when the Capetians take the place of the Carlovingians. Instead of seven kingdoms to replace the empire of Charlemagne, there were then no more than four. Overtures had produced their effects among the great States; but in the interior of the kingdom of France dismemberment had held on its course, and instead of the twenty-nine petty States or great fiefs observable at the end of the ninth century, we find, at the end of the tenth, fifty-five actually established.

Now go back to any portion of French history, and stop where you will, and you will everywhere find the feudal system considered by the mass of the population a foe to be fought down at any price. At all times, whoever dealt it a blow has been popular in France.

The reason for this fact is in the political character of feudalism; it was a confederation of petty sovereigns, of petty despots, unequal among themselves, and having, one toward another, certain duties and rights, but invested in their own domains, over their personal and direct subjects, with arbitrary and absolute power. But when we consider the masters, the owners of fiefs, and their relations one with another, we see liberties, rights and guarantees, which not only give protection and honor to those who enjoy them, but of which the tendency and effect are to open to the subject population an outlet toward a better future. It was, as it were, a people consisting of scattered citizens, of whom each, ever armed, accompanied by his following, or intrenched in his castle, kept watch himself over his own safety and his own rights, relying far more on his own courage and his own renown than on the protection of the public authorities.

The society of the future was not slow to sprout and grow in the midst of that feudal system so turbulent, so oppressive, so detested. No sooner was the feudal system in force than, with its victory scarcely secured, it was attacked in the lower grades by the mass of the people attempting to regain certain liberties, ownerships and rights, and in the highest by royalty laboring to recover its public character, to become once more the head of a nation. And from this moment the enfranchisement of the people makes way, in spite of the weakness, or rather nullity, of the regal power at the same epoch.

From the end of the ninth to the end of the tenth century two families were, in French history, the representatives and instruments of the two systems thus confronted and conflicted at that epoch, the imperial, which was falling, and the feudal, which was rising. After the death of Charlemagne, his descendants, to the number of ten, from Louis the Debonnair to Louis the Sluggard, strove obstinately, but in vain, to maintain the unity of the empire and the unity of the central power. In four generations, on the other hand, the descendants of Robert the Strong climbed to the head of feudal France.



Excommunication of Robert Le Pieux.
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On the 29th or 30th of June, 987, Hugh Capet was crowned king by the grandees of Frankish Gaul assembled at Senlis, and the dynasty of the Capetians was founded under the double influence of German manners and feudal connexions. He was one of the greatest chieftains of feudal society, duke of the country which was already called France, and count of Paris, that city which Clovis had chosen as the center of his dominions. The Carlovingian, Charles of Lorraine, vainly attempted to assert his rights; but, after some gleams of success, he died in 992, and his descendants fell, if not into obscurity, at least into political insignificance. In vain, again, did certain feudal lords, especially in Southern France, refuse for some time their adhesion to Hugh Capet. When he died, on the 24th of October, 996, the crown, which he hesitated, they say, to wear on his own head, passed without obstacle to his son Robert, and the course which was to be followed for eight centuries, under the government of his descendants, by civilization in France, began to develop itself.

It is worth while noticing that, far from aiding the accession of the new dynasty, the court of Rome showed herself favorable to the old, and tried to save it without herself becoming too deeply compromised. Such was, from 985 to 996, the attitude of Pope John XVI., at the crisis which placed Hugh Capet upon the throne. In spite of this policy on the part of the Papacy, the French Church took the initiative in the event, and supported the new king.

From 996 to 1108 the first three successors of Hugh Capet, his son Robert, his grandson Henry I., and his great-grandson Philip I., sat upon the throne of France; and during this long space of 112 years the kingdom of France had not, sooth to say, any history. Parcelled out betwen a multitude of princes, independent, isolated, and scarcely sovereigns in their own dominions, the France of the eleventh century existed in little more than name. One single event, the Crusade, united, toward the end of the century, those scattered sovereigns and peoples in one common idea and one combined action.

In A.D. 1000, in consequence of the sense attached to certain words in the Sacred Books, many Christians expected the end of the world. Other facts, some more lamentable, began about this time to assume a place in French history. Piles of fagots were set up for the punishment of heretics; some more salutary, for we find, about this epoch, the first efforts to establish in different parts of France what is called *God's peace*, *God's truce*. King Robert always showed himself favorable to this pacific work; and he is the first among five kings who were distinguished themselves for kindness and anxiety for the popular welfare. Though not so pious or so good as Robert, his son, Henry I., and grandson, Philip I., were neither more energetic nor more glorious kings.

During their long reigns (the former from 1031 to 1060, and the latter from 1060 to 1108) no important and well prosecuted design distinguished their government. Their public life was passed at one time in petty warfare, without decisive results, against such and such vassals;

at another, in acts of capricious intervention in the quarrels of their vassals among themselves. Their home life was neither less irregular nor conducted with more wisdom and regard for the public interest. In the France of the middle ages, though practically crimes and disorders, moral and social evils abounded, yet men had in their souls and their imaginations loftier and purer instincts and desires; their notions of virtue and their ideas of justice were very superior to the practice pursued around them and among themselves. To Christianity it was that the middle ages owed knighthood, that institution which, in the midst of anarchy and barbarism, gave a poetical and moral beauty to the period. It was feudal knighthood and Christianity together which produced the two great and glorious events of those times, the Norman conquest of England and the Crusades.

From the time of Rollo's settlement in Normandy, the communications of the Normans with England had become more and more frequent and important for the two countries. The conquest of England by William of Normandy properly belongs to English history, and we refer the reader thereto. Among the great events of European history none was for a longer time in preparation or more naturally brought about than the Crusades. Christianity, from her earliest days, had seen in Jerusalem her sacred cradle; it had been, in past times, the home of her ancestors, the Jews, and the center of their history; and, afterward, the scene of the life, death, and resurrection of her Divine Founder. Jerusalem became more and more the Holy City. To go to Jerusalem, to visit the Mount of Olives, Calvary, and the tomb of Jesus, was, in their most evil days and in the midst of their obscurity and their martyrdoms, a pious passion with the early Christians. Events, however, soon rendered the pilgrimage to Jerusalem difficult, and for some time impossible; the Mussulmans, khalifs of Egypt or Persia, had taken Jerusalem; and the Christians, native inhabitants or foreign visitors, continued to be oppressed, harassed, and humiliated there. The raising of the first crusade and the events attending its progress will be found fully discussed in the history of England.

In the month of August, 1099, the Crusades, to judge by appearances, had attained its object. Jerusalem was in the hands of the Christians, and they had set up in it a king, the most pious and most disinterested of the crusaders. Close to this ancient kingdom were growing up likewise, in the two chief cities of Syria and Mesopotamia, Antioch and Edessa, two Christian principalities, in the possession of two crusader chiefs, Bohemond and Baldwin. A third Christian principality was on the point of getting founded at the foot of Libanus, at Tripolis, for the advantage of another crusader, Bertrand, eldest son of Count Raymond of Toulouse. The conquest of Syria and Palestine seemed accomplished, in the name of the faith, and by the armies of Christian Europe; and the conquerors calculated so surely upon their fixture that, during




The ceremony of investiture of a knight.
H. Vogel. Page 40.

his reign, short as it was (for he was elected king July 23d, 1099, and died July 18th, 1100, aged only forty years), Godfrey de Bouillon caused to be drawn up and published, under the title of *Assizes of Jerusalem*, a code of laws, which transferred to Asia the customs and traditions of the feudal system, just as they existed in France at the moment of his departure for the Holy Land.

Forty-six years afterward, in 1145, the Mussulmans, under the leadership of Zanghi, sultan of Aleppo and of Mossoul, had retaken Edessa. Forty-two years after that, in 1187, Saladin (Salah-el Eddyn), sultan of Egypt and Syria, had put an end to the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem; and only seven years later, in 1194, Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England, after the most heroic exploits in Palestine, on arriving in sight of Jerusalem, retreated in despair, covering his eyes with his shield, and saying that he was not worthy to look upon the city which he was not in a condition to conquer. A century had not yet rolled by since the triumph of the first crusaders, and the dominion they had acquired by conquest in the Holy Land had become, even in the eyes of their most valiant and most powerful successors, an impossibility.

Nevertheless, repeated efforts and glory, and even victories, were not then, and were not to be still later, unknown among the Christians in their struggle against the Mussulmans for the possession of the Holy Land. In the space of a hundred and seventy-one years, from the coronation of Godfrey de Bouillon as king of Jerusalem in 1099 to the death of St. Louis wearing the cross before Tunis in 1270, seven grand crusades were undertaken with the same design by the greatest sovereigns of Europe. The fourth and fifth of these have no connection with French history. During a reign of twenty-nine years Louis VI., called the *Fat*, son of Philip I., did not trouble himself about the East or the Crusades, at that time in all their fame and renown.

When Louis VII. came to the throne, he for a time paid no attention to the Crusaders but busied himself with the internal affairs of his government until by way of expiating an act of cruelty, Louis joined with the Emperor Conrad III. in carrying on the second crusade, which was preached at Vezelay by the abbot of Clairvaux, the celebrated St. Bernard.

Having each a strength, it is said, of 100,000 men, the two monarchs marched by Germany and the Lower Danube. The Emperor Conrad and the Germans first, and then King Louis and the French arrived at Constantinople in the course of the summer of 1147. Manuel Comnenus, grandson of Alexis Comnenus, was reigning there. Conrad was the first to cross into Asia Minor, and whether it was unskillfulness or treason, the guides with whom he had been supplied by Manuel Comnenus led him so badly that, on the 28th of October, 1147, he was surprised and shockingly beaten by the Turks, near Iconium. King Louis and the majority of his knights continued their march across Asia Minor, and gained in Phrygia, at the passage of the river Meander, so brilliant a victory over the Turks that,

"if such men," says the historian Nicetas, "abstained from taking Constantinople, one can not but admire their moderation and forbearance." But the success was short, and, ere long, dearly paid for. On entering Pisidia, the French army split up into several divisions, which scattered and lost themselves in the mountains. The Turks attacked them, and before long there was nothing but disorder and carnage. But they continued their march pell-mell, king, barons, knights, soldiers, and pilgrims, uncertain day or night what would become of them on the morrow. At last they arrived in Pamphilia at Satalia, a little port on the Mediterranean. Here Louis embarked with his queen and principal kinghts, and toward the end of March, 1148, arrived at Antioch, having lost more than three-quarters of his army.

On approaching Jerusalem, in the month of April, 1148, Louis VII. saw coming to meet him King Baldwin III., and the patriarch and the people singing, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" At the same time arrived from Constantinople the Emperor Conrad, almost alone and in the guise of a simple pilgrim. All the remnant of the crusaders, French and German, hurried to join them. They decided upon the siege of Damascus. At the first attack, the ardour of the assailants and the brilliant personal prowess of their chiefs, of the Emperor Conrad among others, struck surprise and consternation into the besieged; but the Turks rallied and repulsed the crusaders, who finally raised the siege and returned to Jerusalem. The Emperor Conrad in disgust set out at once for Germany. Louis prolonged his stay for more than a year without any results. Urged at length by his minister Suger he embarked at St. Jean d'Acre in July, 1149, and reached France in October. Suger, the abbot of St. Denis, had been opposed to the crusade, and denounced it with a freedom unique for his times; but afterward, in the king's absence, had administered the government with tact, firmness and disinterestedness for his sovereign and established order over all France.

Almost at the very moment when Suger was dying, a French council, assembled at Beaugency, was annulling, on the ground of prohibited consanguinity, and with the tacit consent of the two persons most concerned. the marriage of Louis VII. and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Some months afterward, at Whitsuntide in the same year, Henry Plantagenet, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou, espoused Eleanor, thus adding to his already great possessions Poitou and Aquitaine, and becoming, in France, a vassal more powerful than the king his suzerain. Twenty months later, in 1154, at the death of King Stephen, Henry Plantagenet became king of England.

Little more than a year after Suger, on the 20th of April, 1153, St. Bernard died also. The two great men, of whom one had excited and the other opposed the second crusade, disappeared together from the theater of the world. The crusade had completely failed. After a lapse of scarce forty years a third crusade began.



The Crusaders storming the walls of Damascus.
G. Doré. Page 42.

In the course of the year 1187, Europe suddenly heard tale upon tale about the repeated disasters of the Christians in Asia. On the 3d and 4th of July, near Tiberias, a Christian army was surrounded by the Saracens, and also, ere long, by the fire which Saladin had ordered to be set to the dry grass which covered the plain. Four days after, on the 8th of July, 1187, Saladin took possession of St. Jean d'Acre, and, on the 4th of September following, of Ascalon. Finally, on the 18th of September, he laid siege to Jerusalem, wherein refuge had been sought by a multitude of Christian families, driven from their homes by the ravages of the infidels throughout Palestine; and the Holy City contained at this time, it is said, nearly one hundred thousand Christians. The capitulation soon followed, and all Christians, however, with the exception of Greeks and Syrians, had orders to leave Jerusalem within four days.

After the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the Christians of the East, in their distress, sent to the West their most eloquent prelate and gravest historian, William, archbishop of Tyre. At a parliament assembled at Gisors, on the 21st of January, 1188, and at a diet convoked at Mayence on the 27th of March following, he so powerfully affected the knighthood of France, England, and Germany, that the three sovereigns of these three States, Philip Augustus, Richard Cœur de Lion, and Frederick Barbarossa, engaged with acclamation in a new crusade. The eldest, Frederick Barbarossa, was first ready to plunge among the perils of the crusade. Starting from Ratisbonne about Christmas, 1189, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, he traversed the Greek empire and Asia Minor, defeated the Sultan of Iconium, passed the first defiles of Taurus, and seemed to be approaching the object of his voyage, when, on the 10th of June, 1190, having arrived at the borders of the Selef, a small river which throws itself into the Mediterranean close to Seleucia, he determined to cross it by fording, was seized with a chill, and, according to some, drowned before his people's eyes, but, according to others, carried dying to Seleucia, where he expired. His young son Conrad, duke of Suabia, was not equal to taking the command of such an army; and it broke up.

On the 24th of June, 1190, Philip Augustus went and took the oriflamme at St. Denis, on his way to Vezelai, where he had appointed to meet Richard, and whence the two kings, in fact, set out, on the 4th of July, to embark with their troops, Philip at Genoa and Richard at Marseilles. The exploits of Philip and Richard are given in the History of England. The third crusade ended in complete failure. The three armies, at the moment of departure from Europe, amounted to between five hundred thousand and six hundred thousand men, of whom scarcely one hundred thousand ever returned, and the only result of the third crusade was to leave as head over all the most beautiful provinces of Mussulman Asia and Africa, Saladin, the most illustrious and most able chieftain, in war and politics, that Islamry had produced since Mahomet.

From the end of the twefth to the middle of the thirteenth century it is usual to count three crusades, but with two of them we have no dealing.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, while the enterprises which were still called crusades were becoming more and more degenerate in character and potency, there was born in France, on the 25th of April, 1215, not merely the prince, but the man who was to be the most worthy representative and the most devoted slave of that religious and moral passion which had inspired the crusades. Louis IX., though born to the purple, a powerful king, a valiant warrior, a splendid knight, and an object of reverence to all those who at a distance observed his life, and of affection to all those who approached his person, was neither biassed nor intoxicated by any such human glories and delights; he had an ambition to be, and was, to the measure of his age, a true Christian. This is the peculiar and original characteristic of St. Louis, and a fact rare and probably unique in the history of kings.

In the first years of his government, when he had reached his majority, there was nothing to show that the idea of the crusade occupied Louis IX.'s mind; and it was only in 1239, when he was now four and twenty, that it showed itself vividly in him.

Five years afterward, at the close of 1244, Louis fell seriously ill at Pontoise, and, having recovered, took the cross in consequence of a vow he had made to that effect. At last, in January, 1248, he took leave of his mother, Queen Blanche, whom he left a regent during his absence with fullest power. He took his wife, Queen Marguerite, of Provence, with him. In the early part of August he had assembled at Aigues-Mortes a fleet of thirty-eight vessels and a number of transports, which he had hired of the republic of Genoa to convey the troops and personal retinue of the king to the East; he sent away nearly ten thousand bowmen, Genoese, Venetian, Pisan, and even French, whom he had at first engaged, and of whom, after inspection, he desired nothing further. The sixth crusade was the personal achievement of St. Louis, not the offspring of a popular movement, and he carried it out with a picked army.

The Isle of Cyprus was the trysting-place appointed for all the forces of the expedition. Louis arrived there on the 12th of September, 1248, and reckoned upon remaining there only a few days; for it was Egypt that he was in a hurry to reach. The French, however, left the island only in May, 1249, and, in spite of violent gales of wind, which dispersed a large number of vessels, they arrived on the 4th of June before Damietta, which was taken without the least difficulty. The Mussulmans had found time to recover from their first fright and to organize, at all points, a vigorous resistance. On the 8th of February, 1250, a battle took place twenty leagues from Damietta, at Mansourah (*the city of victory*), on the right bank of the Nile. The king's brother, Robert, count of Artois, marched with the vanguard, and obtained an early success. Elated by this result, he rushed forward into the town, where he found the Mussulmans numerous and perfectly rallied. In a



The Children's Crusade.
Page 44.

few moments the count of Artois fell pierced with wounds, and more than three hundred knights of his train, the same number of English, together with their leader, William Longsword, and two hundred and eighty Templars, paid with their lives for the senseless ardor of the French prince. The French rallied and drove off their foes. The battle-field was left that day to the crusaders; but they were not allowed to occupy it as conquerors, for three days afterward, on the 11th of February, 1250, the camp of St. Louis was assailed by clouds of Saracens. An attempt was made by the French king to negotiate with the enemy, but to no purpose, and on the 5th of April, 1250, the crusaders decided to retreat. But during this retreat, says Joinville, "there took place a great mishap. A traitor of a sergeant, whose name was Marcel, began calling to our people, 'Sir knights, surrender, for such is the king's command: cause not the king's death.' All thought that it was the king's command; and they gave up their swords to the Saracens." Being forthwith declared prisoners, the king and all the rear guard were removed to Mansourah, the king by boat and his two brothers, the counts of Anjou and Poitiers, and all the other crusaders, drawn up in a body and shackeled, followed on foot on the river-bank. The advance guard and all the rest of the army soon met the same fate. A negotiation was opened between Louis and the Sultan Malek-Moaddam, who, having previously freed him from his chains, had him treated with a certain magnificence. The king was awaiting aboard his ship for the payment which his people were to make for the release of his brother, the count of Poitiers; and when he saw approaching a bark on which he recognized his brother, "Light up! light up!" he cried instantly to his sailors; which was the signal agreed upon for setting out. And leaving forthwith the coast of Egypt, the fleet which bore the remains of the Christian army made sail for the shores of Palestine.

The king, having arrived at St. Jean d'Acre on the 14th of May, 1250, accepted, without shrinking, the trial imposed upon him by his unfortunate situation. Twice he believed he was on the point of accomplishing his desire —the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher from the Mussulmans, and the re-establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem. At the commencement of the year 1253, at Sidon, he heard that his mother, Queen Blanche, had died at Paris on the 27th of November, 1252. This melancholy news induced him to return to Europe; he embarked at St. Jean d'Acre, on the 24th of April, 1254, and arrived, after a stormy passage, on the 8th of July. Passing slowly through France he entered Paris the 7th of September, 1254.

For seven years after his return to France, from 1254 to 1261, Louis seemed to be in a continual ferment of imagination and internal fever, ever flattering himself that some favorable circumstance would call him back to his interrupted work. In 1263, the crusade was openly preached; taxes were levied, even on the clergy, for the purpose of contributing toward it; and princes and barons bound themselves to take part in it. Louis was all approval and encouragement, without declaring his own intention. In 1267 a parliament was convoked at Paris. Next year, on the 9th of February,

a new parliament assembled at Paris; the king took an oath to start in the month of May, 1270.

Saint Louis left Paris on the 16th of March, 1270, a sick man almost already, but with soul content, and probably the only one without misgiving in the midst of all his comrades. It was once more at Aigues-Mortes that he went to embark. All was as yet dark and undecided as to the plan of the expedition. At last, on the 2d of July, 1270, he set sail without any one's knowing and without the king's telling any one whither they were going. It was only in Sardinia, after four days' halt at Cagliari, that Louis announced to the chiefs of the crusade, assembled aboard his ship, the *Mountjoy*, that he was making for Tunis, and that their Christian work would commence there.

But on the 17th of July, when the fleet arrived before Tunis, the admiral, Florent de Varennes, probably without the king's orders, and with that want of reflection which was conspicuous at each step of the enterprise, immediately took possession of the harbor and of some Tunisian vessels as prize. Thus war was commenced at the very first moment against the Mussulman prince whom there had been a promise of seeing before long a Christian.

On the 3d of August Louis was attacked by the epidemic fever, and obliged to keep his bed in his tent; the illness soon took an unfavorable turn, and no hopes of recovery could be entertained. During the night of the 24th–25th of August he ceased to speak, all the time continuing to show that he was in full possession of his senses, and on Monday, the 25th of August, 1270, at 3 P. M., he departed in peace while uttering these last words: "Father, after the example of the Divine Master, into thy hands I commend my spirit!"



Death of Saint Louis at Tunis. "Father, into Thy hands I commend my Spirit."
A. de Neuville. Page 46.

## IV.

# KINGSHIP—COMMONERS—THIRD ESTATE.

AT the first glance, two facts strike us in the history of the kingship in France. It was in France that it adopted soonest and most persistently maintained its fundamental principle, heredity; only in France was there, at any time during eight centuries, but a single king and a single line of kings. Unity and heredity, those two essential principles of monarchy, have been the invariable characteristics of the kingship in France.

A second fact, less apparent and less remarkable, but, nevertheless, not without importance or without effect upon the history of the kingship in France, is the extreme variety of character, of faculties, of intellectual and moral bent, of policy and personal conduct among the French kings. Absolute monarchical power in France was, almost in every successive reign, singularly modified, being at one time aggravated and at another alleviated, according to the ideas, sentiments, morals, and spontaneous instincts of the monarchs. Nowhere else, throughout the great European monarchies, has the difference between kingly personages exercised so much influence on government and national condition. In that country the free action of individuals has filled a prominent place and taken a prominent part in the course of events. Louis did not direct to a distance from home his ambition and his efforts; it was within his own dominion, to check the violence of the strong against the weak, to put a stop to the quarrels of the strong among themselves, to make an end, in France at least, of unrighteousness and devastation, and to establish there some sort of order and some sort of justice, that he displayed his energy and his perseverance. Sometimes, when the people and their habitual protectors, the bishops, invoked his aid, Louis would carry his arms beyond his own dominions, by sole right of justice and kingship. "It is known," says Suger, "that kings have long hands." Twice, in 1109 and in 1116, he had war in Normandy with Henry I., king of England, and he therein was guilty of certain temerities resulting in a reverse, which he hastened to rapair during a vigorous prosecution of the campaign; but, when once his honor was satisfied, he showed a ready inclination for the peace which the pope, Calixtus II., in council at Rome, succeeded in establishing between the two rivals. The war with the emperor of Germany,

Henry V., in 1124, appeared, at the first blush, a more serious matter. France summoned the flower of her chivalry, and at the news of this mighty host, and of the ardor with which they were animated, the Emperor Henry V. advanced no farther, and, before long, "marching, under some pretext, toward other places, he preferred the shame of retreating like a coward to the risk of exposing his empire and himself to certain destruction. After this victory, which was more than as great as a triumph on the field of battle, the French returned every one to their homes."

A marriage between Eleanor and Louis the Young, already sharing his father's throne, was soon concluded: it took place at Bordeaux, at the end of July, 1137, and on the 8th of August following Louis the Young, on his way back to Paris, was crowned at Poitiers as duke of Aquitaine. He there learned that the king his father had lately died, on the 1st of August. In spite of its long duration of forty-three years, the reign of Louis VII., called the Young, was a period barren of events and of persons worthy of keeping a place in history.

So long as Suger lived the kingship preserved at home the wisdom which it had been accustomed to display, and abroad the respect it had acquired under Louis the Fat; but at the death of Suger it went on languishing and declining without encountering any great obstacle.

Philip II., to whom history has preserved the name of Philip Augustus, given him by his contemporaries, had shared the crown, been anointed, and married Isabel a year before the death of Louis VII. put him in possession of the kingdom. He soon let it be seen that he intended to reign by himself, and to reign with vigor. He made the extension and territorial connection of France the one chief aim of his life, and in that work he was successful. Out of the forty-three years of his reign, twenty-six at least were war years devoted to this purpose. Philip Augustus, once in possession of the personal power as well as the title of king, it was, from 1187 to 1216, against three successive kings of England, Henry II., Richard Cœur de Lion, and John Lackland, masters of the most beautiful provinces of France, that Philip directed his persistent efforts. They were in respect of power, of political capacity, and military popularity, his most formidable foes; he managed, however, to hold his own against them; and when, after Richard's death, he had to do with John Lackland, he had over him, even more than over his brother Richard, immense advantages. He made such use of them that after six years' struggling from 1199 to 1205, he deprived John of the greater part of his French possessions—Anjou, Normandy, Touraine, Maine, and Poitou. The king of France thus recovered possession of nearly all the territories which his father, Louis VII., had kept but for a moment. He added in succession other provinces to his dominions; in such wise that the kingdom of France was much increased on all sides.

In 1206 the territorial work of Philip Augustus was well nigh completed; but his wars were not over. John Lackland when worsted kicked against the pricks, and was incessantly hankering, in his antagonism to the king of

France, after hostile alliances and local conspiracies, easy to hatch among certain feudal lords discontented with their suzerain. Being on intimate terms with his nephew, Otho IV., emperor of Germany and the foe of Philip Augustus, he urged him to prepare for a grand attack upon the king of France, and the two allies had won over to their coalition some of his most important vassals, among others, Renaud de Dampierre, count of Boulogne. The invasion of England, boldly attempted by Philip, proved a failure. On the 8th of April, 1213, he convoked, at Soissons, his principal vassals or allies, explained to them the grounds of his design against the king of England, and they bound themselves to support him. Only one vassal refused to join him, Ferrand, count of Flanders. The war between Philip on one side and Ferrand and England on the other has already been chronicled in our history of England. It ended by the battle of Bouvines, on Sunday, July 27th, 1214, with a victory for the French. The victory of Bouvines marked the commencement of the time at which men might speak, and indeed did speak, by one single name, of *the French.* The nation in France and the kingship in France on that day rose out of and above the feudal system.

Philip Augustus was about the same time apprised of his son Louis' success on the banks of the Loire. The incapacity and swaggering insolence of King John had made all his Poitevine allies disgusted with him; he had been obliged to abandon his attack upon the king of France in the provinces, and the insurrection, growing daily more serious, of the English barons and clergy for the purpose of obtaining Magna Charta, was preparing for him other reverses. He had ceased to be a dangerous rival to Philip.

The organization of the kingdom, the nation, and the kingship in France was not the only great event and the only great achievement of that epoch. At the same time that this political movement was going on in the State, a religious and intellectual ferment was making head in the Church and in men's minds; in the course of this active and salutary participation in the affairs of the world, the Christian clergy lost somewhat of their primitive and proper character. And, at the same time, in addition to this outburst of piety, ignorance was decried and stigmatized as the source of the prevailing evils; the function of teaching was included among the duties of the religious estate. Activity and freedom of thought were developing at the same time that fervent faith and piety were.

The struggle of Abelard with the Church of Northern France and the crusade against the Albigensians in Southern France are divided by much more than diversity and contrast; there is an abyss between them. In Northern France, in spite of internal disorder and through the influence of its bishops, missionaries, and monastic reformers, the orthodox Church had obtained a decided superiority and full dominion; but in Southern France, on the contrary, all the controversies, all the sects, and all the mystical or philosophical heresies which had disturbed Christendom from the second century to the ninth, had crept in and spread abroad.

For half a century after the death of St. Bernard in 1153 the orthodox

Church was several times engaged in crusades against the Albigensians of Southern France. Innocent III. at first employed against them only spiritual weapons, but after the murder of his legate, Peter de Castelnau, he began to proceed to extremities. The crusades against the Albigensians, which he sanctioned, were striking applications of two pernicious principles, denial of religious liberty to conscience and of political independence to States. It was by virtue of these two principles, at that time dominant, that Innocent III., in 1208, summoned the king of France, the great lords and the knights, and the clergy, secular and regular, of the kingdom to assume the cross and go forth to extirpate from Southern France the Albigensians—"worse than the Saracens."

Through all France, and even outside of France, the passions of religion and ambition were aroused at this summons. Twelve abbots and twenty monks of Citeaux dispersed themselves in all directions preaching the crusade; and lords and knights, burghers and peasants, laymen and clergy, hastened to respond. These crusaders were passionately ardent and persevering. The war lasted twenty-one years (from 1208 to 1229) and the two leading spirits, one ordering and the other executing, Pope Innocent III. and Simon de Montfort, neither saw the end of it. During these twenty-one years, in the region situated between the Rhone, the Pyrenees, the Garonne, and even the Dordogne, nearly all the towns and strong castles were taken, lost, retaken, given over to pillage, sack and massacre, and burnt by the crusaders with all the cruelty of fanatics and all the greed of conquerors. Innocent III. had promised the crusaders the enjoyment of the domains they might win by conquest from princes who were heretics or protectors of heretics. After the capture, in 1209, of Beziers and Carcassonne, the sovereignty of these possessions was granted by the Pope to Simon, lord of Montfort, earl of Leicester. From this time forth the war in Southern France changed character, or, rather, it assumed a double character; with the war of religion was openly joined a war of conquest. Finally, on the 25th of June, 1218, Simon de Montfort, who had been for nine months unsuccessfully besieging Toulouse, which had again come into the possession of Raymond VI., was killed by a shower of stones under the walls of the place, and left to his son Amaury the inheritance of his war and his conquests. Fortune deserted him, for Amaury de Montfort was losing ground every day, and Raymond VI., when he died in August, 1222, had recovered the greater part of his dominions. His son, Raymond VII., continued the war for eighteen months longer, with enough of popular favor and of success to make his enemies despair of recovering their advantages; and, on the 14th of January, 1224, Amaury de Montfort, after having concluded with the counts of Toulouse and Foix a treaty which seemed to have only a provisional character, ceded to Louis VIII., then king of France, his rights over the domains which the crusaders had conquered.

While this cruel war lasted Philip Augustus would not take any part in it. He received visits from Count Raymond VI., and openly testified good

will toward him. When Simon de Montfort was decisively victorious, and in possession of the places wrested from Raymond, Philip Augustus recognized accomplished facts, and received the new count of Toulouse as his vassal; but when, after the death of Simon de Montfort and Innocent III., the question was once more thrown open, and when Raymond VI. first, and then his son Raymond VII., had recovered the greater part of their dominions, Philip formally refused to recognize Amaury de Montfort as successor to his father's conquests; nay, he did more, he refused to accept the cession of those conquests, offered to him by Amaury de Montfort and pressed upon him by Pope Honorius III. In his political life he always preserved this proper mean, and he found it succeeded; but in his domestic life there came a day when he suffered himself to be hurried out of his usual deference toward the pope; and, after a violent attempt at resistance, he resigned himself to submission. The circumstance we are alluding to is his repudiation of Ingeburga of Denmark, and his marriage with the Tyrolese princess Agnes of Merania, daughter of Bethold, marquis of Istria, whom, about 1180, the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, had made duke of Moravia. The pope threatened Philip with the interdict; that is, the suspension of all religious ceremonies, festivals, and forms in the Church of France. The king resisted not only the threat, but also the sentence of the interdict, which was actually pronounced, first in the churches of the royal domain, and afterward in those of the whole kingdom. For four years the struggle went on. At last Philip yielded to the injunction of the Pope and the feeling of his people; he sent away Agnes and recalled Ingeburga. He had for several months been battling with an incessant fever; he was obliged to halt at Nantes, and there he died on the 14th of January, 1222, leaving the kingdom of France far more extensive and more compact, and the kingship in France far stronger and more respected than he had found them. His son, Louis VIII., inherited a great kingdom, an undisputed crown, and a power that was respected. He died on the 8th of November, 1226, after a reign of three years, adding to the history of France no glory save that of having been the son of Philip Augustus, the husband of Blanche of Castile, and the father of St. Louis.

We have already pursued the most brilliant and celebrated among the events of St. Louis' reign, his two crusades against the Mussulmans. It is now of Louis in France and of his government at home that we have to take note. And in this part of his history he is not the only royal and really regnant personage we encounter; for of the forty-four years of St. Louis' reign, nearly fifteen, with a long interval of separation, pertained to the government of Queen Blanche of Castile rather than to that of the king her son. Louis, at his accession, in 1226, was only eleven; and he remained a minor up to the age of twenty-one, in 1236, for the time of majority in the case of royalty was not yet specially and rigorously fixed. During those ten years Queen Blanche governed France; not at all, as is commonly asserted, with the official title of regent, but simply as guardian of the king her son It was not until twenty-two years had passed, in 1248, that Louis, on starting

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for the crusade, officially delegated to his mother the kingly authority, and that Blanche, during her son's absence, really governed with the title of regent, up to the 1st of December, 1252, the day of his death.

The entrance of Louis IX. upon the personal exercise of kingly power produced no change in the conduct of affairs from the wise policy of his mother.

Hugh de Lusignan, count of la Marche, had not only declined doing homage to the king's brother, Alphonso, count of Poitiers, whose vassal he was, but had also excited to rebellion certain powerful lords of la Marche, Saintonge, and Angoumois, and had called to his assistance Henry III., king of England, son of the countess of la Marche. "As my name is Louis," said the king, "the count of la Marche doth claim to hold land in such wise, land which hath been a fief of France since the days of the valiant King Clovis, who won all Aquitaine from King Alaric, a pagan without faith or creed, and all the country to the Pyrenean mount." And the barons promised the king their energetic co-operation.

Near two towns of Saintonge, Taiblebourg and Saintes, at a bridge which covers the approaches of one, and in front of the walls of the other, Louis, on the 21st and 22d of July, fought two battles, in which the brilliancy of his personal valor and the affectionate enthusiasm he excited in his troops secured victory and the surrender of the two places. He entered into negotiations, successively, with the count of la Marche, the king of England, the count of Toulouse, the king of Aragon, and the various princes and great feudal lords who had been more or less engaged in the war; and in January, 1243, the treaty of Lorris marked the end of feudal troubles for the whole duration of St. Louis' reign. An obstinate civil war was raging between Henry III. and his barons. Neither party, in defending its own rights, had any notion of respecting the rights of its adversaries, and England was alternating between a kingly and an aristocratic tyranny. Louis, chosen as arbiter by both sides, delivered solemnly, on the 23d of January, 1264, a decision which was favorable to the English kingship, but at the same time expressly upheld the Great Charter and the traditional liberties of England. He concluded his decision with the following suggestions of amnesty: "We will also that the king of England and his barons do forgive one another mutually, that they do forget all the resentments that may exist between them by consequence of the matters submitted to our arbitration, and that henceforth they do refrain reciprocally from any offense and injury on account of the same matters." Five centuries afterward the great English historian, Hume, rendered him due homage in these terms: "Every time this virtuous prince interfered in the affairs of England, it was invariably with the view of settling differences between the king and the nobility. Adopting an admirable course of conduct, as politic probably as it certainly was just, he never interposed his good offices save to put an end to the disagreements of the English; he seconded all the measures which could give security to both parties, and he made persistent efforts, though without success, to

moderate the fiery ambition of the earl of Leicester." (Hume, "History of England," t. ii. p. 465.)

One special fact in the civil and municipal administration of St. Louis deserves to find a place in history. After the time of Philip Augustus there was malfeasance in the police of Paris. The provostship of Paris, which comprehended functions analogous to those of prefect, mayor, and receiver-general, became a purchasable office, filled sometimes by two provosts at a time. The burghers no longer found justice or security in the city where the king resided. At his return from his first crusade, Louis recognized the necessity for applying a remedy to this evil; the provostship ceased to be a purchasable office; and he made it separate from the receivership of the royal domain. In 1258 he chose as provost Stephen Boileau, a burgher of note and esteem in Paris; and in order to give this magistrate the authority of which he had need, the king sometimes came and sat beside him when he was administering justice at the Chatelet. Stephen Boileau justified the king's confidence, and maintained so strict a police that he had his own godson hanged for theft.

For all his moral sympathy, and superior as he was to his age, St. Louis, nevertheless, shared and even helped to prolong two of its greatest mistakes; as a Christian he misconceived the rights of conscience in respect of religion, and, as a king, he brought upon his people deplorable evils and perils for the sake of a fruitless enterprise.

St. Louis was succeeded by his son, Philip III., a prince, no doubt, of some personal valor, since he has retained in history the nickname of *The Bold*, but not otherwise beyond mediocrity. His reign had an unfortunate beginning. He came to Paris on the 21st of May, 1271, bringing back with him five royal biers, that of his father, that of his brother, John Tristan, count of Nevers, that of his brother-in-law, Theobald, king of Navarre, that of his wife, and that of his son. The day after his arrival he conducted them all in state to the Abbey of St. Denis, and was crowned at Reims not until the 30th of August following. His reign, which lasted fifteen years, was a period of neither repose nor glory. He engaged in war several times over in Southern France and in the north of Spain, in 1272, against Roger Bernard, count of Foix, and in 1275 against Don Pedro III., king of Aragon, attempting conquests and gaining victories, but becoming easily disgusted with his enterprises and gaining no result of importance or durability. It was in the reign of Philip the Bold that there took place in Sicily, on the 30th of March, 1282, that notorious massacre of the French which is known by the name of *Sicilian Vespers*, which was provoked by the unbridled excesses of Charles of Anjou's comrades, and through which many noble French families had to suffer cruelly. At the same time, the celebrated Italian admiral, Roger de Loria, inflicted, by sea, on the French party in Italy, the Provencal navy, and the army of Philip the Bold, reverses and losses. The government of Philip III. showed hardly more ability at home than in Europe; he was weak, credulous, very illiterate, and without penetration, foresight, or will. He fell

under the influence of an inferior house servant, Peter de la Brosse, who had been a barber.

In spite of the want of ability and the weakness conspicuous in the government of Philip the Bold, the kingship in France had in his reign better fortune than could be expected.

A Flemish chronicler, a monk at Egmont, describes the character of Philip the Bold's successor in the following words: "A certain king of France, also named Philip, eaten up by the fever of avarice and cupidity." And that was not the only fever inherent in Philip IV., called *The Handsome;* he was a prey also to that of ambition, and above all, to that of power. When he mounted the throne, at seventeen years of age, he was handsome, as his nickname tells us, cold, taciturn, harsh, brave at need, but without fire or dash.

Away from his own kingdom, in his own dealings with foreign countries, Philip the Handsome had a good fortune, which his predecessors had lacked, and which his successors lacked still more. In spite of frequent interruptions, the reign of Edward I. was on the whole a period of peace between England and France, being exempt, at any rate, from premeditated and obstinate hostilities.

In Southern France, at the foot of the Pyrenees, Philip the Handsome was, during the first year of his reign, at war with the kings of Aragon, Alphonso III. and Jayme II.; but these campaigns were terminated by a treaty concluded at Tarascon, and have remained without any historical importance. At the time of Philip the Handsome's accession to the throne Guy de Dampierre, of noble Champagnese origin, had been for five years count of Flanders, as heir to his mother Marguerite II. He was a prince who did not lack courage, or, on a great emergency, high-mindedness and honor; but he was ambitious, covetous, as parsimonious as his mother had been munificent. In 1293 he was secretly negotiating the marriage of Philippa, one of his daughters, with Prince Edward, eldest son of the king of England. Philip the Handsome, having received due warning, invited the count of Flanders to Paris, "to take counsel with him and the other barons touching the state of the kingdom." At first Guy hesitated; but he dared not refuse, and he repaired to Paris with his sons John and Guy. The three princes were marched off at once to the tower of the Louvre, where Guy remained for six months. When he was released, Count Guy returned to Flanders and concluded a treaty with Edward I., and formally renounced his allegiance to Philip the Handsome. This meant war. And it was prompt and sharp on the part of the king of France, slow and dull on the part of the king of England, who was always more bent upon the conquest of Scotland than upon defending, on the Continent, his ally the count of Flanders. The French arms were at first crowned with success. In 1302 war again broke out, but it was no longer a war between Philip the Handsome and Guy de Dampierre; it was a war between the Flemish communes and their foreign oppressors. Philip the Handsome precipitately levied an army

of sixty thousand men, says Villani, and gave the command of it to Count Robert of Artois, the hero of Furnes. The forces of the Flemings amounted to no more than twenty thousand fighting men. The two armies met near Courtrai. Two grand attacks succeeded one another; the first under the orders of the Constable Raoul of Nesle, the second under those of the count of Artois in person. After two hours' fighting, both failed against the fiery national passion of the Flemish communes, and the two French leaders, the Constable and the count of Artois, were left both of them lying on the field of battle amid twelve or fifteen thousand of their dead.

The news of this great defeat of the French spread rapidly throughout Europe, and filled with joy all those who were hostile to or jealous of Philip the Handsome. The wily monarch spent two years in negotiations, for the purpose of gaining time and of letting the edge wear off the Flemings' confidence. In the spring of 1304 the cry of war resounded everywhere. He had taken into his pay a Genoese fleet commanded by Regnier de Grimaldi, a celebrated Italian admiral; and it arrived in the North Sea, and blockaded Zierikzee, a maritime town of Zealand. On the 10th of August, 1304, the Flemish fleet which was defending the place was beaten and dispersed. Philip hoped for a moment that this reverse would discourage the Flemings; but it was not so at all. A great battle took place on the 17th of August between the two land armies at Mons-en-Puelle near Lille, and resulted in a Flemish defeat. Thus during ten years, from 1305 to 1314, there was between France and Flanders a continual alternation of reciprocal concessions and retractions, of treaties concluded and of renewed insurrections without decisive and ascertained results. It was neither peace nor war. Philip the Handsome had been nine years king when Boniface VIII. became pope. On his accession to the throne, he had testified an intention of curtailing the privileges and powers of the Church. At the time of the crusades the property of the clergy had been subjected to a special tax of a tenth of the revenues, and this tax had been several times renewed for reasons other than the crusades. In 1296 Philip the Handsome, at war with the king of England and the Flemings, imposed upon the clergy two fresh tenths, and the order of Citeaux refused to pay them, and addressed to the pope a protest, with a comparison between Philip and Pharaoh. Boniface addressed to the king a bull called from its first two words *Clericis laicos*. Philip was mighty wroth, but he did not burst out, though he contrived to show his displeasure by means of divers administrative measures. A year after the bull *Clericis laicos* he modified it by a new bull, which not only authorized the collection of two tenths voted by the French bishops, but recognized the right of the king of France to tax the French clergy with their consent and without authorization from the Holy See. An opportunity for a splendid confirmation of the pope's universal supremacy in the Christian world came to tempt him. A quarrel had arisen between Philip and the archbishop of Narbonne on the subject of certain dues claimed by both in that great diocese. Boniface was loud in his advocacy of the archbishop

against the officers of the king; he sent to Paris, to support his words, Bernard de Saisset, whom he, on his own authority, had just appointed bishop of Pamiers. On arriving in Paris as the pope's legate, Saisset made use there of violent and inconsiderate language. Philip had at that time, as his chief councillors, lay-lawyers, servants passionately attached to the kingship. They, in their turn, rose up against the doctrine and language of the bishop of Famiers. He was arrested and committed to the keeping of the archbishop of Narbonne; and Philip sent to Rome his chancellor Peter Flotte himself and William of Nogaret, with orders to demand the condemnation of the bishop of Pamiers. Boniface replied by changing the venue to his own personal tribunal in the case of Bernard de Saisset. On the 5th of December, 1301, he addressed to the king, commencing with the words, "*Hearken, most dear Son*" (*Ausculta, carissime fili*), a long bull in which, with circumlocutions and expositions full of obscurity and subtlety, he laid down and affirmed, at bottom, the principle of the final sovereignty of the spiritual power, being of divine origin, over every temporal power, being of human creation. On the 11th of February, 1302, this bull was burned at Paris in the presence of the king. On the 8th of April an assembly of the barons, bishops and chief ecclesiastics, with the deputies of the communes to the number of two or three from each city, was convoked by Philip. This assembly, which really met on the 10th of April at Paris in the church of Notre-Dame, is reckoned in French history as the first "States-general." The king evidently had on his side the general feeling of the nation, and the publication, of a third bull, (*Unam sanctam*), which threatened him with excommunication, only the more irritated him; he resolved to act speedily. Notification must be sent to the pope of the king's appeal to the future council. Philip could no longer confide this awkward business to his chancellor Peter Flotte; for he had fallen at Courtrai in the battle against the Flemings. William of Nogaret undertook it, at the same time obtaining from the king a sort of blank commission, authorizing and ratifying in advance all that, under the circumstances, he might consider it advisable to do. Nogaret was bold, ruffianly, and clever. He repaired in haste to Florence to the king's banker, got a plentiful supply of money, established communications in Anagni, and secured, above all, the co-operation of Sciarra Colonna. On the 7th of September, 1303, Colonna and his associates introduced Nogaret and his following into Anagni, with shouts of "Death to Pope Boniface! Long live the king of France!" The populace, dumbfounded, remained motionless. The pope, deserted by all, even by his own nephew, tried to touch the heart of Colonna himself, whose only answer was a summons to abdicate, and to surrender at discretion. Thus outraged in spite of his advanced years (he was seventy-five), Boniface maintained a dauntless attitude under the grossest insults, but died very shortly after.

On the 22d of October, 1303, eleven days after the death of Boniface VIII., Benedict XI., son of a simple shepherd, was elected at Rome to succeed him. Benedict XI. exerted himself to give satisfaction to the



Sciarra Colonna and William of Nogaret insulting Pope Boniface VIII. at Anagni.
A. de Neuville. Page 56.

conqueror; Nogaret and the direct authors of the assault at Anagni were alone excepted from the general amnesty. The pope reserved for a future occasion the announcement of their absolution, when he should consider it expedient. But, on the 7th of June, 1304, instead of absolving them, he launched a fresh bull of excommunication against "certain wicked men who had dared to commit a hateful crime against a person of good memory, Pope Boniface.' A month after this bull Benedict XI. was dead. The chroniclers of the time imputed this crime to William of Nogaret, to the Colonnas, and to their associates at Anagni. The king of France, who had gained the battle of Mons-en-Puelle, then took advantage of his success to procure the election of a pope who would be entirely and exclusively his creature. The archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand de Got, proclaimed under the title of Clement V., had to accept, in return, the harshest conditions, such as pronouncing the condemnation of Boniface VIII., transferring the Papal See from Rome to Avignon, authorizing the suppression of the order of the Kights Templars, etc. The great wealth possessed by the order of the Temple was the true cause of Philip's hatred, but as some plausible cause was needed to procure their condemnation they were accused of heresy, immorality and sacrilege. The council of Vienne condemned them, but the grand master, Jacques Molay, protested of their innocence to the very last. "The grand master, seeing the fire prepared, stripped himself briskly. I tell just as I saw: he bared himself to his shirt, light-heartedly and with a good grace, without a whit of trembling, though he was dragged and shaken mightily. They took hold of him to tie him to the stake, and they were binding his hands with a cord, but he said to them, 'Sirs, suffer me to fold my hands awhile, and make my prayer to God, for verily it is time. I am presently to die; but wrongfully, God wot. Wherefore woe will come, ere long, to those who condemn us without a cause. God will avenge our death.'"

A popular rumor soon spread abroad that Jacques Molay, at his death, had cited the pope and the king to appear with him, the former at the end of forty days and the latter within a year, before the judgment seat of God. Clement V. actually died on the 20th of April, 1314, and Philip the Handsome on the 29th of November, 1314; the pope, undoubtedly uneasy at the servile acquiescence he had shown toward the king, and the king expressing some sorrow for his greed, and for the imposts with which he had burdened his people.

Philip the Handsome left three sons, Louis X., called *le Hutin* (*the Quarreler*), Philip V., called *the Long*, and Charles IV., called *the Handsome*, who, between them, occupied the throne only thirteen years and ten months. Not one of them distinguished himself by his personal merits; and the events of the three reigns hold scarcely a higher place in history than the actions of the three kings do. Louis the Quarreler had to keep up the war with Flanders, which was continually being renewed; and in order to find, without hateful exactions, the necessary funds, he was advised to offer

freedom to the serfs of his domãins; accordingly he issued, on the 3d of July, 1315, an edict to that effect.

Another fact which has held an important place in the history of France, and exercised a great influence over her destinies, likewise dates from this period; and that is the exclusion of women from the succession to the throne, by virtue of an article, ill understood, of the Salic law. From the time of Hugh Capet heirs male had never been wanting to the crown, and the succession in the male line had been a fact uninterrupted indeed, but not due to prescription or law. Louis the Quarreler, at his death, on the 5th of June, 1315, left only a daughter, but his second wife, Queen Clemence, was pregnant. On the 15th of November, 1316, the queen gave birth to a son, who was named John, and who figures as John I. in the series of French kings, but the child died at the end of five days, and on the 6th of January, 1316, Philip the Long was crowned king at Reims. He forthwith summoned, there is no knowing exactly where and in what numbers, the clergy, barons, and third estate who declared, on the 2d of February, that "the laws and customs, inviolably observed among the Franks, excluded daughters from the crown." There was no doubt about the fact; but the law was not established, nor even in conformity with the entire feudal system or with general opinion. But the measure was evidently wise and salutary for France as well as for the kingship; and it was renewed, after Philip the Long died, on the 3d of January, 1322, and left daughters only, in favor of his brother Charles the Handsome, who died, in his turn, on the 1st of January, 1328, and likewise left daughters only. The question as to the succession to the throne then lay between the male line represented by Philip, count of Valois, grandson of Philip the Bold through Charles of Valois his father, and the female line represented by Edward III., king of England, grandson, through his mother Isabel, sister of the late king Charles the Handsome, of Philip the Handsome. A war of more than a century's duration between France and England was the result of this lamentable rivalry, which all but put the kingdom of France under an English king; but France was saved by the stubborn resistance of the national spirit and by Joan of Arc inspired by God.

This period was likewise the cradle of the French nation. That was the time when it began to exhibit itself in its different elements, and to arise under monarchical rule from the midst of the feudal system. The *Communes*, which should not be confounded with the *Third Estate*, are the first to appear in history. They appear there as local facts, isolated one from another, often very different in point of origin, though analogous in their aim, and in every case neither assuming nor pretending to assume any place in the government of the State. It is exactly then that the *Third Estate* comes to the front, and uplifts itself as a general fact, a national element, a political power. It is the successor, not the contemporary, of the *Communes;* they contributed much toward, but did not suffice for its formation; it drew upon other resources, and was developed under other influences than those which

gave existence to the communes. When they succeeded, they obtained those treaties of peace called *charters*, which brought about in the condition of the insurgents salutary changes accompanied by more or less effectual guarantees. When they failed or when the charters were violated, the result was violent reactions, mutual excesses; the relations between the populations and their lords were tempestuous and full of vicissitude; but at bottom neither the political regimen nor the social system of the communes were altered.

At the very time that the communes were perishing, and the kingship was growing, a new power, a new social element, the *Third Estate*, was springing up in France; and it was called to take a far more important place in the history of France, and to exercise far more influence upon the fate of the French fatherland than it had been granted to the communes to acquire during their short and incoherent existence.

Taking the history of France in its entirety and under all its phases, the third estate has been the most active and determining element in the process of French civilization. If we follow it in its relation with the general government of the country, we see it at first allied for six centuries to the kingship. But, so soon as it had gained this victory and brought about this revolution, the third estate went in pursuit of a new one, attacking that single power to the foundation of which it had contributed so much, and entering upon the task of changing pure monarchy into constitutional monarchy.

This fact is unique in the history of the world. We recognize in the career of the chief nations of Asia and ancient Europe nearly all the great facts which have agitated France; but nowhere is there any appearance of a class which, starting from the very lowest, from being feeble, despised, and almost imperceptible at its origin, rises by perpetual motion and by labor without respite, strengthens itself from period to period, acquires in succession whatever it lacked, wealth, enlightenment, influence, changes the face of society and the nature of government, and arrives at last at such a pitch of predominance that it may be said to be absolutely the country.

Not only is the fact new, but it is a fact eminently French, essentially national. Nowhere has burgherdom had so wide and so productive a career as that which fell to its lot in France. There have been communes in the whole of Europe, in Italy, Spain, Germany, and England, as well as in France, but there has not really been a victorious third estate anywhere except in France.

# V.

# THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

IN the fourteenth century a new and a vital question arose; will the French dominion preserve its nationality? Will the kingship remain French or pass to the foreigner? This question brought ravages upon France and kept her fortunes in suspense for a hundred years of war with England, from the reign of Philip of Valois to that of Charles VII.; and a young girl of Lorraine, called Joan of Arc, had the glory of communicating to France that decisive impulse which brought to a triumphant issue the independence of the French nation and kingship.

Some weeks after his accession, on the 29th of May, 1328, Philip was crowned at Reims, in presence of a brilliant assemblage of princes and lords, French and foreign; next year, on the 6th of June, Edward III., king of England, being summoned to fulfill a vassal's duties by doing homage to the king of France for the duchy of Aquitaine, which he held, appeared in the cathedral of Amiens, with his crown on his head, his sword at his side, and his gilded spurs on his heels; and on the 30th of March, 1331, he recognized, by letters express, "that the said homage which we did at Amiens to the king of France in general terms, is, and must be understood as liege: and that we are bound, as duke of Aquitaine, and peer of France, to show him faith and loyalty."

The relations between the two kings were not destined to be for long so courteous and so pacific.

The reader is referred to the History of England for a record of the continued strife between Philip VI. and the English king, Edward III., the principal events of which are as follows:

1328 Philip VI., king of France, gains the battle of Cassel. 1336 Edward III. of England supports the cause of the Flemings against Philip VI. of France. 1337 Froissart born. 1340 Edward III. defeats the French in a naval engagement near Sluys: truce of four years. 1341 Beginning of the war for the succession of Brittany, between Charles of Blois and John of Montfort. Petrarch crowned at the Capital. 1344 Edward III. renews the war with France. 1346 Battle of Cressy. 1347 Calais surrenders to Edward III. after a siege of eleven months and a few days. William of Ockham died. 1348 The black plague. The Jews persecuted. 1349 Cession of Vienness and of Montpelier to France.

In the latter part of 1349 Philip of Valois himself, now fifty-eight years of age, took for his second wife Blanche of Navarre, who was only eighteen. She was a sister of that young king of Navarre, Charles II., who was soon to get the name of Charles *the Bad*, and to become so dangerous an enemy of Philip's successors. Seven months after his marriage, and on the 22d of August, 1350, Philip died at Nogent-le-Roi in the Haute-Marne, strictly enjoining his son John to maintain with vigor his well ascertained right to the crown he wore, and leaving his people bowed down beneath a weight "of extortions so heavy that the like had never been seen in the kingdom of France."

His successor, John II., called *the Good*, on no other ground than that he was gay, prodigal, credulous and devoted to his favorites, did nothing but reproduce, with aggravations, the faults and reverses of his father.

He compromised more and more seriously every day his own safety and that of his successor by vexing more and more, without destroying, his most dangerous enemy. He showed no greater prudence or ability in the government of his kingdom. And, nevertheless, King John's necessities were more evident and more urgent than ever: war with England had begun again.

The truth is that, in spite of the truce still existing, the English, since the accession of King John, had at several points resumed hostilities. The disorders and dissensions to which France was a prey now offered strong inducements to the English king. The full account of the invasion of France and the battles which finally resulted in the capture of King John is given in the History of England.

The dauphin Charles, aged nineteen, in spite of his youth and his anything but glorious retreat from Poitiers, took the title of lieutenant of the king, and had hardly re-entered Paris, on the 29th of September, when he summoned, for the 15th of October, the States-general of Languedoc, who met, in point of fact, on the 17th, in the great chamber of parliament. Fresh subsidies were granted, but only on very hard conditions. The deputies demanded of Charles "that he should deprive of their offices such of the king's councillors as they should point out, have them arrested, and confiscate all their property." A plot against the marshals, headed by Stephen Marcel, came to the apartments of the dauphin, and after some conversation Marcel said: "My lord duke, do not alarm yourself; but we have somewhat to do here;" and turned toward his fellows in the caps, saying, "Dearly beloved, do that for the which ye are come." The mob immediately massacred the Lord de Conflans, marshal of Champagne, and Robert de Clermont, marshal of Normandy, both at the time unarmed, so close to the dauphin that his robe was covered with their blood. The dauphin shuddered, and the rest of his officers fled. "Take no heed, lord duke," said Marcel; "you have naught to fear." He handed to the dauphin his own red and blue cap, and himself put on the dauphin's, which was of black stuff with golden fringe. The corpses of the two marshals were dragged into the courtyard of the palace, where they remained until evening. The king of Navarre was recalled from Nantes to

Paris, and the dauphin was obliged to assign to him, in the king's name, "as a make-up for his losses," 10,000 livres a year on landed property in Languedoc. On the 25th of March, the young prince succeeded in leaving Paris, and repaired first of all to Senlis, and then to Provins, where he found the estates of Champagne eager to welcome him.

The insurrection of the *Jacques Bonhomme* (or Jack Goodfellows) gave Marcel, as he thought, an opportunity to assert his power. The nobles, the dauphin, and the king of Navarre, a prince and a noble at the same time that he was a scoundrel, made common cause against the *Goodfellows*. In Beauvaisis the king of Navarre, after having made a show of treating with their chieftain, William Karle or Callet, got possession of him, and had him beheaded. He then moved upon a camp of *Goodfellows* assembled near Montidier, slew three thousand of them and dispersed the remainder. Marcel from that moment perceived that his cause was lost, and he gave himself up to his own safety. He sought to betray France to the English, and would have succeeded if John Maillart, another burgher of Paris, had not put an end to his life July 31st, 1358. On the 2d of August the dauphin Charles re-entered Paris, accompanied by John Maillart. On being re-settled in the capital, he showed neither clemency nor cruelty. He let the reaction against Stephen Marcel run its course, and turned it to account without further exciting it or prolonging it beyond measure. Marcel's widow even recovered a portion of his property; and as early as the 10th of August, 1358, Charles published an amnesty, from which he excepted only "those who had been in the secret council of the provost of tradesmen in respect of the great treason; and on the same day another amnesty quashed all proceeding for deeds done during the *Jacquery*, "whether by nobles or ignobles." Charles knew that in acts of rigor or of grace impartiality conduces to the strength and the reputation of authority.

A reconciliation then took place between him and the king of Navarre, whose wife, Joan of France, was the dauphin's sister. "The town of Melun," says the chronicler, "was restored to the lord duke; the navigation of the river once more became free up stream and down; great was the satisfaction in Paris and throughout the whole country; and, peace being thus made, the two princes returned both of them home."

The treaty of London and its rejection by the States-general, another invasion of France by Edward and his siege of Paris, the subsequent treaty and the release of King John, are all recorded in our history of England. The violation of the treaty upon which John had been released induced him to return to England. Shortly after his arrival in London he fell seriously ill, and died on the 8th of April, 1364, at the Savoy; France was at last about to have in Charles V. a practical and an effective king.

In spite of the discretion he had displayed during his four years of regency (from 1356 to 1360) his reign opened under the saddest auspices. In 1363, one of those contagious diseases, all at that time

called the plague, committed cruel ravages in France. King Charles V. had a very difficult work before him. Between himself and his great rival, Edward III., king of England, there was only such a peace as was fatal and hateful to France. To escape some day from the treaty of Bretigny and recover some of the provinces which had been lost by it—this was what king and country secretly desired and labored for. Pending a favorable opportunity for promoting this highest interest, war went on in Brittany between John of Montfort and Charles of Blois, who continued to be encouraged and patronized, covertly, one by the king of England, the other by the king of France. Almost immediately after the accession of Charles V. it broke out again between him and his brother-in-law Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, the former being profoundly mistrustful and the latter brazen-facedly perfidious, and both detesting one another and watching to seize the moment for taking advantage one of the other. Charles V. had recourse three times, in July, 1367, and in May and December, 1369, to a convocation of the States-general, in order to be put in a position to meet the political and financial difficulties of France. It was his good fortune, besides, to find among his servants a man to be the thunderbolt of war and the glory of knighthood of his reign; we mean Bertrand du Guesclin, a Breton gentleman, who had already distinguished himself on the field of battle. Having received the command of the royal troops, he inaugurated the new reign by the victory of Cocherel, when he defeated John de Grailly, capital of Buch, the best of the generals of the king of Navarre. Charles the Bad lost by this affair nearly all his possessions in Normandy.

Charles V., encouraged by his success, determined to take part likewise in the war which was still going on between the two claimants to the duchy of Brittany, Charles of Blois and John of Montfort. Du Guesclin was sent to support Charles of Blois; he entered at once on the campaign, and marched upon Auray, which was being besieged by the count of Montfort. The battle took place on the 29th of September, 1364, before Auray; Charles of Blois was killed and Du Guesclin was made prisoner. The cause of John of Montfort was clearly won; and he, on taking possession of the duchy of Brittany, asked nothing better than to acknowledge himself vassal of the king of France and swear fidelity to him. The subsequent Spanish campaign, the death of the Black Prince and of his father, Edward III., are recorded in the history of England.

While England thus lost her two great chiefs France still kept hers. For three years longer Charles V. and Du Guesclin remained at the head of her government and her armies. A truce between the two kingdoms had been twice concluded, between 1375 and 1377: it was still in force when the prince of Wales died, and Charles, ever careful to practice knightly courtesy, had a solemn funeral service performed for him. Having fallen sick before Chateauneuf-Randon, a place he was besieging in the Gevaudan, Du Guesclin expired on the 13th of July

1380, at sixty-six years of age, and his last words were an exhortation to the veteran captains around him "never to forget that, in whatsoever country they might be making war, churchmen, women, children, and the poor people were not their enemies."

Two months after the constable's death, on the 16th of September, 1380, Charles V. died at the castle of Beaute-sur-Marne, near Vincennes, at forty-three years of age, quite young still after so stormy and hard-working a life. His contemporaries were convinced, and he was himself convinced, that he had been poisoned by his perfidious enemy, King Charles of Navarre.

Charles V., taking upon his shoulders at nineteen years of age, first as king's lieutenant and as dauphin and afterward as regent, the government of France, employed all his soul and his life in repairing the disasters arising from the wars of his predecessors and preventing any repetition. No sovereign was ever more resolutely pacific; he carried prudence even into the very practice of war. Scarcely was Charles V. laid on his bier when it was seen what a loss he was and would be to his kingdom. Discord arose in the king's own family. In order to shorten the ever critical period of minority, Charles V. had fixed the king's majority at the age of fourteen. His son, Charles VI. was not yet twelve, and so had two years to remain under the guardianship of his four uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon; but the last, being only a maternal uncle and a less puissant prince than his paternal uncles it was between the other three that strife began for temporary possession of the kingly power.

The city of Ghent in particular joined complaint with menace, and in 1381 the quarrel became war; and in November of the following year the king of France and his army marched into Flanders in support of the count. Several towns, Cassel, Bergues, Gravelines, and Turnhout, hastily submitted to him; and on the 28th of November the two armies found themselves close together at Rosebecque, between Ypres and Courtrai.

The victory of Rosebecque was a great cause for satisfaction and pride to Charles VI. and his uncle, the duke of Burgundy. They had conquered on the field in Flanders the commonalty of Paris as well as that of Ghent; and in France there was great need of such a success.

Free at last from the *surveillance* of his uncles, Charles VI. married Isabel of Bavaria whose wantonness was destined to bring the kingdom to the verge of destruction. Now, yielding to the impetuous suggestions of his character, he prepared against England a gigantic armament, which the delays of the duke of Berry rendered useless. Matters were getting worse in France, when a serious misfortune came to destroy the already exhausted constitution of the king, and to give up the country to the unprincipled ambition of his uncles. On the 13th of June, 1392, the constable, Oliver de Clisson, was waylaid as he was returning home after a banquet given by the king at the hostel of St. Paul. The assassin

was Peter de Craon, cousin of John IV., duke of Brittany. He believed De Clisson to be dead, and left him bathed in blood at a baker's door in the street called Culture-Sainte-Catherine. While preparing a war against the duke of Brittany to discover the assassin who had hidden there the king was struck with madness. A fair young Burgundian, Odette de Champdivers, was the only one among his many favorites who was at all successful in soothing him during his violent fits. For thirty years, from 1392 to 1422, the crown remained on the head of this poor madman, while France was a victim to the bloody quarrels of the royal house, to national dismemberment, to licentiousness in morals, to civil anarchy, and to foreign conquest.

The dukes of Burgundy and Berry being thus in possession of power excercised it for ten years, from 1392 to 1402, without any great dispute between themselves, the duke of Burgundy's influence being predominant, or with the king, who, save certain lucid intervals, took merely a nominal part in the government. During this period no event of importance disturbed France internally. In 1393 the king of England, Richard II., son of the Black Prince, sought in marriage the daughter of Charles VI., Isabel of France, only eight years old. The contract was signed on the 9th of March, 1396. (See History of England.)

Rivalries, intrigues and scandals of every kind surrounded the court of the mad king. His wife, Isabel of Bavaria, was far too intimate with his brother, the duke of Orleans. In the very midst of a court crisis Philip the Bold suddenly died of illness April 27th, 1404. John the Fearless, count of Nevers, his son and successor, was a man of violence, unscrupulous and indiscrete, full of jealousy and hatred, and capable of any deed and risk for the gratification of his passions. At his accession he made some popular moves; he appeared disposed to prosecute vigorously the war against England, which was going on sluggishly; he testified a certain spirit of conciliation by going to pay a visit to his cousin, the duke of Orleans, lying ill at his castle of Beaute, near Vincennes. When the duke of Orleans was well again, the two princes took the communion together and dined together at their uncle's, the duke of Berry's; and the duke of Orleans invited the new duke of Burgundy to dine with him the next Sunday. The Parisians took pleasure in observing these little matters, and in hoping for the re-establishment of harmony in the royal family. They were soon to be cruelly undeceived.

On the 23d of November, 1407, the duke of Orleans was murdered in the streets of Paris by ruffians hired for the purpose by the duke of Burgundy, who openly dared to justify the assassination.

The duke of Burgundy's negotiations at Tours were not fruitless. The result was that on the 9th of March, 1409, a treaty was concluded and an interview effected at Chartres between the duke on one side, and on the other the king, the queen, the dauphin, all the royal family, the councillors of the crown, the young duke of Orleans, his brother, and a hundred knights of their

house, all met together to hear the king declare that he pardoned the duke of Burgundy.

From 1410 to 1415 France was a prey to civil war between the Armagnacs and Burgundians, and to their alternate successes and reverses, brought about by the unscrupulous employment of the most odious and desperate means. The Burgundians had generally the advantage in the struggle, for Paris was chiefly the center of it, and their influence was predominant there. Their principal allies there, says the chronicle, were the butchers. Both parties were anxious to secure the support of the king of England. The Armagnacs had promised the half of Franee to Henry, and thus induced him to espouse their quarrel. The duke of Burgundy, however, and Charles II., whom he had in his power, declared them enemies of the State, and besieged them in the city of Bourges (1412). There a peace was concluded, but proved of very short duration. The death of Henry of Lancaster, by lessening the immediate chances of a foreign war, rendered the conflict at home much more terrible.

This time, and after the useless assembly of the States-general in 1413, the Cabochians committed such excesses in Paris that the citizens came to an understanding to expel them. The Armagnacs immediately entered the metropolis, and not only maintained themselves there, but, commanded by Charles VI., pursued their enemies as far as Arras. A peace of short duration followed and then the war with England was renewed, for which see the History of England. The battle of Agincourt was fought October 23d, 1415.

The Parisian population was becoming every day more *Burgundian*. In the latter days of May, 1418, a plot was contrived for opening to the Burgundians one of the gates of Paris. Perrinet Leclerc, son of a rich iron merchant, having influence in the quarter of St. Germain des Pres, stole the keys from under the bolster of his father's bed; a troop of Burgundian men-at-arms came in, and they were immediately joined by a troop of Parisians. They spread over the city, shouting, "Our Lady of Peace! Hurrah for the king! Hurrah for Burgundy! Let all who wish for peace take arms and follow us!" The people swarmed from the houses and followed them accordingly. The Armagnacs were surprised and seized with alarm. Tanneguy Duchatel, a man of prompt and resolute spirit, ran to the dauphin's, wrapped him in his bedclothes, and carried him off to the Bastile, where he shut him up with several of his partizans.

Henry of England negotiated with both parties; but though Burgundy and the queen, having possession of the person of the afflicted sovereign, carried the appearance of legal authority, every Frenchman who paid any regard to the true interests of his country adhered to the dauphin. From the enmity of the contending factions a circumstance occurred which facilitated Henry's views more readily than he could possibly have anticipated. A simulated reconciliation having taken place between the duke of Burgundy and the dauphin, an interview was appointed on the bridge of the town of Montereau. The duke of Burgundy came to this meeting against the

advice of his friends and was murdered by Tanneguy Duchatel, who told him that the time had come to expiate the murder of the duke of Orleans, which none of them had forgotten. This was on September 10th, 1419.

Henry V., king of England, as soon as he heard about the murder of Duke John, set himself to work to derive from it all the advantages he anticipated. "A great loss," said he, "is the duke of Burgundy; he was a good and true knight and an honorable prince; but through his death we are, by God's help, at the summit of our wishes. We shall thus, in spite of all Frenchmen, possess *dame Catherine*, whom we have so much desired." As early as the 24th of September, 1419, Henry V. gave full powers to certain of his people to treat "with the illustrious city of Paris and the other towns in adherence to the said city." On the 17th of October was opened at Arras a congress between the plenipotentiaries of England and those of Burgundy. On the 20th of November a special truce was granted to the Parisians, while Henry V., in concert with Duke Philip of Burgundy, was prosecuting the war against the dauphin. On the 2d of December the bases were laid of an agreement between the English and the Burgundians. The preliminaries of the treaty which was drawn up in accordance with these bases were signed on the 9th of April, 1420, by King Charles VI., and on the 20th communicated at Paris by the chancellor of France to the parliament and to all the religious and civil, royal and municipal authorities of the capital. After this communication, the chancellor and the premier president of parliament went with these preliminaries to Henry V. at Pontoise, whence he set out with a division of his army for Troyes, where the treaty, definitive and complete, was at last signed and promulgated in the cathedral of Troyes, on the 21st of May, 1420.

Toward the end of August, 1422, Henry V. fell ill; and, too stout-hearted to delude himself as to his condition, he thought no longer of anything but preparing himself for death. He expired at Vincennes on the 31st of August, 1422, at the age of thirty-four. A great soul and a great king; but a great example also of the boundless errors which may be fallen into by the greatest men when they pursue with arrogant confidence their own views, forgetting the laws of justice and the rights of other men.

On the 22d of October, 1422, less than two months after the death of Henry V., Charles VI., king of France, died at Paris in the forty-third year of his reign. As soon as he had been buried at St. Denis, the duke of Bedford, regent of France according to the will of Henry V., caused a herald to proclaim, "Long live Henry of Lancaster, king of England and of France!" The people's voice made very different proclamation. It had always been said that the public evils proceeded from the state of illness into which the unhappy King Charles had fallen.

It was only when he knew that, on the 27th of October, the parliament of Paris had, not without some little hesitation and ambiguity, recognized, "as king of England and France, Henry VI., son of Henry V. lately deceased," that the dauphin Charles assumed, on the 30th of October, in his castle of

Mehun-sur-Yevre, the title of king and repaired to Bourges to inaugurate in the cathedral of that city his reign as Charles VII.

Six years later, on the 6th of January, 1428, at Domremy, a little village in the valley of the Meuse, between Neufchateau and Vaucouleurs, on the edge of the frontier from Champagne to Lorraine, the young daughter of simple tillers of the soil, "of good life and repute, herself a good, simple, gentle girl, no idler, occupied hitherto in sewing or spinning with her mother or driving afield her parent's sheep, and sometimes even, when her father's turn came round, keeping for him the whole flock of the commune," was fulfilling her sixteenth year. It was Joan of Arc, whom all her neighbors called Joannette. Her early childhood was passed amid the pursuits characteristic of a country life; her behavior was irreproachable, and she was robust, active, and intrepid. Her imagination becoming inflamed by the distressed situation of France, she dreamed that she had interviews with St. Margaret, St. Catherine and St. Michael, who commanded her, in the name of God, to go and raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct Charles to be crowned at Reims. Accordingly she applied to Robert de Baudricourt, captain of the neighboring town of Vaucouleurs, revealing to him her inspiration, and conjuring him not to neglect the voice of God, which spoke through her. This officer for some time treated her with neglect; but at length, prevailed on by repeated importunities, he sent her to the king at Chinon, to whom, when introduced, she said: "Gentle dauphin, my name is Joan the Maid. The King of heaven hath sent me to your assistance. If you please to give me troops, by the grace of God and the force of arms, I will raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct you to be crowned at Reims, in spite of your enemies." Her requests were now granted: she was armed *cap-a-pie*, mounted on horseback, and provided with a suitable retinue.

Joan's first undertaking was against Orleans, which she entered without opposition on the 29th of April, 1429, on horseback, completely armed, preceded by her own banner, and having beside her Dunois, and behind her the captains of the garrison and several of the most distinguished burgesses of Orleans, who had gone out to meet her. The population, one and all, rushed thronging round her, carrying torches, and greeting her arrival "with joy as great as if they had seen God come down among them." With admirable good sense, discovering the superior merits of Dunois, the bastard of Orleans, a celebrated captain, she wisely adhered to his instructions, and by constantly harassing the English, and beating up their intrenchments in various desperate attacks, in all of which she displayed the most heroic courage, Joan in a few weeks compelled the earl of Suffolk and his army to raise the siege, having sustained the loss of six thousand men. The proposal of crowning Charles at Reims would formerly have appeared like madness, but the Maid of Orleans now insisted on its fulfillment. She accordingly recommenced the campaign on the 10th of June; to complete the deliverance of Orleans an attack was begun upon the neighboring places, Jargeau, Meung and Beaugency; thousands of the late dispirited subjects of Charles now



Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans.
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flocked to his standard, many towns immediately declared for him, and the English, who had suffered in various actions—at that of Jargeau, when the earl of Suffolk was taken prisoner, and at that of Patay, when Sir John Fastolfe fled without striking a blow—seemed now to be totally dispirited. On the 16th of July King Charles entered Reims, and the ceremony of his coronation was fixed for the morrow.

It was solemn and emotional, as are all old national traditions which recur after a forced suspension. Joan rode between Dunois and the archbishop of Reims, chancellor of France. The air resounded with the *Te Deum*, sung with all their hearts by clergy and crowd. "In God's name," said Joan to Dunois, "here is a good people and a devout; when I die, I should much like it to be in these parts." "Joan," inquired Dunois, "know you when you will die and in what place?" "I know not," said she, "for I am at the will of God." Then she added, "I have accomplished that which my Lord commanded me, to raise the siege of Orleans and have the gentle king crowned. I would like it well if it should please Him to send me back to my father and mother, to keep their sheep and their cattle and do that which was my wont." "When the said lords," says the chronicler, an eye-witness, "heard these words of Joan, who, with eyes toward heaven, gave thanks to God, they the more believed that it was somewhat sent from God and not otherwise."

Historians and even contemporaries have given much discussion to the question whether Joan of Arc, according to her first ideas, had really limited her design to the raising of the siege of Orleans and the coronation of Charles VII. at Reims. However that may be, when Orleans was relieved and Charles VII. crowned, the situation, posture, and part of Joan underwent a change. She no longer manifested the same confidence in herself and her designs. She no longer excercised over those in whose midst she lived the same authority. She continued to carry on war, but at hap-hazard, sometimes with and sometimes without success, just like La Hire and Dunois; never discouraged, never satisfied, and never looking upon herself as triumphant. After the coronation, her advice was to march at once upon Paris, in order to take up a fixed position in it, as being the political center of the realm of which Reims was the religious. Nothing of the sort was done. She threw herself into Compiegne, then besieged by the duke of Burgundy. The next day (May 25th, 1430), heading a sally upon the enemy, she was repulsed and compelled to retreat after exerting the utmost valor; when, having nearly reached the gate of the town, an English archer pursued her, and pulled her from her horse. The joy of the English at this capture was as great as if they had obtained a complete victory. Joan was committed to the care of John of Luxembourg, count of Ligny, from whom the duke of Bedford purchased the captive for ten thousand pounds, and a pension of three hundred pounds a year to the bastard

of Vendome, to whom she surrendered. Joan was now conducted to Rouen, where, loaded with irons, she was thrown into a dungeon, preparatory to appear before a court assembled to judge her.

The trial lasted from the 21st of February to the 30th of May, 1431. The court held forty sittings, mostly in the chapel of the castle, some in Joan's very prison. On her arrival there, she had been put into an iron cage; afterward she was kept "no longer in the cage, but in a dark room in a tower of the castle, wearing irons upon her feet, fastened by a chain to a large piece of wood, and guarded night and day by four or five soldiers of low grade." She complained of being thus chained; but the bishop told her that her former attempts at escape demanded this precaution. "It is true," said Joan, as truthful as heroic, "I did wish and I still wish to escape from prison, as is the right of every prisoner." At her examination, the bishop required her to take "an oath to tell the truth about everything as to which she should be questioned." "I know not what you mean to question me about. Perchance you may ask me things I would not tell you. Touching my revelations, for instance, you might ask me to tell something I have sworn not to tell; thus I should be perjured, which you ought not to desire." The bishop insisted upon an oath absolute and without condition. "You are too hard on me," said Joan; "I do not like to take an oath to tell the truth save as to matters which concern the faith." The bishop called upon her to swear on pain of being held guilty of the things imputed to her. "Go on to something else," said she. And this was the answer she made to all questions which seemed to her to be a violation of her right to be silent. Wearied and hurt at these imperious demands, she one day said, "I come on God's business, and I have naught to do here; send me back to God from whom I come." "Are you sure you are in God's grace?" asked the bishop. "If I be not," answered Joan, "please God to bring me to it; and if I be, please God to keep me in it!" The bishop himself remained dumbfounded.

There is no object in following through all its sittings and all its twistings this odious and shameful trial, in which the judges' prejudiced servility and scientific subtlety were employed for three months to wear out the courage or overreach the understanding of a young girl of nineteen, who refused at one time to lie, and at another to enter into discussion with them, and made no defense beyond holding her tongue or appealing to God, who had spoken to her and dictated to her that which she had done. In the end she was condemned for all the crimes of which she had been accused, aggravated by that of heresy, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, to be fed during life on bread and water. The English were enraged that she was not condemned to death. "Wait but a little," said one of the judges, "we shall soon find the means to ensnare her." And this was effected by a grievous accusation, which, though somewhat countenanced by the Levitical law, has been

seldom urged in modern times—the wearing of man's attire. Joan had been charged with this offense, but she promised not to repeat it. A suit of man's apparel was designedly placed in her chamber, and her own garments, as some authors say, being removed, she clothed herself in the forbidden garb, and her keepers surprising her in that dress, she was adjudged to death as a relapsed heretic, and was condemned to be burnt in the market-place at Rouen (1431).

Four centuries have rolled by since Joan of Arc, that modest and heroic servant of God, made a sacrifice of herself for France. For four and twenty years after her death, France and the king appeared to think no more of her. However, in 1455, remorse came upon Charles VII. and upon France. Nearly all the provinces, all the towns were freed from the foreigner; and shame was felt that nothing was said, nothing done for the young girl who had saved everything. At Rouen, especially, where the sacrifice was completed, a cry for reparation arose. It was timidly demanded from the spiritual power which had sentenced and delivered over Joan as a heretic to the stake. Pope Calixtus III. entertained the request preferred, not by the king of France, but in the name of Isabel Romee, Joan's mother, and her whole family. Regular proceedings were commenced and followed up for the rehabilitation of the martyr; and, on the 7th of July, 1456, a decree of the court assembled at Rouen quashed the sentence of 1431, together with all its consequences, and ordered "a general procession and solemn sermon at St. Ouen Place and the Vieux-Marche, where the said maid had been cruelly and horribly burned; besides the planting of a cross of honor (*crucis honcstæ*) on the Vieux-Marche, the judges ordered the official notice to be given of their decision throughout the cities and notable places of the realm."

After the execution of Joan the war resumed its course, and we again refer the reader to the History of England for a narrative of the events.

On certain conditions the capitulation of Bordeaux was concluded and signed on the 17th of October, 1453; the English re-embarked and Charles, without entering Bordeaux, returned to Touraine. The English had no longer any possession in France but Calais and Guines. The Hundred Years' War was over.

And to whom was the glory due?

Charles VII. himself decided the question. When in 1455, twenty-four years after the death of Joan of Arc, he at Rome and at Rouen prosecuted her claims for restoration of character and did for her fame and her memory all that was still possible, he was but relieving his conscience from a load of ingratitude and remorse, which in general weighs but lightly upon men, and especially upon kings. *La Pucelle*, first among all, had a right to the glory, for she had been the first to contribute to the success.

Next to Joan of Arc the constable De Richemont was the most effective and the most glorious among the liberators of France and of the king. He was a strict and stern warrior, unscrupulous and pitiless toward his enemies,

severe in regard to himself, dignified in his manners, never guilty of swearing himself, and punishing swearing as a breach of discipline among the troops placed under his orders. Dunois, La Hire, Xaintrailles, and marshals De Boussac and De Lafayette were, under Charles VII., brilliant warriors and useful servants of the king and of France.

Besides all these warriors we meet, under the sway of Charles VII., at first in a humble capacity and afterward at his court, in his diplomatic service and sometimes in his closest confidence, a man of quite a different origin and quite another profession, but one who, nevertheless, acquired by peaceful toil great riches and great influence; we mean Jacques Cœur, born at Bourges at the close of the fourteenth century. This eminent man, after acquiring a large fortune by commercial transactions, rose to the post of *argentier*, or administrator of the royal exchequer. In this quality he was for twelve years associated with the most important government transactions, and he administered the finances with the greatest probity and uprightness.

In whatever light it is regarded, the government of Charles VII. in the latter part of his reign brought him not only in France, but throughout Europe, a great deal of fame and power. When he had driven the English out of his kingdom he was called *Charles the Victorious;* and when he had introduced into the internal regulations of the State so many important and effective reforms he was called *Charles the Well-served.* "The sense he had by nature," says his historian Chastellain, "had been increased to twice as much again in his straitened fortunes by long constraint and perilous dangers, which sharpened his wits perforce." "He is the king of kings," was said of him by the doge of Venice, Francis Foscari, a good judge of policy: "there is no doing without him."

Nevertheless, at the close, so influential and so tranquil, of his reign, Charles VII. was in his individual and private life the most desolate, the most harassed, and the most unhappy man in his kingdom. The dauphin Louis, after having from his very youth behaved in a facetious, harebrained, turbulent way toward the king his father, had become at one time an open rebel, at another a venomous conspirator and a dangerous enemy. At his birth, in 1423, he had been named Louis in remembrance of his ancestor St. Louis, and in hopes that he would resemble him. In 1440, at seventeen years of age, he allied himself with the great lords, who were displeased with the new military system established by Charles VII., and allowed himself to be drawn by them into the transient rebellion known by the name of *Praguery.* In 1456, in order to escape from the perils brought upon him by the plots which he in the heart of Dauphiny was incessantly hatching against his father, Louis fled from Grenoble and went to take refuge in Brussels with the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, who willingly received him, at the same time excusing himself to Charles VII. "on the ground of the respect he owed to the son of his suzerain," and putting at the disposal of Louis, "his guest," a pension of thirty-six thousand livres. At Brussels the dauphin remained impassive, waiting with scandalous indifference for the news of his father's

death. Charles sank into a state of profound melancholy and general distrust. At last, deserted by them of his own household and disgusted with his own life, he died on the 22d of July, 1461.

## VI.

# LOUIS XI.—CHARLES VIII.—LOUIS XII.

(1461-1515.)

"GENTLEMEN," said Dunois, on rising from table at the funeral-banquet held at the abbey of St. Denis in honor of the obsequies of King Charles VII., "we have lost our master; let each look after himself." The old warrior foresaw that the new reign would not be like that which had just ended.

At the accession of Louis XI. the feudal system was still powerful. Against this the king began a desperate warfare, and the first decrees which he published were as much the expression of his hatred, as of his determination to do away with every reminiscence of his father's government. Thoroughly irritated by these measures, and by others besides, such as that which deprived the duke of Burgundy of the lieutenancy of Normandy, which had first been bestowed upon him, the great malcontents formed together, at the end of 1464, an alliance "for to remonstrate with the king," says Commynes, "upon the bad order and injustice he kept up in his kingdom, considering themselves strong enough to force him if he would not mend his ways; and this war was called *the common weal*, because it was undertaken under color of being for the common weal of the kingdom, the which was soon converted into private weal." The number of the declared malcontents increased rapidly; and the chiefs received at Paris itself, in the church of Notre Dame, the adhesion and the signatures of those who wished to join them. Louis XI. had no sooner obtained a clear insight into the league of the princes than he set to work with his usual activity and knowledge of the world to checkmate it. Between the *League of the Common Weal* and Louis XI. there was a question too great to be, at the very outset, settled peacefully. At the beginning Louis had, in Auvergne and in Berry, some successes which decided a few of the rebels, the most insignificant, to accept truces and enter upon parleys: but the great princes, the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany, and Berry, waxed more and more angry.

The two armies met at Montlhery, on the 16th of July, 1465. Breze, who commanded the king's advance guard, immediately went into action and was one of the first to be killed. Louis came up to his assistance with troops in rather loose order; the affair became hot and general; the French for a

moment wavered, but soon the wavering was transferred to the Burgundians, and the advantage virtually remained on the side of the French.

Negotiations for peace speedily followed. Two distinct treaties were concluded: one at Conflans on the 5th of October, 1465, between Louis and the count of Charolais; and the other at St. Maur on the 29th of October, between Louis and the other princes of the league. By one or the other of the treaties the king granted nearly every demand that had been made upon him. Scarcely were the treaties signed and the princes returned each to his own dominions when a quarrel arose between the duke of Brittany and the new duke of Normandy. Louis, having his movements free, suddenly entered Normandy to retake possession of it as a province which, notwithstanding the cession of it just made to his brother, the king of France could not dispense with. Evreux, Gisors, Gournay, Louviers, and even Rouen fell, without much resistance, again into his power.

In order to be safe in the direction of Burgundy as well as that of Brittany, Louis had entered into negotiations with Edward IV., king of England, and had made him offers, which seemed to trench upon the rights of the duke of Burgundy to certain districts of Picardy.

Duke Philip the Good, who had for some time past been visibly declining in body and mind, was visited at Bruges by a stroke of apoplexy, soon discovered to be fatal. A few days after his death several of the principal Flemish cities, Ghent first and then Liege, rose against the new duke of Burgundy in defense of their liberties, already ignored or threatened. The intrigues of Louis were not unconnected with these seditions. But the new duke of Burgundy was speedily triumphant over the Flemish insurrections, and after these successes, at the close of the year 1467, he was so powerful and so unfettered in his movement that Louis might with good reason fear the formation of a fresh league among his great neighbors in coalition against him. He summoned the States-general to a meeting at Tours on the 1st of April, 1498, and obtained from them the annulment of the concessions he had made, more particularly with reference to Normandy, a province which was within so dangerous a proximity of England.

Thus fortified Louis, by the treaty of Ancenis, signed on September 10th, 1468, put an end to his differences with Francis II., duke of Brittany, who gave up his alliance with the house of Burgundy, and undertook to prevail upon Duke Charles of France to accept an arbitration for the purpose of settling, before two years were over, the question of his territorial appanage in the place of Normandy. In the mean while a pension of sixty thousand livres was to be paid by the crown to that prince. Thus Louis was left with the new duke, Charles of Burgundy, as the only adversary he had to face. His advisers were divided as to the course to be taken with this formidable vassal. Accordingly he started for Noyon on the 2d of October, taking with him the constable, the cardinal, his confessor, and, for all his escort, four score of his faithful Scots and sixty men-at-arms. Duke Charles went to meet him outside the town; they embraced one another and returned



Charles the Rash compelling King Louis to sign the Treaty of Peronne, 1468.
A. de Neuville. Page 75.

on foot to Peronne, chatting familiarly, and the king with his hand resting on the duke's shoulder in token of amity. "King Louis, on coming to Peronne, had not considered that he had sent two ambassadors to the folks of Liege to excite them against the duke. The Liegese came and took by surprise the town of Tongres, wherein were the bishops of Liege and the lord of Humbercourt." The fugitives who reported this news at Peronne made the matter a great deal worse than it was; they had no doubt, they said, but that the bishop and Sire d'Humbercourt had also been murdered; and Charles had no more doubt about it than they. Exasperated by so glaring an act of treachery, Charles the Rash confined his sovereign within the tower where Charles the Simple had died in 929, and there, through the happy mediation of Philip de Commynes, compelled him to sign the treaty of Peronne (1468). But the deliverance of Louis XI. and the new treaty which he had signed were but temporary breaks in the struggle.

Between 1468 and 1477, from the incident at Peronne to the death of Charles at the siege of Nancy, the history of the two princes was nothing but one constant alternation between ruptures and readjustments, hostilities and truces, wherein both were constantly changing their posture, their language, and their allies. In 1471 St. Quentin opened its gates to Count Louis of St. Pol, constable of France. The next year (1472) war broke out. Duke Charles laid siege to Beauvais, and on the 27th of June delivered the first assault. The inhabitants were at this moment left almost alone to defend their town. A young girl of eighteen, Joan Fourquet, whom a burgher's wife of Beauvais, Madame Laisne, her mother by adoption, had bred up in the history, still so recent, of Joan of Arc, threw herself into the midst of the throng, holding up her little axe (*hachette*) before the image of St. Angadresme, patroness of the town, and crying, "O glorious virgin, come to my aid: to arms! to arms!" The assault was repulsed; re-enforcements came up from Noyon, Amiens, and Paris, under the orders of the Marshal de Rouault. Charles remained for twelve days longer before the place, looking for a better chance; but on the 12th of July he decided upon raising the siege, and took the road to Normandy. Some days before attacking Beauvais he had taken, not without difficulty, Nesle in the Vermandois.

Between the two rivals in France, relations with England were a subject of constant maneuvering and strife. In spite of reverses on the Continent and civil wars in their own island the kings of England had not abandoned their claims to the crown of France; they were still in possession of Calais; and the memory of the battles of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt was still a tower of strength to them.

The duke of Burgundy, as soon as he found out that the king of France had made peace for seven years with the king of England, saw that his attempts, so far, were a failure. Accordingly he lost no time in signing (on the 13th of September, 1475) a treaty with King Louis for nine years. Charles suddenly entered Lorraine, took possession of several castles, had the inhabitants who resisted hanged, besieged Nancy, which made a valiant

defense, and ended by conquering the capital as well as the country places, leaving Duke Rene no asylum but the court of Louis XI. Scarcely two months after the capture of Nancy, Charles set out, on the 11th of June, 1476, to avenge his client, prince of the house of Savoy, and wreak his haughty and turbulent humor upon these bold peasants of the Alps.

In spite of the truce he had but lately concluded with Charles the Rash, the prudent Louis did not cease to keep an attentive watch upon him. A late occurrence had still further strengthened his position: his brother Charles, who became duke of Guienne, in 1469, after the treaty of Peronne, had died on the 24th of May, 1472. Louis was suspected of having poisoned his brother. At any rate this event had important results for him, for it restored to him the beautiful province of Guienne and many a royal client. Of the great feudal chieftains who, in 1464, had formed against him the *League of the Common Weal*, the duke of Burgundy was the only one left on the scene and in a condition to put him in peril.

The possessions of Charles consisted of the duchy and county of Burgundy on the one side, and of the Netherlands on the other—feudal regime here, communal regime there. He wished to be a king, and with the hope of obtaining the creation of a kingdom of Belgian-Gaul he had courted the alliance of the Emperor Frederick III., promising to the Archduke Maximilian the hand of his daughter Mary. Nothing resulted from this scheme on account of the sudden death of the emperor. Charles the Rash, mad with fury, then turned against Germany and signed with Louis XI. the peace of Soleure, which has been called *Treve Marchande*, on account of the stipulations it contained respecting the freedom of commerce between France, England, and the Netherlands. Charles started from Besancon on the 6th of February to take the field with an army of from thirty to forty thousand men, provided with a powerful artillery, and accompanied by an immense baggage-train. At the rumor of such an armament the Swiss attempted to keep off the war from their country. Charles, however, gave no heed, saw nothing in their representations but an additional reason for hurrying on his movements with confidence, and on the 19th of February arrived before Granson, a little town in the district of Vaud, where war had already begun. There he was tremendously beaten by the Swiss. During his two campaigns against them, the duke of Lorraine, Rene II., whom he had despoiled of his dominions and driven from Nancy, had been wandering among neighboring princes and people in France, Germany, and Switzerland, at the courts of Louis XI. and the Emperor Frederick III., on visits to the patricians of Berne and in the free towns of the Rhine. His partisans in Lorraine recovered confidence in his fortunes. the city of Strasbourg gave him some cannon, four hundred cavalry, and eight hundred infantry; Louis XI. lent him some money; and Rene before long found himself in a position to raise a small army and retake the majority of the minor towns in Lorraine. Finally he attacked and defeated the Burgundians at Nancy on January the 5th, 1477. The duke was killed on the field of battle. Charles the Rash had left only a daughter, Mary of

Burgundy, sole heiress of all his dominions. On the 18th of August, 1477. seven months after the battle of Nancy and the death of Charles the Rash, Archduke Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick III., arrived at Ghent to wed Mary of Burgundy. Next day, August 19th, the marriage was celebrated with great simplicity in the chapel of the Hotel de Ville; and Maximilian swore to respect the privileges of Ghent. A few days afterward he renewed the same oath at Bruges, in the midst of decorations bearing the modest device, "Most glorious prince, defend us lest we perish." Not only did Louis XI. thus fail in his first wise design of incorporating with France, by means of a marriage between his son the dauphin and Princess Mary, the heritage of the dukes of Burgundy, but he suffered the heiress and a great part of the heritage to pass into the hands of the son of the German emperor. In vain, when the marriage of Maximilian and Mary was completed, did Louis XI. attempt to struggle against his new and dangerous neighbor. His campaigns in the Flemish provinces, in 1478 and 1479, had no great result; he lost, on the 7th of August, 1479, the battle of Guinegate, and before long, tired of war, he ended by concluding with Maximilian a truce at first, and then a peace, which, in spite of some conditionals favorable to France, left the principal and the fatal consequences of the Austro-Burgundian marriage to take full effect. This event marked the stoppage of that great national policy which had prevailed during the first part of Louis XI.'s reign. That was as salutary as it was glorious for the nation and the French kingship. At the death of Charles the Rash the work was accomplished; Louis XI. was the only power left in France, without any great peril from without and without any great rival within; but he then fell under the sway of mistaken ideas and a vicious spirit. Not only did he hunt down implacably the men who, after having served him, had betrayed or deserted him; he reveled in the vengeance he took and the sufferings he inflicted on them. Note, for instance, his treatment of Cardinal Balue, whom he caused to be confined in a cage "eight feet broad," says Commynes, "and only one foot higher than a man's stature, covered with iron plates outside and inside, and fitted with terrible bars." In it the unfortunate prelate passed eleven years, and it was not until 1480 that he was let out at the solicitation of Pope Sixtus IV.

He was still more pitiless toward Louis of Luxembourg, count of St. Pol, who had been from his youth up engaged in the wars and intrigues of the sovereigns and great feudal lords of Western Europe, France, England, Germany, Burgundy, Brittany and Lorraine. From 1433 to 1475 he served and betrayed them all in turn. Given up at last by the duke of Burgundy to the king he was beheaded on the 19th of December, 1475, in Paris, on the Place de Greve.

It seemed as if Louis XI. ought to fear nothing now, and that the day for clemency had come. But such was not the king's opinion; two cruel passions, suspicion and vengeance, had taken possession of his soul; he had discovered traces and almost proofs of a design by the constable and his associates for seizing the king, keeping him prisoner, and setting his son, the

dauphin, on the throne, with a regency composed of a council of lords. Among the adherents of this project the king had found James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, the companion and friend of his youth, for his father, the count of Pardiac, had been governor to Louis, at that time dauphin. Arrested, sent to the Bastile, and tried on a charge of high treason, the Duke de Nemours was beheaded on the 4th of August, 1477.

Louis XI. rendered to France, four centuries ago, during a reign of twenty-two years, three great services. He prosecuted steadily the work of Joan of Arc and Charles VII., the expulsion of a foreign kingship and the triumph of national independence and national dignity. By means of the provinces which he successively won, he caused France to make a great stride toward territorial unity within her natural boundaries. By the defeat he inflicted on the great vassals, the favor he showed the middle classes, and the use he had the sense to make of this new social force, he contributed powerfully to the formation of the French nation and to its unity under a national government. Louis XI. proved the political weakness of feudal society, determined its fall, and labored to place in its stead France and monarchy. Herein are the great facts of his reign and the proofs of his superior mind.

An unexpected event occurred at this time to give a little more heart to Louis XI. Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Rash, died at Bruges on the 27th of March, 1482, leaving to her husband, Maximilian of Austria, a daughter, hardly three years of age, Princess Marguerite by name, heiress to the Burgundian-Flemish dominions which had not come into the possession of the king of France. Louis, as soon as he heard the news, conceived the idea and the hope of making up for the reverse he had experienced. He would arrange espousals between his son the dauphin, Charles, thirteen years old, and the infant princess left by Mary, and thus recover for the crown of France the beautiful domains he had allowed to slip from him. A negotiation was opened at once on the subject between Louis, Maximilian, and the estates of Flanders, and, on the 23d of December, 1482, it resulted in a treaty, concluded at Arras, which arranged for the marriage. In January, 1483, the ambassadors from the estates of Flanders and from Maximilian, who then, for the first time, assumed the title of archduke, came to France for the ratification of the treaty.

On the 2d of June following, the infant princess, Marguerite of Austria, was brought by a solemn embassy to Paris first, and then, on the 23d of June, to Amboise, where her betrothal to the dauphin, Charles, was celebrated. Louis XI. did not feel fit for removal to Amboise, and he would not even receive at Plessis-les-Tours the new Flemish embassy. Assuredly neither the king nor any of the actors in this regal scene foresaw that this marriage, which they with reason looked upon as a triumph of French policy, would never be consummated, that, at the request of the court of France, the pope would annul the betrothal; and that, nine years after its celebration, in 1492, the Austrian princess, after having been brought up at Amboise under the guardianship of the duchess of Bourbon, Anne, eldest daughter of Louis XI.,

would be sent back to her father, Emperor Maximilian, by her affianced, Charles VIII., then king of France, who preferred to become the husband of a French princess with a French province for a dowry, Anne, duchess of Brittany.

It was in March, 1481, that Louis XI. had his first attack of that apoplexy which, after several repeated strokes, reduced him to such a state of weakness that in June, 1483, he felt himself and declared himself not in a fit state to be present at his son's betrothal. Two months afterward, on the 25th of August, St. Louis' day, he had a fresh stroke, and lost all consciousness and speech.

On Saturday, August 30th, 1483, between seven and eight in the evening, he expired, saying, "Our Lady of Embrun, my good mistress, have pity upon me; the mercies of the Lord will I sing forever (*misericordias Domini in æternum cantabo*)."

Louis XI. had by the queen, his wife, Charlotte of Savoy, six children; three of them survived him: Charles VIII., his successor; Anne, his eldest daughter, who had espoused Peter of Bourbon, sire of Beaujeu; and Joan, whom he had married to the duke of Orleans, who became Louis XII. At their father's death Charles was thirteen, Anne twenty-two or twenty-three, and Joan nineteen. According to Charles V.'s decree, which had fixed fourteen as the age for the king's majority, Charles VIII., on his accession, was very nearly a major; but Louis XI., with good reason, considered him very far from capable of reigning as yet. On the other hand, he had a very high opinion of his daughter Anne, and it was to her far more than to Sire de Beaujeu, her husband, that six days before his death and by his last instructions he entrusted the guardianship of his son, to whom he already gave the title of *king*, and the government of the realm. Louis XI. had not been mistaken in his choice; there was none more fitted than his daughter Anne to continue his policy under the reign and in the name of his successor.

She began by acts of intelligent discretion. She tried, not to subdue by force the rivals and malcontents, but to put them in the wrong in the eyes of the public and to cause embarrassment to themselves by treating them with fearless favor. Her brother-in-law, the duke of Bourbon, was vexed at being only in appearance and name the head of his own house; and she made him constable of France and lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Two of Louis XI.'s subordinate and detested servants, Oliver le Daim and John Doyac, were prosecuted, and one was hanged and the other banished; and his doctor, James Coettier, was condemned to disgorge fifty thousand crowns out of the enormous presents he had received from his patient. At the same time that she thus gave some satisfaction to the cravings of popular wrath, Anne de Beaujeu threw open the prisons, recalled exiles, forgave the people a quarter of the talliage, cut down expenses by dismissing six thousand Swiss whom the late king had taken into his pay, re-established some sort of order in the administration of the domains of the crown, and, in fine, whether in general measures or in respect of persons, displayed impartiality without paying court and firmness without using severity.

The States-general were convoked at Tours for the 5th of January, 1484. The deputies had all at heart one and the same idea; they desired to turn the old and undisputed monarchy into a legalized and free government.

Two men, one a Norman and the other a Burgundian, the canon John Masselin and Philip Pot, lord of la Roche, a former counselor of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, were the exponents of this political spirit, at once bold and prudent, conservative and reformative.

When the States-general had separated, Anne de Beaujeu, without difficulty or uproar, resumed, as she had assumed on her father's death, the government of France; and she kept it yet for seven years, from 1484 to 1491. During all this time she had a rival and foe in Louis, duke of Orleans, who was one day to be Louis XII. This ambitious prince induced Francois II., duke of Brittany, Richard III., king of England, Maximilian of Austria, and others, to take up arms against the regent. She vanquished Francois at Nantes, and sent to the gallows Landais, minister of that prince, and the original instigator of the league. In order to divert the attention of Richard III., she gave her support to Henry Tudor, who ultimately gained the battle of Bosworth (1485) and ascended to the throne of England, under the title of Henry VII. To Maximilian she opposed with success the marshals d'Esquerdes and De Gie. The counts of Albret and of Comminges had espoused the cause of the duke of Orleans: they were defeated on their own domains in the south of France. In July, 1488, Louis de la Tremoille came suddenly down upon Brittany, took one after the other Chateaubriant, Ancenis, and Fougeres, and on the 28th gained at St. Aubin-du-Cormier, near Rennes, over the army of the duke of Brittany and his English, German and Gascon allies, a victory which decided the campaign.

It was a great success for Anne de Beaujeu. She had beaten her united foes. Two incidents that supervened, one a little before and the other a little after the battle of St. Aubin-du-Cormier, occurred to both embarrass the position, and at the same time call forth all the energy of Anne. Her brother-in-law, Duke John of Bourbon, the head of his house, died on the 1st of April, 1488, leaving to his younger brother, Peter, his title and domains. Charles VIII., moreover, having nearly arrived at man's estate, made more frequent manifestations of his own personal will; and Anne, clear-sighted and discreet, though ambitious, was little by little changing her dominion into influence. But some weeks after the battle of St. Aubin-du-Cormier, on the 7th or 9th of September, 1488, the death of Francis II., duke of Brittany, rendered the active intervention of the duchess of Bourbon natural and necessary, for he left his daughter, the Princess Anne, barely eighteen years old, exposed to all the difficulties attendant upon the government of her inheritance and to all the intrigues of the claimants to her hand. Madame de Beaujeu immediately sent into Brittany a powerful army, and compelled the young heiress to bestow herself upon the suzerain, Charles VIII. On the 7th of February, 1492, Anne was crowned at St. Denis; and next day, the 8th of February, she made her entry in state into Paris amid the joyful and



Charles VIII. receives his bride, Princess Anna of Brittany.
A. de Neuville. Page 80.

earnest acclamations of the public. A sensible and a legitimate joy; for the reunion of Brittany to France was the consolidation of the peace which, in this same century, on the 17th of September, 1453, had put an end to the Hundred Years' War.

Charles VIII. was pleased with and proud of himself. He had achieved a brilliant and a difficult marriage. In Europe and within his own household he had made a display of power and independence. In order to espouse Anne of Brittany he had sent back Marguerite of Austria to her father. He had gone in person and withdrawn from prison his cousin Louis of Orleans, whom his sister Anne de Beaujeu had put there; and so far from having got embroiled with her he saw all the royal family reconciled around him. This was no little success for a young prince of twenty-one. He thereupon devoted himself with ardor and confidence to his desire of winning back the kingdom of Naples which Alphonso I., king of Aragon, had wrested from the house of France, and of thereby re-opening for himself in the East and against Islamy that career of Christian glory which had made a saint of his ancestor Louis IX. By two treaties concluded in 1493 [one at Barcelona on the 19th of January and the other at Senlis on the 23d of May], he gave up Roussillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon, and Franche-Comte, Artois and Charolais to the house of Austria, and, after having at such a lamentable price purchased freedom of movement, he went and took up his quarters at Lyons to prepare for his Neapolitan venture.

It were out of place to follow out here in all its details a war which belongs to the history of Italy far more than to that of France.

Six principal States, Piedmont, the kingdom of the dukes of Savoy, the duchy of Milan, the republic of Venice, the republic of Florence, Rome and the pope, and the kingdom of Naples, co-existed in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. In August, 1494, when Charles VIII. started from Lyons on his Italian expedition, Piedmont was governed by Blanche of Montferrat, in the name of her son Charles John Amadeo, a child only six years old. In the duchy of Milan the power was in the hands of Ludovic Sforza. The republic of Venice had at this period for its doge Augustin Barbarigo; and it was to the Council of Ten that in respect of foreign affairs as well as of the home department the power really belonged. Peter de' Medici, son of Lorenzo de' Medici, *the father of the Muses*, governed the republic of Florence. Rome had for pope Alexander VI. (Roderigo Borgia), a prince who would be regarded as one of the most utterly demoralized men of the fifteenth century only that he had for son a Cæsar Borgia. Finally, at Naples, in 1494, three months before the day on which Charles VIII. entered Italy, King Alphonso II. ascended the throne. Such, in Italy, whether in her kingdoms or her republics, were the heads with whom Charles VIII. had to deal when he went, in the name of a disputed right, three hundred leagues away from his own kingdom in quest of a bootless and ephemeral conquest.

On the 1st of January, 1495, Charles VIII. entered Rome with his army; the pope having retired at first to the Vatican and afterward to the castle of

St. Angelo. At last, on the 15th of January, a treaty was concluded which regulated pacific relations between the two sovereigns, and secured to the French army a free passage through the States of the Church, both going to Naples and also returning, and provisional possession of the town of Civita Vecchia, on condition that it should be restored to the pope when the king returned to France; and, on the 28th of January, Charles VIII. took solemn leave of the pope, received his blessing, and left Rome at the head of his army.

There was the semblance of a fight at San-Germano, but the king of Naples, betrayed both by his army and by his subjects, was obliged to seek safety in the island of Ischia, from whence he reached Sicily. Charles VIII. entered Naples on the 22d of February at the head of his troops.

At the news hereof the disquietude and vexation of the principal Italian powers were displayed at Venice as well as at Milan and at Rome. On the 31st of March, 1495, a league was concluded between Pope Alexander VI., Emperor Maximilian I., as king of the Romans, the king of Spain, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan: "To three ends," says Commynes: "for to defend Christendom against the Turks, for the defense of Italy, and for the preservation of their estates." Charles VIII. remained nearly two months at Naples after the Italian league had been concluded, and while it was making its preparations against him was solely concerned about enjoyment, in his beautiful but precarious kingdom. On the 12th of May, 1495, all the population of Naples and of the neighboring country was a-foot early to see their new king make his entry in state as *king of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem*, with his Neapolitan court and his French troops; and only a week afterward, on the 20th of May. 1495, Charles VIII. started from Naples to return to France with an army at the most from twelve to fifteen thousand strong, leaving for guardian of his new kingdom his cousin Gilbert of Bourbon, Count de Montpensier, with eight or ten thousand men, scattered for the most part throughout the provinces.

He took more than six weeks to traverse it, passing three days at Rome, four at Siena, the same number at Pisa, and three at Lucca, though he had declared that he would not halt anywhere. It was in the duchy of Parma, near the town of Fornovo, on the right bank of the Taro, an affluent of the Po, that the French and Italian armies met, on the 5th of July, 1495. The French army was nine or ten thousand strong, with five or six thousand camp-followers, servants or drivers; the Italian army numbered at least thirty thousand men, well supplied and well rested, whereas the French were fatigued with their long march and very badly off for supplies. The battle was very hotly contested, but did not last long, with alternations of success and reverse on both sides.

Both armies might and did claim the victory, for they had, each of them, partly succeeded in their design. The Italian allies were triumphant, but without any ground of security or any luster; the expedition of Charles

VIII. was plainly only the beginning of the foreigner's ambitious projects, invasions and wars against their own beautiful land.

Charles VIII. reigned for nearly three years longer after his return to his kingdom, and for the first two of them he passed time in indolently dreaming of his plans for a fresh invasion of Italy and in frivolous abandonment to his pleasures and the entertainments at his court, which he moved about from Lyons to Moulins, to Paris, to Tours and to Amboise. The news which came to him from Italy was worse and worse every day. While still constantly talking of the war he had in view, Charles attended more often and more earnestly than he hitherto had done to the internal affairs of his kingdom. At the beginning of the year 1498, Charles VIII. was at Amboise, where considerable works had been begun under his direction by several excellent artists whom he had brought from Naples. When passing one day through a dark gallery, he knocked his forehead against a door with such violence that he died a few hours afterward (April 7th, 1498). He was only twenty-eight years old. With him the direct family of Valois became extinct, and was replaced by that of the Valois-Orleans.

On ascending the throne Louis XII. reduced the public taxes and confirmed in their posts his predecessor's chief advisers, using to Louis de la Tremoille, who had been one of his most energetic foes, that celebrated expression, "The king of France avenges not the wrongs of the duke of Orleans." At the same time on the day of his coronation at Reims [May 27th, 1492], he assumed, besides his title of king of France, the titles of *king of Naples and of Jerusalem and duke of Milan.* By his policy at home, Louis XII. deserved and obtained the name of *Father of the People;* by his enterprises and wars abroad he involved France still more deeply than Charles VIII. had in that mad course of distant, reckless, and incoherent conquests, for which his successor, Francis I., was destined to pay by capture at Pavia and by the lamentable treaty of Madrid, in 1526, as the price of his release.

Outside of France Milaness [the Milanese district] was Louis XII.'s first thought, at his accession, and the first object of his desire. When Charles VIII. invaded Italy in 1494, "Now is the time," said Louis, "to enforce the rights of Valentine Visconti, my grandmother, to Milaness." And he, in fact, asserted them openly, and proclaimed his intention of vindicating them so soon as he found the moment propitious. Accordingly, in the month of August, 1499, the French army, with a strength of from twenty to five and twenty thousand men, of whom five thousand were Swiss, invaded Milaness. On the 6th of October, 1499, Louis made his triumphal entry into Milan amid cries of "Hurrah for France!" After instituting a number of reforms he recrossed the Alps at the end of some weeks, leaving as governor of Milaness John James Trivulzio, the valiant *Condottiere*, who, four years before, had quitted the service of Ferdinand II., king of Naples, for that of Charles VIII. Unfortunately Trivulzio was himself a Milanese, and of the faction of the Guelphs. A plot was formed in favor of the fallen tyrant, who

was in Germany expecting it, and was recruiting, during expectancy, among the Germans and Swiss in order to take advantage of it. On the 25th of January, 1500, the insurrection broke out; and two months later Ludovic Sforza had once more become master of Milaness, where the French possessed nothing but the castle of Milan.

Louis XII., so soon as he heard of the Milanese insurrection, sent into Italy Louis de la Tremoille, the best of his captains, and the cardinal d'Amboise, his privy councillor and his friend; the former to command the royal troops, French and Swiss, and the latter "for to treat about the reconciliation of the rebel towns, and to deal with everything as if it were the king in his own person." The campaign did not last long. The Swiss who had been recruited by Ludovic and those who were in Louis XII.'s service had no mind to fight one another, and the former capitulated, and surrendered the strong place of Novara. Betrayed into the hands of the enemy, Ludovic was sent to France, where he expired fourteen years after, a prisoner in the castle of Loches. The duchy of Milan then submitted to Louis XII., and this prince made immediate preparations for attacking Naples. With this view he signed with Ferdinand the Catholic the secret treaty of Granada (November 11th, 1500).

On hearing of the approach of the French, the new king, Frederic, requested the Spaniards to defend him, and gave over to them his fortresses: this was surrendering to the enemy. Gonzalvo of Cordova, one of the most celebrated chieftains of the day, attempted to defend Barletta. The French suffered, in consequence, two defeats (Seminara, Cerignola), and lost nearly all their possessions in the kingdom of Naples (1503).

Louis XII. hastened to levy and send to Italy, under the command of Louis de la Tremoille, a fresh army, for the purpose of relieving Gaeta and recovering Naples; but at Parma La Tremoille fell ill, and the command devolved upon the marquis of Mantua, who marched on Gaeta. He found Gonzalvo of Cordova posted with his army on the left bank of the Garigliano, either to invest the place or to repulse re-enforcements that might arrive for it. The two armies passed fifty days face to face almost, with the river and its marshes between them, and vainly attempting over and over again to join battle. At length the French were defeated, and Gaeta fell into the hands of the Spaniards on the 1st of January, 1504.

At the news of these reverses the grief and irritation of Louis XII. were extreme. Not only was he losing his Neapolitan conquest, but even his Milanese was also threatened. The ill-will of the Venetians became manifest. Pope Alexander VI., who, willy nilly, had rendered Louis XII. so many services, died at Rome on the 12th of August, 1503. A four-weeks' pope, Pius III., succeeded him; and when the Holy See suddenly became once more vacant, the new choice was Cardinal Julian della Rovera, Pope Julius II., who soon became the most determined and most dangerous foe of Louis XII., already assailed by so many enemies.

In order to put off the struggle which had succeeded so ill for him in the

kingdom of Naples, Louis concluded, on the 31st of March, 1504, a truce for three years with the king of Spain; and on the 22d of September, in the same year, in order to satisfy his grudge on account of the Venetians' demeanor toward him, he made an alliance against them with Emperor Maximilian I. and Pope Julius II., with the design, all three of them, of wresting certain provinces from them. Louis repented of having in 1501, under the influence of his wife, Anne of Brittany, affianced his daughter Claude to Prince Charles of Austria, and of the enormous concessions he had made by two treaties, one of April 5th, 1503, and the other of September 22d, 1504, for the sake of this marriage. The latter of these treaties contained even the following strange clause: "If, by default of the Most Christian king or of the queen his wife, or of the Princess Claude, the aforesaid marriage should not take place, the Most Christian king doth will and consent, from now, that the said duchies of Burgundy and Milan and the countship of Asti, do remain settled upon the said Prince Charles, duke of Luxembourg, with all the rights therein possessed or possibly to be possessed by the Most Christian king."

The States-general were convoked and met at Tours (1506) for the purpose of deliberating upon so important a step: the nation protested, through the voice of George d'Amboise, against the political arrangements made by Anne of Brittany, and the king seized the earliest opportunity of annulling by force what he would never have consented to, had the suggestion been offered to him while he was in the enjoyment of his usual health.

From 1506 to 1515, between Louis XII.'s will and his death, we find in the history of his career in Italy five coalitions and as many great battles of a profoundly contradictory character. In 1508, Pope Julius II., Louis XII., Emperor Maximilian and Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain, form together against the Venetians the *League of Cambrai*. In 1510 Julius II., Ferdinand, the Venetians, and the Swiss make a coalition against Louis XII. In 1512, this coalition, decomposed for awhile, reunites under the name of the *League of the Holy Union*, between the pope, the Venetians, the Swiss, and the kings of Aragon and Naples against Louis II., *minus* the Emperor Maximilian and *plus* Henry VIII., king of England. On the 14th of May, 1509, Louis XII., in the name of the *League of Cambrai*, gains the battle of Agnadello against the Venetians. On the 11th of April, 1512, it is against Pope Julius II., Ferdinand the Catholic, and the Venetians that he gains the battle of Ravenna. On the 14th of March, 1513, he is in alliance with the Venetians, and it is against the Swiss that he loses the battle of Novara. In 1510, 1511 and 1512, in the course of all these incessant changes of political allies and adversaries, three councils met at Tours, at Pisa, and at St. John Lateran, with views still more discordant and irreconcilable than those of all these laic coalitions.

On the 14th of May, 1509, the French and the Venetians encountered near the village of Agnadello, in the province of Lodi, on the banks of the Adda. Louis XII. commanded his army in person: the Venetians were under the

orders of two generals, the count of Petigliano and Barthelemy d'Alviano, both members of the Roman family of the Orsini, but not on good terms with one another. The great blow fell upon the Venetians' infantry, which lost, according to some, eight thousand men. The territorial results of the victory were greater than the numerical losses of the armies. Within a fortnight the towns of Caravaggio, Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Cremona and Pizzighitone surrendered to the French. Peschiera alone, a strong fortress at the southern extremity of the Lake of Garda, resisted and was carried by assault.

Louis XII. committed the mistake of embroiling himself with the Swiss by refusing to add 20,000 livres to the pay of 60,000 he was giving them already, and by styling them "wretched mountain-shepherds, who presumed to impose upon him a tax he was not disposed to submit to." In October, 1511, a league was formally concluded between the pope, the Venetians, the Swiss and King Ferdinand against Louis XII. The coalition thus formed was called the *League of Holy Union.* "I," said Louis XII., "am the Saracen against whom this league is directed."

He had just lost, a few months previously, the intimate and faithful adviser and friend of his whole life; Cardinal George d'Amboise, seized at Milan with a fit of the gout, during which Louis tended him with the assiduity and care of an affectionate brother, died at Lyons on the 25th of May, 1510, at fifty years of age. He was one, not of the greatest, but of the most honest ministers who ever enjoyed a powerful monarch's constant favor, and employed it, we will not say with complete disinterestedness, but with a predominant anxiety for the public weal.

"At last, then, I am the only pope!" cried Julius II., when he heard that Cardinal d'Amboise was dead. But his joy was misplaced. War was rekindled, or, to speak more correctly, resumed its course after the cardinal's death. Julius II. plunged into it in person, moving to every point where it was going on, living in the midst of camps, himself in military costume, besieging towns, having his guns pointed and assaults delivered under his own eyes. It was said that he had cast into the Tiber the keys of St. Peter to gird on the sword of St. Paul. His answer to everything was, "The barbarians must be driven from Italy." Louis XII. became more and more irritated and undecided.

From 1510 to 1512 the war in Italy was thus proceeding, but with no great results, when Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, came to take the command of the French army. He was scarcely twenty-three, and had hitherto only served under Trivulzio and La Palisse; but he had already a character for bravery and intelligence in war. Louis XII. loved this son of his sister Mary of Orleans, and gladly elevated him to the highest rank. Gaston, from the very first, justified this favor. Instead of seeking for glory in the field only, he began by shutting himself up in Milan, which the Swiss were besieging. They raised the siege and returned to their own country. The pope was besieging Bologna; Gaston arrived there suddenly with a body of troops whom he had marched out at night through a tempest of wind and

snow, and he was safe inside the place while the besiegers were still ignorant of his movement. The siege of Bologna was raised. Gaston left it immediately to march on Brescia, which the Venetians had taken possession of for the *Holy League*. He retook the town by a vigorous assault, gave it up to pillage, punished with death Count Louis Avogaro and his two sons, and gave a beating to the Venetian army before its walls. All these successes had been gained in a fortnight.

Finally a decisive battle was fought at Ravenna (April 11th), which cost the life of the heroic French commander. When the fatal news was known the consternation and grief were profound. At the age of twenty-three Gaston de Foix had, in less than six months, won the confidence and affection of the army, of the king, and of France. It was one of those sudden and undisputed reputations which seem to mark out men for the highest destinies. After this Julius II. won back all he had won and lost. Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovic the *Moor*, after twelve years of exile in Germany, returned to Milan to resume possession of his father's duchy. By the end of June, 1512, less than three months after the victory of Ravenna, the domination of the French had disappeared from Italy.

In 1512 Ferdinand invaded Navarre, took possession of the Spanish portion of that little kingdom, and thence threatened Gascony. Henry VIII., king of England, sent him a fleet which did not withdraw until after it had appeared before Bayonne and thrown the south-west of France into a state of alarm. In the north Henry VIII. continued his preparations for an expedition into France, obtained from his parliament subsidies for that purpose, and concerted plans with Emperor Maximilian, who renounced his doubtful neutrality, and engaged himself at last in the *Holy League*. Louis XII. had in Germany an enemy as zealous almost as Julius II. was in Italy: Maximilian's daughter, Princess Marguerite of Austria, had never forgiven France or its king, whether he were called Charles VIII. or Louis XII., the treatment she had received from that court when, after having been kept there and brought up for eight years to become queen of France, she had been sent away, and handed back to her father, to make way for Anne of Brittany. The Swiss, on their side, became more and more pronounced against him, and haughtily styled themselves "vanquishers of kings and defenders of the holy Roman Church." And the Roman Church made a good defender of herself. Everywhere things were turning out according to the wishes and for the profit of the pope; and France and her king were reduced to defending themselves on their own soil against a coalition of all their great neighbors.

On the 21st of February, 1513, ten months since Gaston de Foix, the victor of Ravenna, had perished in the hour of his victory, Pope Julius II. died at Rome at the very moment when he seemed invited to enjoy all the triumph of his policy. He died without bluster and without disquietude, disavowing naught of his past life and relinquishing none of his designs as to the future. The death of Julius II. seemed to Louis XII. a favorable opportunity for once more setting foot in Italy, and recovering at least that which

he regarded as his hereditary right, the duchy of Milan. He commissioned Louis de la Tremoille to go and renew the conquest. He had little difficulty in coming to an understanding with the Venetian senate; and, on the 14th of May, 1513, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was signed at Blois between the king of France and the republic of Venice. Louis hoped also to find at Rome in the new pope, Leo X. [Cardinal John de' Medici, elected pope March 11th, 1513], favorable inclinations; but they were at first very ambiguously and reservedly manifested. Louis had not and could not have any confidence in Ferdinand the Catholic; but he knew him to be as prudent as he was rascally, and he concluded with him at Orthez, on the 1st of April, 1513, a year's truce, which Ferdinand took great care not to make known to his allies, Henry VIII., king of England, and the Emperor Maximilian. Conquerors at Novara, the Swiss drove the French from the duchy of Milan, which La Tremoille had reconquered; in Burgundy they besieged Dijon; in the north the combined troops of Maximilian and Henry VIII. of England gained the battle of Guinegate. The truce of Orleans, followed by the treaty of London, put a stop to these disasters, and the Italian question remained still undecided.

When we consider this reign from this new point of view we are at once struck by two facts: 1st, the great number of legislative and administrative acts that we meet with, bearing upon the general interests of the country, interests political, judicial, financial, and commercial; the *Recueil des Ordonnances des Rois de France* contains forty-three important acts of this sort owing their origin to Louis XII.; it was clearly a government full of watchfulness, activity, and attention to good order and the public weal; 2d, the profound remembrance remaining in succeeding ages of this reign and its deserts.

Foreigners were not less impressed than the French themselves with the advance in order, activity, and prosperity which had taken place among the French community. Macchiavelli admits it, and, with the melancholy of an Italian politician acting in the midst of rivalries among the Italian republics, he attributes it above all to French unity, superior to that of any other State in Europe.

Louis XII.'s private life also contributed to win for him, we will not say the respect and admiration, but the good-will of the public. Louis XII. was thrice married. His first wife, Joan, daughter of Louis XI., was an excellent and worthy princess, but ugly, ungraceful, and hump-backed. He had been almost forced to marry her, and he had no child by her. Louis married in 1499 his predecessor's widow, Anne, duchess of Brittany, twenty-three years of age, short, pretty, a little lame, witty, able, and firm. It was, on both sides, a marriage of policy. After a union of fifteen years, Anne of Brittany died on the 9th of January, 1514, at the castle of Blois, nearly thirty-seven years old. Louis was then fifty-two. He seemed very much to regret his wife: but, some few months after her death, another marriage of policy was put, on his behalf, in course of negotiation. It was in connection with



The Crusaders setting sail from Venice.
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Princess Mary of England, sister of Henry VIII., on the 13th of August the Duke de Longueville, in his sovereign's name, espoused the Princess Mary at Greenwich; and she, escorted to France by a brilliant embassy, arrived on the 8th of October at Abbeville, where Louis XII. was awaiting her. Mary Tudor had given up the German prince, who was destined to become Charles V., but not the handsome English nobleman she loved. The duke of Suffolk went to France to see her after her marriage, and in her train she had as maid of honor a young girl, a beauty as well, who was one day to be queen of England—Anne Boleyn.

Less than three months after this marriage, on the 1st of January, 1515, "the death-bell-men were traversing the streets of Paris, ringing their bells and crying, 'The good King Louis, father of the people, is dead.'" Louis XII., in fact, had died that very day at midnight, from an attack of gout and a rapid decline.

He died sorrowing over the concessions he had made from a patriotic sense of duty as much as from necessity, and full of disquietude about the future.

## VII.

# The Renaissance and The Reformation.

# Francis I.—Henry II.

(1515—1559.)

FRANCIS I., his government and his times, commence the era of modern France, and bring clearly to view the causes of her greatnesses and her weaknesses. When, on the 1st of January, 1515, he ascended the throne before he had attained his one and twentieth year, it was a brilliant and brave but spoilt child that became king. He had been under the governance of Artus Gouffier, Sire de Boisy, a nobleman of Poitou, who had exerted himself to make his royal pupil a loyal knight well trained in the moral code and all the graces of knighthood, but without drawing his attention to more serious studies or preparing him for the task of government. The young Francis d'Angouleme lived and was molded under the influence of two women, his mother, Louise of Savoy, and his eldest sister, Marguerite, who both of them loved and adored him with passionate idolatry. The former princess gave her son neither moral principles nor a moral example. Of quite another sort were the character and sentiments of Marguerite de Valois. She was born on the 11th of April, 1492, and was, therefore, only two years older than her brother Francis; but her more delicate nature was sooner and more richly cultivated and developed. She was brought up "with

strictness by a most excellent and most venerable dame, in whom all the virtues, at rivalry one with another, existed together." Marguerite learnt Latin, Greek, philosophy, and especially theology. Intellectual pursuits, however, were far from absorbing the whole of this young soul. "She," says a contemporary, "had an agreeable voice of touching tone which roused the tender inclinations that there are in the heart." Tenderness, a passionate tenderness, very early assumed the chief place in Marguerite's soul, and the first object of it was her brother Francis.

The first acts of his government were sensible and of good omen. He confirmed or renewed the treaties or truces which Louis XII., at the close of his reign, had concluded with the Venetians, the Swiss, the pope, the king of England, and Archduke Charles and the Emperor Maximilian, in order to restore peace to his kingdom. At home Francis I. maintained at his council the principal and most tried servants of his predecessor, among others the finance-minister, Florimond Robertet; and he raised to four the number of the marshals of France, in order to confer that dignity on Bayard's valiant friend, James of Chabannes, lord of La Palice, who even under Louis XII. had been entitled by the Spaniards "the great marshal of France." At the same time he exalted to the highest offices in the State two new men, Charles, duke of Bourbon, who was still a mere youth but already a warrior of renown, and Anthony Duprat, the able premier president of the parliament of Paris; the former he made constable, and the latter chancellor of France.

These measures, together with the language and the behavior of Francis I. and the care he took to conciliate all who approached him, made a favorable impression on France and on Europe. The aged king of Spain, Ferdinand the Catholic, adopting the views of his able minister, Cardinal Ximenes, alone showed distrust and anxiety. It was announced at Rome that Francis I., having arrived at Lyons in July, 1515, had just committed to his mother Louise the regency of the kingdom, and was pushing forward toward the Alps an army of sixty thousand men and a powerful artillery. It was clear that Francis I., though he had been but six months king, was resolved and impatient to resume in Italy, and first of all in Milanese, the war of invasion and conquest which had been engaged in by Charles VIII. and Louis XII.: and the league of all the States of Italy, save Venice and Genoa, with the pope for their half-hearted patron and the Swiss for their fighting men, were collecting their forces to repel the invader.

On the 13th of September, 1515, the French encountered and defeated the Swiss at Melegnano, a town about three leagues from Milan; this victory was the most brilliant day in the annals of this reign. The effect of the battle was great, in Italy primarily, but also throughout Europe. It was, at the commencement of a new reign and under the impulse communicated by a young king, an event which seemed to be decisive and likely to remain so for a long while. On the 14th of September, the day after the battle, the Swiss took the road back to their mountains. Francis I. entered Milan in triumph. Maximilian Sforza took refuge in the castle, and twenty days afterward, on

the 4th of October, surrendered. Fifteen years afterward, in June, 1530, he died in oblivion at Paris. Francis I. regained possession of all Milaness, adding thereto, with the pope's consent, the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, which had been detached from it in 1512. Two treaties, one of November 7th, 1515, and the other of November 29th, 1516, re-established not only peace but perpetual alliance between the king of France and the thirteen Swiss cantons, with stipulated conditions in detail. The pope guaranteed to France I. the duchy of Milan, restored to him those of Parma and Piacenza, and recalled his troops which were still serving against the Venetians; Francis I., on his side, guaranteed to the pope all the possessions of the Church, renounced the patronage of the petty princes of the ecclesiastical estate, and promised to uphold the family of Medici.

In the course of an interview they had at Bologna, Leo X. obtained of Francis an agreement which abolished the *Pragmatic Sanction*. Thus supported by the Holy See and by the Venetians, the king of France saw the road to Naples once more opened before his troops. The treaty of Noyon gave, during a short time, repose to Europe, and allowed the two rivals leisure for the preparing of a far more terrible war. Francis I. returned to Milan, leaving at Bologna, for the purpose of treating in detail the affair of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, his chancellor, Duprat, who had accompanied him during all his campaign as his adviser and negotiator. The Parliament of Paris was in its turn attacked, and Duprat having resolved to strike a great blow, an edict of January 31st, 1522, created within the parliament a fourth chamber, composed of eighteen councillors and two presidents, all of fresh and, no doubt, venal appointment, though the edict dared not avow as much. Francis I. could not have committed the negotiation with Leo X. in respect of Charles VII.'s *Pragmatic Sanction* to a man with more inclination and better adapted for the work to be accomplished.

The *Pragmatic Sanction* had three principal objects:—

1. To uphold the liberties and the influence of the faithful in the government of the Church, by sanctioning their right to elect ministers of the Christian faith, especially parish priests and bishops.

2. To guarantee the liberties and rights of the Church herself in her relations with her head, the pope, by proclaiming the necessity for the regular intervention of councils and their superiority in regard to the pope.

3. To prevent or reform abuses in the relations of the papacy with the State and Church of France in the matter of ecclesiastical tribute, especially as to the receipt by the pope, under the name of *annates*, of the first year's revenue of the different ecclesiastical offices and benefices.

The popes had all of them protested, since the days of Charles VII., against the *Pragmatic Sanction* as an attack upon their rights, and had demanded its abolition. The pope proposed that the *Pragmatic*, once for all abolished, should be replaced by a *Concordat* between the two sovereigns, and that this *Concordat*, while putting a stop to the election of the clergy by the faithful, should transfer to the king the right of nomination to bishoprics and

other great ecclesiastical offices and benefices, reserving to the pope the right of presentation of prelates nominated by the king.

Francis I. and his chancellor saw in the proposed *Concordat* nothing but the great increment of influence it secured to them, by making all the dignitaries of the Church suppliants, at first, and then clients of the kingship. After some difficulties as to points of detail, the *Concordat* was concluded and signed on the 18th of August, 1516. Seven months afterward it was registered, notwithstanding the opposition of the parliament and the university of Paris. The *Concordat* of 1516 was not the only, but it was the gravest pact of alliance concluded between the papacy and the French kingship for the promotion mutually of absolute power.

The death of Maximilian and the election of a new emperor were the proximate causes of the renewal of hostilities between Francis I. and Charles V.; both these princes were candidates and by bestowing the imperial crown upon the latter, there is no doubt that the electors adopted the safest course; but in doing so they gave the signal for a struggle of the most desperate and protracted character.

Whatever pains were taken by Francis I. to keep up a good appearance after this heavy reverse, his mortification was profound and he thought of nothing but getting his revenge. He flattered himself he would find something of the sort in a solemn interview and an appearance of alliance with Henry VIII., king of England, who had, like himself, just undergone in the election to the empire a less flagrant but an analogous reverse. It had already, in the previous year and on the occasion of a treaty concluded between the two kings for the restitution of Tournai to France, been settled that they should meet before long in token of reconciliation. The interview took place on the 31st of May, 1520, and is fully described in English history. A trial was made of Henry VIII.'s mediation and of a conference at Calais; and a discussion was raised touching the legitimate nature of the protection afforded by the two rival sovereigns to their petty allies. But the real fact was that Francis I. had a reverse to make up for and a passion to gratify; and the struggle recommenced in April, 1521, in the Low Countries. The campaign opened in the north, to the advantage of France, by the capture of Hesdin; Admiral Bonnivet, who had the command on the frontier of Spain, reduced some small forts of Biscay and the fortress of Fontarabia; and Marshal de Lautrec, governor of Milaness, had orders to set out at once to go and defend it against the Spaniards and Imperialists who were concentrating for its invasion.

Lautrec was but little adapted for this important commission, and did not succeed in preventing Milan from falling into the hands of the Imperialists, and, after an uncertain campaign of some months' duration, he lost at La Bicocca, near Monza, on the 27th of April, 1522, a battle, which left in the power of Francis I., in Lombardy, only the citadels of Milan, Cremona, and Novara. The funds for the payment of the army had been sent, but Louis of Savoy had kept them back out of hatred for Lautrec's sister, the duchess of

Chateaubriand, who, at that time, was all powerful over the mind of Francis I. The king then allowed the *superintendant* Semblancay, who was accused of that crime, to perish on the gallows.

According to what appears, Bourbon had harbored a design of commencing his enterprise with a very bold stroke. Being informed that Francis I. was preparing to go in person and wage war upon Italy, he had resolved to carry him off on the road to Lyons and, when once he had the king in his hands, he flattered himself that he would do as he pleased with the kingdom. But Francis had full cognizance of the details of the conspiracy through two Norman gentlemen whom the constable had imprudently tried to get to join in it, and who, not content with refusing, had revealed the matter at confession to the bishop of Lisieux, who had lost no time in giving information to Sire de Breze, grand seneschal of Normandy. Breze at once reported it to the king. Abandoning his expedition in person into Italy, he first concerned himself for that internal security of his kingdom which was threatened on the east and north by the Imperialists and the English, and on the south by the Spaniards, all united in considerable force and already in motion. Francis opposed to them in the east and north the young Count Claude of Guise, the first celebrity among his celebrated race, the veteran Louis de la Tremoille, the most tried of all his warriors, and the duke of Vendome, head of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon. Into the south he sent Marshal de Lautrec, who was more brave than successful, but of proved fidelity. All these captains acquitted themselves honorably. In the south, Lautrec, after having made head for three days and three nights against the attacks of a Spanish army which had crossed the Pyrenees under the orders of the constable of Castile, forced it to raise the siege and beat a retreat. Everywhere, in the provinces as well as at the court, the feudal nobility, chieftains and simple gentlemen remained faithful to the king.

In respect of Italy, Francis I. was less wise and less successful. Not only did he persist in the stereotyped madness of the conquest of Milaness and the kingdom of Naples, but he entrusted it to his favorite, Admiral Bonnivet, a brave soldier, alternately rash and backward. The campaign of 1524 in Italy, brilliant as was its beginning, was, as it went on, nothing but a series of hesitations, contradictory movements, blunders and checks, which the army itself set down to its general's account. The situation of the French army before Milan was now becoming more and more, not insecure only, but critical. Bonnivet fell back toward Piedmont, where he reckoned upon finding a corps of five thousand Swiss who were coming to support their compatriots engaged in the service of France. Near Romagnano, on the banks of the Sesia, the retreat was hotly pressed by the imperial army. On the 30th of April, 1524, some disorder took place in the retreat of the French; and Bonnivet, being severely wounded, had to give up the command to the count of St. Pol and to Chevalier Bayard. Bayard, last as well as first in the fight, according to his custom, charged at the head of some men-at-arms upon the Imperialists who were pressing the French too closely, when he was himself struck by a

shot from an arquebus, which shattered his reins. "Jesus, my God," he cried, "I am dead!" He then took his sword by the handle, and kissed the cross-hilt of it as the sign of the cross, saying aloud as he did so: "*Have pity on me, O God, according to thy great mercy*" (*Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam*).

The French army continued its retreat under the orders of the count of St. Pol, and re-entered France by way of Suza and Briancon. It was Francis I.'s third time of losing Milaness. According to a plan settled by him with Henry VIII. and Charles V., Bourbon entered Provence on the 7th of July, 1524, at the head of an army of eighteen thousand men, which was to be joined before long by six or seven thousand more. He had no difficulty in occupying Antibes, Frejus, Draguignan, Brignoles, and even Aix. Charles V. cared more for the coasts of the Mediterranean than for those of the Channel; he flattered himself that he would make of Marseilles a southern Calais, which should connect Germany and Spain, and secure their communications, political and commercial. Bourbon objected and resisted; it was the abandonment of his general plan for this war, and a painful proof how powerless he was against the wishes of the two sovereigns of whom he was only the tool, although they called him their ally. Being forced to yield, he began the siege of Marseilles on the 19th of August. The place, though but slightly fortified and ill supplied, made an energetic resistance. The siege was protracted; the re-enforcements expected by Bourbon did not arrive. Bourbon resolved to attempt an assault. Seven soldiers were told off to reconnoiter; four were killed and the other three returned wounded, reporting that between the open breach and the intrenchment extended a large ditch filled with fire-works and defended by several batteries. The assembled general officers looked at one another in silence. Whereupon Pescara got up and went out; and the majority of the officers followed him. Bourbon remained almost alone, divided between anger and shame. Almost as he quitted this scene he heard that Francis I. was advancing toward Provence with an army. The king had suddenly decided to go to the succor of Marseilles which was making so good a defense, and on the 28th of September, 1524, Bourbon raised the siege of Marseilles and resumed the road to Italy, harassed even beyond Toulon, by the French advance guard, eager in its pursuit of the traitor even more than of the enemy.

After Bourbon's precipitate retreat the position of Francis I. was a good one. He had triumphed over conspiracy and invasion; the conspiracy had not been catching, and the invasion had failed on all the frontiers. When Bourbon and the imperial army had evacuated Provence, the king loudly proclaimed his purpose of pursuing them into Italy, and of once more going forth to the conquest of Milaness, and perhaps also of the kingdom of Naples, that incurable craze of French kings in the sixteenth century. In vain did his mother herself write to him, begging him to wait and see her, for that she had important matters to impart to him. He answered by sending her the ordinance which conferred upon her the regency during his absence; and, at

the end of October, 1524, he had crossed the Alps, anxious to go and risk in Milaness the stake he had just won in Provence against Charles V.

Arriving speedily in front of Milan, he there found the imperial army which had retired before him; there was a fight in one of the outskirts, but Bourbon recognized the impossibility of maintaining a siege in a town of which the fortifications were in ruins, and with disheartened troops. Bourbon evacuated Milan, and, taking a resolution as bold as it was singular, abruptly abandoned, so far as he was personally concerned, that defeated and disorganized army, to go and seek for and reorganize another at a distance. Francis followed the counsel of Bonnivet, and on the 26th of August, 1524, twenty days after setting out from Aix in Provence, he appeared with his army in front of Pavia. On learning this resolution, Pescara joyously exclaimed, "We were vanquished; a little while and we shall be vanquishers." Pavia had for governor a Spanish veteran, Antony de Leyva, who held out for nearly four months, first against assaults and then against investment by the French army. Francis I. decided to accept battle as soon as it should be offered him. The imperial leaders, at a council held on the 23d of February, determined to offer it next day.

The two armies were of pretty equal strength. Francis I. had the advantage in artillery and in heavy cavalry, called at that time the gendarmerie, but his troops were inferior in effectives to the Imperialists, and Charles V.'s two generals, Bourbon and Pescara, were, as men of war, far superior to Francis I. and his favorite Bonnivet. After a desperate struggle the French were defeated; the gendarmerie gave way, and the German lanzknechts cut to pieces the Swiss auxiliaries. But at last Lannoy arrived and put one knee on the ground before Francis I., who handed his sword to him. Lannoy took it with marks of the most profound respect, and immediately gave him another. The battle was over, and Francis I. was Charles V.'s prisoner.

He had shown himself an imprudent and unskillful general, but at the same time a hero. His conquerors, both officers and privates, could not help, while they secured his person, showing their admiration for him. He was conducted to Pizzighittone, a little fortress between Milan and Cremona. He wrote thence two letters, one to his mother the regent, and the other to Charles V. The following is full text of the former letter:

"*To the Regent of France:* Madame, that you may know how stands the rest of my misfortune: *there is nothing in the world left to me but honor and my life, which is safe.* And in order that, in your adversity, this news might bring you some little comfort,I prayed for permission to write you this letter, which was readily granted me: entreating you, in the exercise of your accustomed prudence, to be pleased not to do anything rash, for I have hope after all that God will not forsake me. Commending to you my children, your grandchildren, and entreating you to give the bearer a free passage, going and returning to Spain, for he is going to the emperor to learn how it is his pleasure that I should be treated."

Taken prisoner to Spain, the unfortunate monarch was restored to liberty

only on conditions of his signing the treaty of Madrid, by which he abandoned Italy, Burgundy, Artois, Flanders, besides restoring to the constable of Bourbon his confiscated estates. He likewise promised to marry the sister of Charles V., and gave both his sons as hostages.

The envoys of Charles V., with Lannoy, the viceroy of Naples at their head, went to Cognac to demand execution of the treaty of Madrid. Francis invited the envoys of Charles V. to a solemn meeting of his court and council present at Cognac, at which the delegates from Burgundy repeated their protest. While availing himself of this declaration as an insurmountable obstacle to the complete execution of the treaty of Madrid, Francis offered to give two million crowns for the redemption of Burgundy, and to observe the other arrangements of the treaty, including the relinquishment of Italy and his marriage with the sister of Charles V. Charles formally rejected this proposal, and required of him to keep his oath.

He did not like to summon the States-general of the kingdom and recognize their right as well as their power; but after the meeting at Cognac he went to Paris, and, on the 12th of December, 1527, the parliament met in state with the adjuncts of the princes of the blood, a great number of cardinals, bishops, noblemen, deputies from the parliaments of Toulouse, Bordeaux, Rouen, Dijon, Grenoble and Aix, and the municipal body of Paris.

The assembly also showed emotion; they were four days deliberating; with some slight diversity of form the various bodies present came to the same conclusion and, on the 16th of December, 1527, the parliament decided that the king was not bound either to return to Spain or to execute, as to that matter, the treaty of Madrid, and that he might *with full sanction and justice* levy on his subjects two millions of crowns for the ransom of his sons and the other requirements of the State.

Before inviting such manifestations Francis I. had taken measures to prevent them from being in vain. As early as the 22d of May, 1526, while he was still deliberating with his court and parliament as to how he should behave toward Charles V. touching the treaty of Madrid, Francis I. entered into the Holy League with the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan for the independence of Italy; and on the 8th of August following Francis I. and Henry VIII. undertook, by a special treaty, to give no assistance one against the other to Charles V., and Henry VIII. promised to exert all his efforts to get Francis I.'s two sons, left as hostages in Spain, set at liberty. Thus the war between Francis I. and Charles V., after fifteen months' suspension, resumed its course.

It lasted three years in Italy, from 1526 to 1529, without interruption, but also without result; it was one of those wars which are prolonged from a difficulty of living in peace rather than from any serious intention, on either side, of pursuing a clear and definite object. The French army was wasting itself in the kingdom of Naples upon petty inconclusive engagements; its commander, Lautrec, died of the plague on the 15th of August, 1528; a desire for peace became day by day stronger; it was

made, first of all, at Barcelona, on the 20th of June, 1529, between Charles V. and Pope Clement VII.; and then a conference was opened at Cambrai for the purpose of bringing it about between Charles V. and Francis I. likewise. Two women, Francis I.'s mother and Charles V.'s aunt, Louise of Savoy and Margaret of Austria, had the real negotiation of it, and it was called accordingly *the ladies' peace*. Margaret of Austria died on the 1st of December, 1530, and Louise of Savoy on the 22d of September, 1531. All the great political actors seemed hurrying away from the stage, as if the drama were approaching its end. Pope Clement VII. died on the 26th of September, 1534. A little before his death he made France a fatal present; for, on the 28th of October, 1533, he married his niece Catherine de' Medici to Francis I.'s second son, Prince Henry of Valois, who by the death of his elder brother, the dauphin Francis, soon afterward became heir to the throne. The chancellor, Anthony Duprat, too, the most considerable up to that time among the advisers of Francis I., died on the 9th of July, 1535.

The *ladies' peace*, concluded at Cambrai in 1529, lasted up to 1536. In October, 1532, Francis I. had, at Calais, an interview with Henry VIII., at which they contracted a private alliance and undertook "to raise between them an army of eighty thousand men to resist the Turk, as true zealots for the good of Christendom."

In 1536 all the combustibles of war exploded: in the month of February, a French army entered Piedmont and occupied Turin; and, in the month of July, Charles V. in person entered Provence at the head of fifty thousand men. Anne de Montmorency, having received orders to defend Southern France, began by laying it waste in order that the enemy might not be able to live in it; Montmorency made up his mind to defend, on the whole coast of Provence, only Marseilles and Arles; he pulled down the ramparts of the other towns, which were left exposed to the enemy. For two months Charles V. prosecuted this campaign without a fight, marching through the whole of Provence an army which fatigue, shortness of provisions, sickness and ambuscades were decimating ingloriously. At last he decided upon retreating.

On returning from his sorry expedition, Charles V. learned that a similar invasion in the north of France, in Picardy, had met with no greater success than he himself in Provence. Queen Mary of Hungary, his sister and deputy in the government of the Low Countries, advised a local truce; his other sister, Eleanor, the queen of France, was of the same opinion; Francis I. adopted it; and the truce in the north was signed for a period of three months. Montmorency signed a similar one for Piedmont. Pope Paul III. (Alexander Farnese), who, on the 13th of October, 1534, had succeeded Clement VII., came forward as mediator. One month afterward, Charles and Francis met at Aigues-Mortes, and these two princes, who had treated one another in so insulting a manner, exchanged protestations of the warmest frendship. The peace lasted six years.

Divers projects of marriage between their children or near relatives were

advanced with that object, but nothing came of them; and another great war, the fourth, broke out between Francis I. and Charles V., for the same causes and with the same by-ends as ever. It lasted two years, from 1542 to 1544, with alternations of success and reverse on either side, and several diplomatic attempts to embroil in it the different European powers. Francis I. concluded an alliance in 1543 with Sultan Soliman II., and, in concert with French vessels, the vessels of the pirate Barbarossa cruised about and made attacks upon the shores of the Mediterranean. On the other hand, on the 11th of February, 1543, Charles V. and Henry VIII., king of England, concluded an alliance against Francis I. and the Turks. He at the same time convoked a German diet at Spires. The diet did not separate until it had voted twenty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse to be employed against France, and had forbidden Germans, under severe penalties, to take service with Francis I. In 1544 the war thus became almost European, and in the early days of April two armies were concentrated in Piedmont, both ready to deliver a battle which was, according to one side, to preserve Europe from the despotic sway of a single master, and, according to the other, to protect Europe against a fresh invasion of Mussulmans.

The battle was bravely disputed and for some time indecisive, even in the opinion of the anxious Count D'Enghien, who was for awhile in an awkward predicament; but the ardor of the Gascons and the firmness of the Swiss prevailed, and the French army was victorious. This success, however, had not the results that might have been expected. The war continued; Charles V. transferred his principal efforts therein to the north, on the frontiers of the Low Countries and France, having concluded an alliance with Henry VIII. for acting in concert and on the offensive. (See History of England.)

Francis I., in his life as a king and a soldier, had two rare pieces of good fortune: two great victories, Melegnano and Ceresole, stand out at the beginning and the end of his reign; and in his direst defeat at Pavia, he was personally a hero. In all else, as regards his government, his policy was neither an able nor a successful one; for two and thirty years he was engaged in plans, attempts, wars, and negotiations; he failed in all his designs; he undertook innumerable campaigns or expeditions that came to nothing; he concluded forty treaties of war, peace, or truce, incessantly changing aim and cause and allies; and, for all this incoherent activity, he could not manage to conquer either the empire or Italy; he brought neither aggrandizement nor peace to France.

Outside of the political arena, in quite a different field of ideas and facts, that is, in the intellectual field, Francis I. did better and succeeded better. In this region he exhibited an instinct and a taste for the grand and the beautiful; he had a sincere love for literature, science, and art; he honored and protected, and effectually too, their works and their representatives. His reign occupies the first half of the century (the sixteenth) which has been called the age of Renaissance.

The religious question aside, the Renaissance was a great and happy

thing, which restored to light and honor the works and glories of the Greek and Roman communities. The memorials and monuments of classical civilization, which were suddenly removed, at the fall of the Greek empire, to Italy first and then from Italy to France and throughout the whole of Western Europe, impressed with just admiration people as well as princes, and inspired them with the desire of marching forward in their turn in this attractive and glorious career.

In literature and in art, in history and in poesy, in architecture and in sculpture, they had produced great and beautiful works which were quite worthy of surviving, and have, in fact, survived the period of their creation. Here too the Renaissance of Greek and Roman antiquity came in and altered the originality of the earliest productions of the middle ages, and gave to literature and to art in France a new direction.

The first among the literary creations of the middle ages is that of the French language itself. When we pass from the ninth to the thirteenth century, from the oath of Charles the Bald and Louis the Germanic at Strasbourg in 842, to the account of the conquest of Constantinople in 1203, given by Geoffrey de Villehardouin, seneschal of Champagne, what a space has been traversed, what progress accomplished in the language of France! When the thirteenth century begins, the French language, though still rude and somewhat fluctuating, appears already rich, varied and capable of depicting with fidelity and energy events, ideas, characters, and the passions of men.

Francis I.'s good-will did more for learned and classical literature than for poesy. He contributed to this progress, first by the intelligent sympathy he testified toward learned men of letters, and afterward by the foundation of the *College Royal*, an establishment of a special, an elevated and an independent sort, where professors found a liberty protected against the routine, jealousy, and sometimes intolerance of the University of Paris and the Sorbonne.

Nearly half a century before the Reformation made any noise in France, it had burst out with great force and had established its footing in Germany, Switzerland, and England. John Huss and Jerome of Prague, both born in Bohemia, one in 1373 and the other in 1378, had been condemned as heretics and burnt at Constance, one in 1415 and the other in 1416, by the decree and in the presence of the council which had been there assembled. But, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, Luther in Germany and Zwingli in Switzerland had taken in hand the work of the Reformation, and before half that century had rolled by they had made the foundations of their new Church so strong that their powerful adversaries, with Charles V. at their head, felt obliged to treat with them, and recognized their position in the European world, though all the while disputing their right. The nascent Reformation did not meet in France with either of the two important circumstances, politically considered, which in Germany and in England rendered its first steps

more easy and more secure. It was in the cause of religious creeds alone, and by means of moral force alone, that she had to maintain the struggles in which she engaged.

Luther and Zwingli had distinctly declared war on the papacy; Henry VIII. had with a flourish separated England from the Romish Church. Marguerite de Valois and Bishop Bricconnet neither wished nor demanded so much; they aspired no further than to reform the abuses of the Romish Church by the authority of that Church itself, in concert with its heads, and according to its traditional regimen; they had no idea of more than dealing kindly, and even sympathetically, with the liberties and the progress of science and human intelligence. Confined within these limits, the idea was legitimate and honest enough, but it showed want of foresight and was utterly vain.

During the first years of Francis I.'s reign (from 1515 to 1520) young and ardent reformers, such as William Farel and his friends, were but isolated individuals, eager after new ideas and studies, very favorble toward all that came to them from Germany, but without any consistency yet as a party, and without having committed any striking act of aggression against the Roman Church.

Against such passions the reformers found Francis I. a very indecisive and very inefficient protector. "I wish," said he, "to give men of letters special marks of my favor." When deputies from the Sorbonne came and requested him to put down the publication of learned works taxed with heresy, "I do not wish," he replied, "to have those folks meddled with; to persecute those who instruct us would be to keep men of ability from coming to our country."

The defeat at Pavia and the captivity of the king at Madrid placed the governing power for thirteen months in the hands of the most powerful foes of the Reformation, the regent Louise of Savoy and the chancellor Duprat. They used it unsparingly, with the harsh indifference of politicians who will have, at any price, peace within their dominions and submission to authority. It was under their regimen that there took place the first martyrdom decreed and executed in France upon a partisan of the Reformation, for an act of aggression and offense against the Catholic Church, that, we mean, of John Leclerc, a wool-carder at Meaux, followed after a brief interval by the burning of Louis de Berquin, a gentleman of Artois.

Marguerite alone continued to protect, timidly and dejectedly, those of her friends among the reformers whom she could help or to whom she could offer an asylum in Bearn without embroiling herself with the king her brother and with the parliaments.

During the long truce which succeeded the peace of Cambrai, from 1532 to 1536, it might have been thought for awhile that the persecution in France was going to be somewhat abated. Policy obliged Francis I. to seek the support of the Protestants of Germany against




Defeat and capture of Francis I. at Pavia.
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Charles V.; he was incessantly fluctuating between that policy and a strictly Catholic and a papal policy. By marrying his son Henry, on the 28th of October, 1533, to Catherine de' Medici, niece of Pope Clement VII., he seemed to have decided upon the latter course; but he had afterward made a movement in the contrary direction. Clement VII. had died on the 26th of September, 1524; Paul III. had succeeded him; and Francis I. again turned toward the Protestants of Germany. The last and most atrocious act of persecution which occurred in his reign was directed not against isolated individuals, but against a harmless population, the Vaudois, who had for three centuries maintained religious doctrines of a strictly evangelical character. In 1540 they had been condemned as heretics, but their peaceful habits, the purity of their manners, and the regularity with which they paid the taxes, had induced the king to countermand the execution of the sentence. In April, 1545, however, precise and rigorous orders were transmitted from the court to the parliament of Aix. Three thousand of these unhappy men were massacred or burnt in their dwellings; six hundred and sixty were sent to the hulks, and the rest, dispersed throughout the woods and mountains, perished of want and of fatigue. It is said that Francis I., when near his end, repented of this odious extermination of a small population. Among his last words to his son Henry II. was an exhortation to cause an inquiry to be made into the iniquities committed by the parliament of Aix in this instance.

It was quite clear that the reformation of the Church could be brought about only by a return to Gospel Christianity, and with this great movement the name of Calvin must ever be associated in France, as that of Luther is in Germany, and that of Zwingli in Switzerland. The publication of a treatise *On Clemency* shortly after his conversion (1532), and in the midst of the persecutions ordered by Francis I. against the first Huguenots, drew upon him some amount of notice. Obliged to leave the metropolis, he found a refuge at Nerac. From thence he went first to Basle, where he published his great work "*Institution Chretienne*" (1535); then to Geneva, where Farel detained him; afterward to Strasburg. In that city he remained till the year 1541, when the inhabitants of Geneva recalled him, in consequence of the defeat of his adversaries. Calvin remained at Geneva till his death (1564), exercising unlimited authority, and displaying all the qualities, not only of a divine and a pastoral adviser, but also of a stern civil ruler.

In 1547, when the death of Francis I. was at hand, that ecclesiastical organization of Protestantism which Calvin had instituted at Geneva was not even begun in France. The Reformation pursued its course; but a reformed Church did not exist. And this confused mass of reformers and reformed had to face an old, a powerful, and a strongly-constituted Church, which looked upon the innovators as rebels over whom it had every right as much as against them it had every arm. Such was the position and such the state of feeling in which Francis I., at his death,

on the 31st of March, 1547, left the two parties that had already been at grips during his reign. He had not succeeded either in reconciling them or in securing the triumph of that which had his favor. His sister Marguerite survived him two years [she died December 21st, 1549], "disgusted with everything," say the historians, and "weary of life," said she herself.

Henry II. had all the defects and, with the exception of personal bravery, not one among the brilliant and amiable qualities of the king his father. Like Francis I., he was rash and reckless in his resolves and enterprises, but without having the promptness, the fertility and the suppleness of mind which Francis displayed in getting out of the awkward positions in which he had placed himself and in stalling off or mitigating the consequences of them.

Toward the close of 1542, a grievous aggravation of the tax upon salt, called *gabel*, caused a violent insurrection in the town of Rochelle, which was exempted, it was said, by its traditional privileges from that impost. This was put down by the king. But the ordinances as to the salt-tax were maintained in principle, and their extension led, some years afterward, to a rising of a more serious character and very differently repressed.

In 1548, hardly a year after the accession of Henry II. and in the midst of the rejoicings he had gone to be present at it in the north of Italy, he received news at Turin to the effect that in Guienne, Angoumois and Saintonge a violent and pretty general insurrection had broken out against the salt-tax, which Francis I., shortly before his death, had made heavier in these provinces. The local authorities in vain attempted to repress the rising, and it was put down in the most terrible manner by Constable de Montmorency. This insurrection was certainly more serious than that of Rochelle in 1542. In 1549, scarcely a year after the revolt at Bordeaux, Henry II., then at Amiens, granted to deputies from Poitou, Rochelle, the district of Aunis, Limousin, Perigord, and Saintonge, almost complete abolition of the *gabel* in Guienne, which paid the king, by way of compensation, two hundred thousand crowns of gold for the expenses of war or the redemption of certain alienated domains.

There was war in the atmosphere. The king and his advisers, the court and the people, had their minds almost equally full of it, some in sheer dread, and others with an eye to preparation. Two systems of policy and warfare, moreover, divided the king's council into two: Montmorency, now old and worn out in body and mind, was for a purely defensive attitude, no adventures or battles to be sought, but victuals and all sorts of supplies to be destroyed in the provinces which might be invaded by the enemy. But in 1550 a new generation had come into the world, the court, and the army; it comprised young men full of ardor and already distinguished for their capacity and valor; Francis de Lorraine, duke of Guise, was thirty-one; his brother, Charles de Guise, cardinal of Lorraine, was only six-and-twenty; Francis de Scepeaux, who afterward became Marshal de Vieilleville, was at this time nearly forty; Gaspard de Coligny was thirty-three; and his brother, Francis

d'Andelot, twenty-nine. These men, warriors and politicians at one and the same time, in a high social position and in the flower of their age, could not reconcile themselves to the Constable de Montmorency's system; they thought that, in order to repair the reverses of France and for the sake of their own fame, there was something else to be done, and they impatiently awaited the opportunity.

It was not long coming. At the close of 1551, a deputation of the Protestant princes of Germany came to Fontainebleau to ask for the king's support against the aggressive and persecuting despotism of Charles V. Their request having been granted, the place of meeting for the army was appointed at Chalons-sur-Marne, March 10th, 1552. The king entered Lorraine from Champagne by Joinville, the ordinary residence of the dukes of Guise. He carried Pont-a-Mousson; Toul opened its gates to him on the 13th of April; he occupied Nancy on the 14th, and on the 18th he entered Metz, not without some hesitation among a portion of the inhabitants and the necessity of a certain show of military force on the part of the leaders of the royal army. At that time the emperor was lying ill at Innspruck, where he had gone for the purpose of watching more closely the deliberations of the council of Trent. On the point of being surprised in that city by Maurice of Saxony at the head of the Protestants he signed with these the treaty of Passau, afterward ratified at Augsburg (1552–55). Then he came to besiege Metz, which the duke of Guise successfully defended, displaying as much true courage as greatness of soul.

During the next year (1553), Charles V., anxious to avenge the check which his forces had met with, invaded Artois, and burnt down the city of Therouanne, which has never since been rebuilt. A short time after, his army was defeated at Renty by Guise and Tuvannes. In the mean while, Marshal Brissac was holding his ground in Piedmont; Strozzi, a Florentine in the service of France, and Montluc, defended in turns the town of Sienna, which, at last, was obliged to capitulate to the fierce Medichino; the French fleet, commanded by Baron de la Garde, and combined with that of the Turks under the orders of Dragut, threatened the coasts of Calabria and of Sicily, ravaged the island of Elba, and captured some towns in Corsica, then belonging to the Genoese.

These events decided Charles V. to abdicate. On the 25th of October, 1555, and the 1st of January, 1556, he gave over to his son Philip the kingdom of Spain, with the sovereignty of Burgundy and the Low Countries, and to his younger brother Ferdinand the empire, together with the original heritage of the house of Austria; he then retired personally to the monastery of Yuste. Henry II. also desired rest; and the Constable de Montmorency wished above everything for the release of his son Francis, who had been a prisoner since the fall of Therouanne. A truce for five years was signed at Vaucelles on the 5th of February, 1556, and Coligny, quite young still, but already admiral and in high esteem, had the conduct of negotiation.

Philip II. continued his father's policy, and took measures for promptly

entering upon a fresh campaign. By his marriage with Mary Tudor, queen of England, he had secured for himself a powerful ally in the north; the queen's influence and the distrust excited in England by Henry II. prevailed over the pacific desires of the nation; and Mary sent a simple herald to carry to the king of France at Reims her declaration of war. Henry accepted it politely but resolutely. A negotiation was commenced for accomplishing the marriage, long since agreed upon, between the young queen of Scotland, Mary Stuart, and Henry II.'s son, Francis, dauphin of France. The dauphin of France was a year younger than the Scottish princess; on the 19th of April, 1558, the espousals took place in the great hall of the Louvre, and the marriage was celebrated in the church of Notre-Dame.

In the mean while Henry II. made an alliance with Pope Paul IV., and sent two armies, one into the Netherlands, under the command of Montmorency, the other into Italy, under that of the duke of Guise. Montmorency was thoroughly defeated at Saint-Quentin by the duke of Savoy, Philibert Emmanuel (1557), and the French general himself remained in the power of the enemy. Admiral Coligny held in check for seventeen days the victor before that town. Guise saved France, not by attacking the Spaniards, but by surprising Calais, which was, after eight days' siege, taken from the English, who had occupied it for the space of two hundred and eleven years. The news of this event was a death-blow for Mary.

At last a treaty was signed at Cateau-Cambresis (1559) between Henry II. and Elizabeth, who had become queen of England at the death of her sister Mary [November 17th, 1558]; and next day, April 3d, between Henry II., Philip II. and the allied princes of Spain, among others the prince of Orange, William *the Silent*, who, while serving in the Spanish army, was fitting himself to become the leader of the reformers and the liberator of the Low Countries. The malcontents, for the absence of political liberty does not suppress them entirely, raised their voices energetically against this last treaty signed by the king, with the sole desire, it was supposed, of obtaining the liberation of his two favorites, the Constable de Montmorency and Marshal de Saint-Andre, who had been prisoners in Spain since the defeat at Saint-Quentin.

France was once more at peace with her neighbors, and seemed to have nothing more to do than to gather in the fruits thereof. But she had in her own midst questions far more difficult of solution than those of her external policy, and these perils from within were threatening her more seriously than any from without. In 1561, it was calculated that there were two thousand one hundred and fifty reformed, or, as the expression then was, *rectified* (*dressees*), churches. It is clear that the movement of the Reformation in the sixteenth century was one of those spontaneous and powerful movements which have their source and derive their strength from the condition of men's souls and of whole communities, and not merely from the personal ambitions and interests which soon come and mingle with them, whether it be to promote or to retard them. All the resources of French civil jurisdiction appeared to be insufficient against the reformers. They held at Paris, in

May, 1559, their first general synod; and eleven fully established churches sent deputies to it. This synod drew up a form of faith called the *Gallican Confession*, and likewise a form of discipline. The king of Navarre, Anthony de Bourbon, Prince Louis de Conde, his brother, and many other lords had joined the new faith. The queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, in her early youth "was as fond of a ball as of a sermon," says Brantome, "and she had advised her spouse, Anthony de Bourbon, who inclined toward Calvinism, not to perplex himself with all these opinions." In 1559 she was passionately devoted to the faith and the cause of the Reformation. At last the Reformation had really great leaders, men who had power, and were experienced in the affairs of the world; it was becoming a political party as well as a religious conviction, and the French reformers were henceforth in a condition to make war as well as die at the stake.

On the 29th of June, 1559, a brilliant tournament was celebrated in lists erected at the end of the street of Saint-Antoine, almost at the foot of the Bastile. Henry II., the queen, and the whole court had been present at it for three days. The entertainment was drawing to a close. The king, who had run several tilts "like a sturdy and skillful cavalier," wished to break yet another lance, and bade the Count de Montgomery, captain of the guards, to run against him. Montgomery excused himself; but the king insisted. The tilt took place. The two jousters, on meeting, broke their lances skillfully; but Montgomery forgot to drop at once, according to usage, the fragment remaining in his hand; he unintentionally struck the king's helmet and raised the visor, and a splinter of wood entered Henry's eye, who fell forward upon his horse's neck. He languished for eleven days and expired on the 10th of July, 1559, aged forty years and some months.

# VIII.

# THE WARS OF RELIGION.

FRANCIS II. 1559—HENRY III. 1589.

DURING the course, and especially at the close of Henry II.'s reign, two rival matters—on the one hand the numbers, the quality and the zeal of the reformers, and on the other, the anxiety, prejudice, and power of the Catholics—had been simultaneously advancing in development and growth. Between the 16th of May, 1558, and the 10th of July, 1559, fifteen capital sentences had been executed in Dauphiny, in Normandy, in Poitou, and at Paris. Two royal edicts, one dated July 24th, 1558, and the other June 14th, 1559, had renewed and aggravated the severity of penal legislation against heretics. To secure the registration of the latter, Henry II., together with the princes and the officers of the crown, had repaired in person to parliament; some disagreement had already appeared in the midst of that great body, which was then composed of a hundred and thirty magistrates; the seniors who sat in the great chamber had in general shown themselves to be more inclined to severity, and the juniors, who formed the chamber called La Tournelle, more inclined to indulgence toward accusations of heresy. The disagreement reached its climax in the very presence of the king. Two councillors, Dubourg and Dufaure, spoke so warmly of reforms which were, according to them, necessary and legitimate, that their adversaries did not hesitate to tax them with being reformers themselves. The king had them arrested and three of their colleagues with them. Such were the personal feelings and the relative positions of the two parties when Francis II., a boy of sixteen, a poor creature both in mind and body, ascended the throne. The Constable de Montmorency and Henry II.'s favorite, Diana de Poitiers, were dismissed, the latter in a harsh manner, and the power remained in the hands of the queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, advised by the Guises.

The Guises were, in the sixteenth century, the representatives and the champions of the different cliques and interests, religious or political, sincere in their belief or shameless in their avidity, and all united under the flag of the Catholic Church. During the last six months of 1559 the edict issued by Henry II. from Ecouen was not only strictly enforced but aggravated by

fresh edicts: a special chamber was appointed and chosen among the parliament of Paris, which was to have sole cognizance of crimes and offenses against the Catholic religion. A proclamation of the new king, Francis II., ordained that houses in which assemblies of reformers took place should be razed and demolished. It was "death to the promoters of unlawful assemblies for purposes of religion or for any other cause." Another royal act provided that all persons, even relatives, who received among them any one condemned for heresy, should seize him and bring him to justice, in default whereof they would suffer the same penalty as he. Individual condemnations and executions abounded after these general measures; between the 2d of August and the 31st of December, 1559, eighteen persons were burned alive for open heresy, or for having refused to communicate according to the rites of the Catholic Church or go to mass, or for having hawked about forbidden books. Finally, in December, the five councillors of the parliament of Paris whom, six months previously, Henry II. had ordered to be arrested and shut up in the Bastile, were dragged from prison and brought to trial. The chief of them, Anne Dubourg, was condemned on the 22d of December, and put to death the next day in the Place de Greve.

Apart from, we do not mean to say above, the two great parties which were arrayed in the might and appeared as the representatives of the national ideas and feelings, the queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, was quietly laboring to form another, a party strictly Catholic, but regarding as a necessity the task of humoring the reformers and granting them such concessions as might prevent explosions fraught with peril to the State. The Constable de Montmorency sometimes issued forth from Chantilly to go and aid the queen-mother, in whom he had no confidence, but whom he preferred to the Guises. A former councillor of the parliament, for a long while chancellor under Francis I. and Henry II., and again summoned under Francis II. by Catherine de' Medici to the same post, Francis Olivier, was an honorable executant of the party's indecisive but moderate policy. He died on the 15th of March, 1560; and Catherine, in concert with the cardinal of Lorraine, had the chancellorship thus vacated conferred upon Michael de l'Hospital, a magistrate already celebrated and destined to become still more so.

A few months, and hardly so much, after the accession of Francis II., a serious matter brought into violent collision the three parties. The supremacy of the Guises was insupportable to the reformers and irksome to many lukewarm or wavering members of the Catholic nobility. The crown refused to pay its most lawful debts, and duns were flocking to the court. To get rid of them, the cardinal of Lorraine had a proclamation issued by the king, warning all persons, of whatever condition, who had come to dun for payment of debts, for compensations or for graces, to take themselves off within twenty-four hours on pain of being hanged; and, that it might appear how seriously meant the threat was, a very conspicuous gibbet was erected at Fontainebleau close to the palace. This affront led the Huguenots, assisted by the other malcontents, to form a scheme whereby the king should be seized, placed

under a kind of *surveillance*, and the power of the Lorraine princes destroyed forever. Conde was evidently at the head of the plot, but the management of the whole affair was entrusted to a Perigord *gentilhomme*, Godefroid de Barry, sieur de la Renaudie. The court was then at Blois, and on rumors being spread abroad of the discovery of a plot, Francois de Guise suddenly removed the king to Amboise, which could more easily be defended against a *coup de main.* The lords and gentlemen attached to the court made sallies all around Amboise to prevent any unexpected attack. On the 18th of March, La Renaudie, who was scouring the country, seeking to rally his men, encountered a body of royal horse who were equally hotly in quest of the conspirators, the two detachments attacked one another furiously; La Renaudie was killed, and his body, which was carried to Amboise, was strung up to a gallows on the bridge over the Loire with this scroll: "This is La Renaudie, called La Forest, captain of the rebels, leader and author of the sedition." The important result of the *riot of Amboise* (*tumultc d'Amboise*), as it was called, was an ordinance of Francis II., who, on the 17th of March, 1560, appointed Duke Francis of Guise "his lieutenant-general, representing him in person absent and present in this good town of Amboise and other places of the realm."

The Guises made a cruel use of their easy victory; "for a whole month," according to contemporary chronicles, "there was nothing but hanging or drowning folks. The Loire was covered with corpses strung, six, eight, ten and fifteen, to long poles. . . ." There was, throughout a considerable portion of the country, a profound feeling of indignation against the Lorraine princes.

On all sides there was a demand for the convocation of the States-general. The Guises and the queen-mother, who dreaded this great and independent national power, attempted to satisfy public opinion by calling an assembly of notables, not at all numerous, and chosen by themselves. It was summoned to meet on August 21st, 1560, at Fontainebleau, in the apartments of the queen-mother. The cardinal of Lorraine having given his consent to the holding of the States-general, his opinion was adopted by the king, the queen-mother and the assemblage. An edict, dated August 26th, convoked a meeting of the States-general at Meaux on the 10th of December following. Meanwhile, it was announced that the punishment of sectaries would, for the present, be suspended, but that the king reserved to himself and his judges the right of severely chastising those who had armed the populace and kindled sedition.

The elections to the States-general were very stormy; all parties displayed the same ardor. Despite the entreaties of their staunchest friends, the king of Navarre and Conde came to Orleans. The Guises, who had sufficient proofs against the latter, caused him to be arrested as soon as he had entered the town, and wished to murder Navarre, whom they could not get rid of by legal means. At the appointed moment, however, Francois refused to give the signal, and so this part of the scheme failed. In the mean while a special commission had been named to try Conde; he was condemned to death, and would have certainly perished had not the courageous L'Hospital refused to

sign the sentence. Thus some time was gained, and as the king was on his death-bed a short delay proved the salvation of Conde's life. Francis II. died on the 5th of December; he had reigned seventeen months.

Men were wonderfully far from understanding the principle of religious liberty in 1560, at the accession of Charles IX., a child ten years old. Around that royal child, and seeking to have the mastery over France by being masters over him, were struggling the three great parties at that time occupying the stage in the name of religion: the Catholics rejected altogether the idea of religious liberty for the Protestants; the Protestants had absolute need of it, for it was their condition of existence; but they did not wish for it in the case of the Catholics their adversaries. The third party (*tiers parti*), as we call it nowadays, wished to hold the balance continually wavering between the Catholics and the Protestants, conceding to the former and the latter, alternately, that measure of liberty which was indispensable for most imperfect maintenance of the public peace and reconcilable with the sovereign power of the kingship. On such conditions was the government of Charles IX. to establish its existence.

The new king, on announcing to the parliament the death of his brother, wrote to them that "confiding in the virtues and prudence of the queen-mother, he had begged her to take in hand the administration of the kingdom, with the wise counsel and advice of the king of Navarre, and the notables and great personages of the late king's council." A few months afterward the States-general, assembling first at Orleans and afterward at Pontoise, ratified this declaration by recognizing the placing of "the young king Charles IX.'s guardianship in the hands of Catherine de' Medici, his mother, together with the principal direction of affairs, but without the title of regent."

The power really belonged to Catherine de' Medici, if she had only known how to keep it. She, however, merely took it away from the heads of the Guises, chiefs of the Catholic party, but did not make any use of it herself. Guise soon recovered the influence he had lost at first, and the court rendered this easy for him by publishing the edicts of Saint Germain, favorable to the Huguenots, and by admitting the divines of the Protestant persuasion to a solemn discussion at the colloque of Poissy. While the Calvinists were revolting at Nismes, the followers of the Duke de Guise massacred a company of Protestants at Vassy in Champagne (1562). The civil war was then begun.

From 1561 to 1572 there were in France eighteen or twenty massacres of Protestants, four or five of Catholics, and thirty or forty single murders sufficiently important to have been kept in remembrance by history.

The first religious war, under Charles IX., appeared on the point of breaking out in April, 1561; some days after that the duke of Guise, returning from the massacre of Vassy, had entered Paris, on the 16th of March, in triumph. The queen-mother, in dismay, carried off the king to Melun at first, and then to Fontainebleau, while the prince of Conde, having retired to Meaux, summoned to his side his relatives, his friends, and all the leaders of the reformers. For some days Catherine and L'Hospital tried to remain out

of Paris with the young king, whom Guise, the Constable de Montmorency and the king of Navarre went to demand back from them. They were obliged to submit to the pressure brought to bear upon them. The constable was the first to enter Paris, and went, on the 2d of April, and burnt down the two places of worship which, by virtue of the decree of January 17th, 1561, had been granted to the Protestants. A council was assembled at the Louvre to deliberate as to the declaration of war, which was deferred. While the king was on his way back to Paris, Conde hurried off to take up his quarters at Orleans, whither Coligny went promptly to join him. They signed with the gentlemen who came to them from all parts a compact of association "for the honor of God, for the liberty of the king, his brothers and the queen-mother, and for the maintenance of decrees;" and Conde, in writing to the Protestant princes of Germany to explain to them his conduct, took the title of *protector of the house and crown of France*. Negotiations still went on for nearly three months. The chiefs of the two parties attempted to offer one another generous and pacific solutions. Neither party liked to acknowledge itself beaten in this way, without having struck a blow.

On both sides was displayed equal enthusiasm; the first armies that were raised distinguished themselves by the utmost strictness; no debauchery, no gambling, no swearing; religious worship morning and evening. But under these externals of piety the hearts retained all their cruelty. Montluc, governor of Guienne, went about accompanied by a band of executioners. In the province of Dauphine, a Protestant chieftain, Baron des Adrets, retaliated in the most cruel manner. He obliged his prisoners to throw themselves down from the top of a high tower on the pikes and spears of his soldiers.

Guise was, first, conqueror at Dreux; he made a prisoner of Conde, general of the Protestant army, and gave on that occasion proofs of a generosity which could scarcely have been expected under such circumstances.

The results of the battle of Dreux were serious, and still more serious from the fate of the chiefs than from the number of the dead. The commanders of the two armies, the Constable de Montmorency and the prince of Conde, were wounded and prisoners. One of the triumvirs, Marshal de Saint-Andre, had been killed in action. The Catholics' wavering ally, Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, had died before the battle of a wound which he had received at the siege of Rouen; and on his death-bed had resumed his Protestant bearing, saying that, if God granted him grace to get well, he would have nothing but the Gospel preached throughout the realm. Orleans was at that time the principal stronghold of the Protestant party; it would certainly have been taken but for the assassination of Guise whom the Protestant gentleman Poltrot de Mere shot in the most treacherous manner (1563). Arrested, removed to Paris, put to the torture and questioned by the commissioners of parliament, Poltrot at one time confirmed and at another disavowed his original assertions. Coligny, he said, had not suggested the project to him, but had cognizance of it, and had not attempted to deter him. The decree sentenced Poltrot to the punishment of regicides. He underwent it



Assassination of the Duke Francis of Guise by Poltrot de Mere.
A. de Neuville. Page 110.

on the 18th of March, 1563, in the Place de Greve, preserving to the very end that fierce energy of hatred and vengeance which had prompted his deed.

Negotiations were entered into with the two captive generals, the prince of Conde and the Constable de Montmorency; and, on the 19th of March, peace was concluded at Amboise in the form of an edict which granted to the Protestants the concessions recognized as indispensable by the crown itself, and regulated the relations of the two creeds, pending "the remedy of time, the decisions of a holy council, and the king's majority." The burgesses were treated less favorably; the reformed worship was maintained in the towns in which it had been practiced up to the 7th of March in the current year; but beyond that and noblemen's mansions, this worship might not be celebrated, save in the faubourgs of one single town in every bailiwick or seneschalty. Paris and its district were to remain exempt from any exercise "of the said reformed religion."

During the negotiations, and as to the very basis of the edict of March 19th, 1563, the Protestants were greatly divided: the soldiers and the politicians, with Conde at their head, desired peace, and thought that the concessions made by the Catholics ought to be accepted. The majority of the reformed pastors and theologians cried out against the insufficiency of the concessions, and were astonished that there should be so much hurry to make peace when the Catholics had just lost their most formidable captain. It was not long before facts put the malcontents in the right. Between 1563 and 1567 murders of distinguished Protestants increased strangely, and excited among their families anxiety, accompanied by a thirst for vengeance. The Guises and their party, on their side, persisted in their outcries for proceedings against the instigators, known or presumed, of the murder of Duke Francis. It was plainly against Admiral de Coligny that these cries were directed; the king and the queen-mother could find no other way of stopping an explosion than to call the matter on before the privy council and cause to be there drawn up, on the 29th of January, 1566, a solemn decree "declaring the admiral's innocence on his own affirmation, given in the presence of the king and the council as before God himself, that he had not had anything to do with or approved of the said homicide."

At the same time that the war was proceeding among the provinces with this passionate doggedness, royal decrees were alternately confirming and suppressing or weakening the securities for liberty and safety which the decree of Amboise, on the 19th of March, 1563, had given to the Protestants by way of re-establishing peace. Even Conde could not delude himself any longer. He quitted the court to take his stand again with his own party. In September, 1567, the second religious war broke out.

It was short and not decisive for either party. At the outset of the campaign, success was with the Protestants; forty towns opened their gates to them or fell into their hands. They were within an ace of surprising the king at Monceaux, and he never forgot, says Montluc, that "the Protestants had made him do the stretch from Meaux to Paris at something more than a

walk." Defeated at St. Denis (November 10th, 1567), but still powerful, Coligny and Conde imposed upon the court the peace of Longjumeau (1568), confirming the terms of that of Amboise.

Scarcely six months having elapsed, in August, 1568, the third religious war broke out. The written guarantees given in the treaty of Longjumeau for security and liberty on behalf of the Protestants were misinterpreted or violated. Massacres and murders of Protestants became more numerous, and were committed with more impunity than ever: in 1568 and 1569, at Amiens, at Auxerre, at Orleans, at Rouen, at Bourges, at Troyes, and at Blois, Protestants, at one time to the number of 140 or 120, or 53, or 40, and at another singly, with just their wives and children, were massacred, burnt, and hunted by the excited populace, without any intervention on the part of the magistrates to protect them or to punish their murderers.

The queen-mother attempted to take possession of the two Protestant leaders; Conde, however, managed to enter La Rochelle. The Protestant nobles of Saintonge and Poitou flocked in. A royal ally was announced; the queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, was bringing her son Henry, fifteen years of age, whom she was training up to be Henry IV. Conde went to meet them, and, on the 28th of September, 1568, all this flower of French Protestantism was assembled at La Rochelle, ready and resolved to strike another blow for the cause of religious liberty.

It was the longest and most serious of the four wars of this kind which so profoundly agitated France in the reign of Charles IX. This one lasted from the 24th of August, 1568, to the 8th of August, 1570, between the departure of Conde and Coligny for La Rochelle and the treaty of peace of St. Germain-en-Laye: a hollow peace, like the rest, and only two years before the St. Bartholomew. On starting from Noyers with Coligny, Conde had addressed to the king, on the 23d of August, a letter. Convinced that he would not succeed in preserving France from a fresh civil war, the chancellor De l'Hospital made up his mind to withdraw, and with him all moderation departed from the councils of the king.

During the two years that it lasted, from August, 1568, to August, 1570, the third religious war under Charles IX. entailed two important battles and many deadly faction-fights, which spread and inflamed to the highest pitch the passions of the two parties. Notwithstanding their defeat at Jarnac and Moncontour (1569), notwithstanding the death of Conde and the wound of Coligny, the Protestants were still able to obtain from their enemies a favorable peace. The negotiations were short. The war had been going on for two years. The two parties, victorious and vanquished by turns, were both equally sick of it. Peace was concluded at St. Germain-en-Laye on the 8th of August, 1570, and it was more equitable and better for the reformers than the preceding treaties. All the members of the parliament, all the royal and municipal officers and the principal inhabitants of the towns where the two religions existed were further bound over on oath "to maintenance of the edict."

Peace was made; but it was the third in seven years, and very shortly after each new treaty civil war had recommenced. No more was expected from the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye than had been effected by those of Amboise and Longjumeau, and on both sides men sighed for something more stable and definitive.

There had already, thirteen or fourteen years previously, been some talk about a marriage between Henry of Navarre and Marguerite de Valois, each born in 1553. This union between the two branches of the royal house, one Catholic and the other Protestant, ought to have been the most striking sign and the surest pledge of peace between Catholicism and Protestantism. Charles IX. embraced the idea passionately, being the only means, he said, of putting a stop at last to this incessantly renewed civil war, which was the plague of his life as well as of his kingdom. He readily gave way, in Coligny's company, to outpourings which had all the appearance of perfect and involuntary frankness; and even seemed to entertain seriously the idea of sending an army to the relief of the persecuted Protestants in the Netherlands. This tone of freedom and confidence had inspired Coligny with reciprocal confidence; he believed himself to have a decisive influence over the king's ideas and conduct.

Without giving either to Catherine de' Medici or to her sons the honor of either so long a course of dissimulation or of so cunningly arranged a stratagem, it is not unnatural to believe that while conceding the advantageous terms of the peace of Saint-Germain, they looked forward ultimately to something like the horrible tragedy of Saint Bartholomew's day; and yet we may reasonably question even if the massacre would have taken place, had not the Catholics dreaded the influence which Coligny seemed about to assume over the weak mind of the king. Catherine and the Duke d'Anjou in their turn, and as a last resource, worked upon the feelings of that wretched monarch, and finally led him to sanction the massacre of the Protestants just as easily as he would have done that of the principal Catholic leaders.

On Friday the 22d of August, 1572, Coligny was returning on foot from the Louvre to the Rue des Fosses-St.-Germain-l'Auxerrois, where he lived; he was occupied in reading a letter, which he had just received; a shot, fired from the window of a house in the cloister of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, smashed two fingers of his right hand and lodged a ball in his left arm; he raised his eyes, pointed out with his injured hand the house whence the shot had come, and reached his quarters on foot. Two gentlemen who were in attendance upon him rushed to seize the murderer; it was too late.

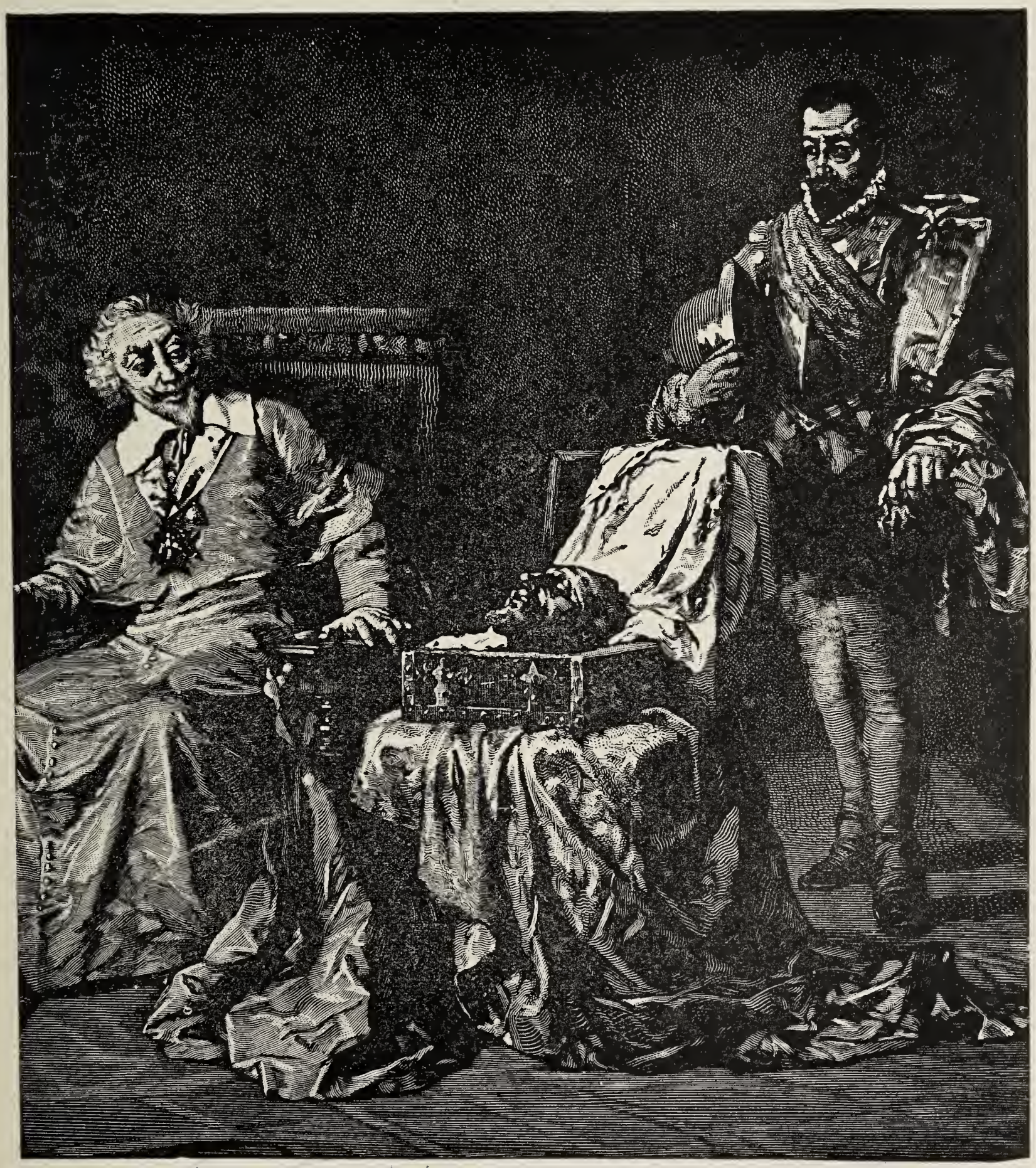
Coligny sent to apprise the king of what had just happened to him: "There," said he, "was a fine proof of fidelity to the agreement between him and the duke of Guise." "I shall never have rest, then!" cried Charles, breaking the stick with which he was playing tennis with the duke of Guise and Teligny, the admiral's son-in-law; and he immediately returned to his

room. The duke of Guise took himself off without a word. Teligny speedily joined his father-in-law.

About 2 P.M. the king, the queen-mother, and the dukes of Anjou and Alencon, her two other sons, with many of their high officers, repaired to the admiral's. "My dear father," said the king as he went in, "the hurt is yours; the grief and the outrage mine; but I will take such vengeance that it shall never be forgotten," to which he added his usual imprecations.

Saturday passed quietly. On Sunday, August 24th, between two and three o'clock in the morning, Cosseins, the commander of the king's guards, Besme, a servant of the Duke de Guise, and several others, broke open the door of Coligny's house, and forced their way into his bed-room, where Besme plunged a sword into his bosom, the rest dispatched him with their daggers. and Besme called out of the window to the Duke de Guise, who, with other Catholics, was waiting in the court below, "It is done." At the command of the duke, the body was then thrown out of the window to him, when, having wiped away the blood to see his features, he said, "It is he himself," and then gave a kick to "that venerable face, which when alive was dreadful to all the murderers of France." Now the great bell of the palace, and the bell of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois were answered by the bells of all the churches, the Swiss guards were under arms, and the city militia poured through the streets. Once let loose, the Parisian populace was eager indeed, but not alone in its eagerness, for the work of massacre; the gentlemen of the court took part in it passionately, from a spirit of vengeance, from religious hatred, from the effect of smelling blood, from covetousness at the prospect of confiscations at hand. Teligny, the admiral's son-in-law, had taken refuge on a roof; the duke of Anjou's guards made him a mark for their arquebuses. La Rochefoucauld, with whom the king had been laughing and joking up to eleven o'clock the evening before, heard a knocking at his door, in the king's name; it is opened; enter six men in masks and poniard him. The new queen of Navarre, Marguerite de Valois, had gone to bed by express order of her mother Catherine: "Just as I was asleep," says she, "behold a man knocking with feet and hands at the door and shouting, 'Navarre! Navarre!' My nurse, thinking it was the king my husband, runs quickly to the door and opens it. It was a gentleman named M. de Leran, who had a sword-cut on the elbow, a gash from a halberd on the arm, and was still pursued by four archers, who all came after him into my bed-room. We both screamed, and each of us was as much frightened as the other. At last it pleased God that M. de Nancy, captain of the guards, came in, who, finding me in this plight, though he felt compassion, could not help laughing; and, flying into a great rage with the archers for this indiscretion, he made them begone and gave me the life of that poor man, who had hold of me, whom I had put to bed and attended to in my closet, until he was well."

When he had plunged into the orgies of the massacre, when, after having said "Kill them all!" he had seen the slaughter of his companions in his royal amusements, Teligny and La Rochefoucauld, Charles IX. abandoned



The Head of Coligny.
Page 114.

himself to a fit of mad passion. He was asked whether the two young Huguenot princes, Henry of Navarre and Henry de Conde, were to be killed also; Marshal de Retx had been in favor of it; Marshal de Tavannes had been opposed to it; and it was decided to spare them.

The historians, Catholic or Protestant, contemporary or researchful, differ widely as to the number of the victims in this cruel massacre; according to De Thou, there were about two thousand persons killed in Paris the first day; D'Aubigne says three thousand; Brantome speaks of four thousand bodies that Charles IX. might have seen floating down the Seine; La Popeliniere reduces them to one thousand. The uncertainty is still greater when one comes to speak of the number of victims throughout the whole of France: De Thou estimates it at thirty thousand, Sully at seventy thousand, Perefixe, archbishop of Paris in the seventeenth century, raises it to one hundred thousand; Papirius Masson and Davila reduce it to ten thousand, without clearly distinguishing between the massacre of Paris and those of the provinces; other historians fix upon forty thousand. One thing which is quite true and which it is good to call to mind in the midst of so great a general criminality is that, at many spots in France, it met with a refusal to be associated in it; President Jeannin at Dijon, the Count de Tende in Provence, Philibert de la Guiche at Macon, Tanneguy le Veneur de Carrouge at Rouen, the Count de Gordes in Dauphiny, and many other chiefs, military or civil, openly repudiated the example set by the murderers of Paris; and the municipal body of Nantes, a very Catholic town, took upon this subject a resolution which does honor to its patriotic firmness as well as to its Christian loyalty.

A great, good man, a great functionary and a great scholar, in disgrace for six years past, the chancellor Michael de l'Hospital, gave in his resignation on the 1st of February, 1573, and died six weeks afterward, on the 18th of March.

All this policy, at one and the same time violent and timorous, incoherent and stubborn, produced among the Protestants two contrary effects: some grew frightened, others angry. At court, under the direct influence of the king and his surroundings, "submission to the powers that be" prevailed; many fled; others without abjuring their religion, abjured their party. The two reformer-princes, Henry of Navarre and Henry de Conde, attended mass on the 29th of September, and, on the 3d of October, wrote to the pope deploring their errors and giving hopes of their conversion. Far away from Paris, in the mountains of the Pyrenees and of Languedoc, in the towns where the reformers were numerous and confident, at Sancerre, at Montauban, at Nimes, at La Rochelle, the spirit of resistance carried the day. In November, 1572, the fourth religious war broke out.

The siege of La Rochelle was its only important event. Charles IX. and his councillors exerted themselves in vain to avoid it. There was everything to disquiet them in this enterprise: so sudden a revival of the religious war after the grand blow they had just struck, the passionate energy

manifested by the Protestants in asylum at La Rochelle, and the help they had been led to hope for from Queen Elizabeth, whom England would never have forgiven for indifference in this cause.

The siege lasted from the 26th of February to the 13th of June, 1573; six assaults were made on the place; in the last, the ladders had been set at night against the wall of what was called *Gospel* bastion; the duke of Guise, at the head of the assailants, had escaladed the breach, but there he discovered a new ditch and a new rampart erected inside; and, confronted by these unforeseen obstacles, the men recoiled and fell back. La Rochelle was saved. Charles IX. was more and more desirous of peace; his brother, the duke of Anjou, had just been elected king of Poland; Charles IX. was anxious for him to leave France, and go to take possession of his new kingdom. Thanks to these complications, the peace of La Rochelle was signed on the 6th day of July, 1573. Liberty of creed and worship was recognized in the three towns of La Rochelle, Montauban and Nimes. They were not obliged to receive any royal garrison, on condition of giving hostages to be kept by the king for two years.

Certainly this was not what the king had calculated upon when he consented to the massacre of the Protestants: "Provided," he had said, "that not a single one is left to reproach me." In the spring of 1574, at the age of twenty-three years and eleven months, and after a reign of eleven years and six months, Charles IX. was attacked by an inflammatory malady, which brought on violent hemorrhage; he was revisited, in his troubled sleep, by the same bloody visions about which, a few days after the St. Bartholomew, he had spoken to his physician, Ambrose Pare. He no longer retained in his room anybody but two of his servants and his nurse, "of whom he was very fond, although she was a Huguenot," says the contemporary chronicler Peter de l'Estoile. "When she had lain down upon a chest and was just beginning to doze, hearing the king moaning, weeping and sighing, she went full gently up to the bed: 'Ah! nurse, nurse,' said the king, 'what bloodshed and what murders! Ah! what evil counsel have I followed! Oh! my God, forgive me them and have mercy upon me, if it may please Thee! I know not what hath come to me, so bewildered and agitated do they make me. What will be the end of it all? What shall I do? I am lost; I see it well.' Then said the nurse to him: 'Sir, the murders be on the heads of those who made you do them! But, for God's sake, let your Majesty cease weeping!' And thereupon, having been to fetch him a pocket-handkerchief because his own was soaked with tears, after that the king had taken it from her hand, he signed to her to go away and leave him to his rest."

On Sunday, May 30th, 1574, Whitsunday, about three in the afternoon, Charles IX. expired, after having signed an ordinance conferring the regency upon his mother Catherine, "who accepted it," was the expression in the letters patent, "at the request of the duke of Alencon, the king of Navarre, and other princes and peers of France."

Though elected king of Poland on the 9th of May, 1573, Henry, duke of




Charles IX. and Catherine de Medici, the morning after the massacre of St. Bartholomew.
A. de Neuville. Page 116.

Anjou, had not yet left Paris at the end of the summer. Having arrived in Poland on the 25th of January, 1574, and being crowned at Cracow on the 24th of February, Henry had been scarcely four months king of Poland when he was apprised, about the middle of June, that his brother Charles had lately died, on the 30th of May, and that he was king of France. "Do not waste your time in deliberating," said his French advisers: "you must go and take possession of the throne of France without abdicating that of Poland; go at once and without fuss." Henry followed this counsel. Having started from Cracow on the 18th of June, 1574, he did not arrive until the 5th of September at Lyons.

It was in a condition of disorganization and red-hot anarchy that Henry III. on his return from Poland, and after the St. Bartholomew, found France; it was in the face of all these forces, full of life, but scattered and excited one against another, that, with the aid of his mother Catherine, he had to re-establish unity in the State, the efficiency of the government and the public peace.

Henry and Catherine aspired to no more than resuming their policy of maneuvering and wavering between the two parties engaged in the struggle; but it was not for so poor a result that the ardent Catholics had committed the crime of the St. Bartholomew; they promised themselves from it the decisive victory of their Church and of their supremacy. Henry de Guise came forward as their leader in this grand design. When, in 1575, first the duke of Anjou and after him the king of Navarre were seen flying from the court of Henry III. and commencing an insurrection with the aid of a considerable body of German auxiliaries and French refugees already on French soil and on their way across Champagne, the peril of the Catholic Church appeared so grave and so urgent that, in the threatened provinces, the Catholics devoted themselves with ardor to the formation of a grand association for the defense of their cause. Then and thus was really born *the League*, secret at first, but, before long, publicly and openly proclaimed, which held so important a place in the history of the sixteenth century. Henry de Guise did not hesitate to avow the league and labor to propagate it; he did what was far more effectual for its success: he entered the field and gained a victory. The German allies and French refugees, who had come to support Prince Henry de Conde and the duke of Anjou in their insurrection, advanced into Champagne. Guise had nothing ready, neither army nor money; he mustered in haste three thousand horse who were to be followed by a body of foot and a moiety of the king's guards. He set out in pursuit of the Germans, came up with them on the 10th of October, 1575, at Port-a-Binson, on the Marne, and ordered them to be attacked by his brother, the duke of Mayenne, whom he supported vigorously. They were broken and routed. He had himself been wounded: he went in obstinate pursuit of a mounted foe whom he had twice touched with his sword, and who, in return, had fired two pistol-shots, of which one took effect in the leg, and the other

carried away part of his cheek and his left ear. Thence came his name of Henry *the Scarred* (*le Balafre*) which has clung to him in history.

Admiral Coligny was succeeded by the king of Navarre, who was destined to become Henry IV.; and Duke Francis of Guise by his son Henry, if not as able, at any rate as brave a soldier, and a more determined Catholic than he. Among the Protestants, Sully and Du Plessis-Mornay were assuming shape and importance by the side of the king of Navarre.

This state of things continued for twelve years, from 1576 to 1588, with constant alternations of war, truce, and precarious peace, and in the midst of constant hesitation on the part of Henry III., between alliance with the league, commanded by the duke of Guise, and adjustment with the Protestants, of whom the king of Navarre was every day becoming the more and more avowed leader. Between 1576 and 1580, four treaties of peace were concluded: in 1576, the peace called *Monsieur's*, signed at Chastenay in Orleanness; in 1577, the peace of Bergerac or of Poitiers; in 1579, the peace of Nerac; in 1580, the peace of Fleix in Perigord. In November, 1576, the States-general were convoked and assembled at Blois, where they sat and deliberated up to March, 1577, without any important result. At heart, neither Protestants nor Catholics were for accepting mutual liberty; not only did they both consider themselves in possession of all religious truth, but they also considered themselves entitled to impose it by force upon their adversaries.

From 1576 to 1588, Henry III. had seen the difficulties of his government continuing and increasing. On the 10th of June in that year, Henry III. s brother, the duke of Anjou, died at Chateau-Thierry. By this death, the leader of the Protestants, Henry, king of Navarre, became lawful heir to the throne of France. The Leaguers could not stomach that prospect. The Guises turned it to formidable account. They did not hesitate to make the future of France a subject of negotiation with Philip II. of Spain, at that time her most dangerous enemy in Europe. By a secret convention concluded at Joinville, on the 31st of December, 1584, between Philip and the Guises, it was stipulated that at the death of Henry III. the crown should pass to Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, sixty-four years of age, the king of Navarre's uncle, who, in order to make himself king, undertook to set aside his nephew's hereditary right and forbid, absolutely, heretical worship in France. On the 7th of July, 1585, a treaty was concluded at Nemours between Henry III. and the league, to the effect "that by an irrevocable edict the practice of the new religion should be forbidden, and that there should henceforth be no other practice of religion, throughout the realm of France, save that of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman; that all the ministers should depart from the kingdom within a month."

This treaty was signed by all the negotiators, and specially by the queen-mother, the cardinals of Bourbon and Guise, and the dukes of Guise and Mayenne. It was the decisive act which made the war a war of religion.

Before taking part in the war which was day by day becoming more and

more clearly and explicitly a war of religion, the Protestant princes of Germany and the four great free cities of Strasbourg, Ulm, Nuremberg and Frankfort resolved to make, as the king of Navarre had made, a striking move on behalf of peace and religious liberty. They sent to Henry III. ambassadors who, on the 11th of October, 1586, treated him to some frank and bold speaking, but obtained no satisfactory answer.

Except some local and short-lived truces, war was already blazing throughout nearly the whole of France, in Provence, in Dauphiny, in Nivernais, in Guienne, in Anjou, in Normandy, in Picardy, in Champagne. The successes of Henry de Guise (Vimory, October 28th; Auneau, November 24th), and of Henry de Bourbon (Coutras, October 20th), were almost equally disagreeable to Henry de Valois. He considered the Protestants less powerful and less formidable than the Leaguers. Henry de Guise, on the contrary, was evidently, in his eyes, an ambitious conspirator, determined to push his own fortunes on to the very crown of France. Since 1584, the Leaguers had, at Paris, acquired strong organization among the populace; the city had been partitioned out into five districts under five heads, who, shortly afterward, added to themselves eleven others, in order that, in the secret council of the association, each among the sixteen quarters of Paris might have its representative and director. Thence the famous Committee of *Sixteen*, which played so great and so formidable a part in the history of that period.

In vain did Henry III. attempt to resume some sort of authority in Paris; his government, his public and private life, and his person were daily attacked, insulted, and menaced from the elevation of the pulpit and in the public thoroughfares by qualified preachers or mob-orators. The Duke de Guise, whose courage rendered him the favorite of the people, became more and more insolent. In defiance of a royal order he marched into Paris, and at the head of four hundred *gentilshommes* set the king at defiance in the apartments of the Louvre. Barricades were raised throughout Paris, and the Swiss guards whom the king had summoned, disarmed by the populace, would have been slaughtered but for the interposition of Guise himself. At that supreme moment the duke hesitated and recoiled before the final step of attacking the Louvre. This wavering saved the king; for Catherine de' Medicis had time to amuse her rival by feigned propositions of reconciliation, and in the mean while Henry III. could retire to Chartres. There the imbecile monarch, forsaken by every one, was compelled to approve all that had been done against himself; he gave to the Duke de Guise several powerful towns, and named him generalissimo of the French forces; finally he convoked the States-general at Blois. Guise was not satisfied yet, and he insulted his king so repeatedly that he drove the most timid of men to the boldest of all resolutions—that of murdering him.

On the evening of Thursday, December the 22d, the duke of Guise, on sitting down at table, found under his napkin a note to this effect: "The king means to kill you." Guise asked for a pen, wrote at the bottom of the

note, "He dare not," and threw it under the table. In spite of this warning, he persisted in going, on the next day, to the council-chamber. He crossed the king's chamber contiguous to the council-hall, courteously saluted, as he passed, Loignac and his comrades whom he found drawn up, and who, returning him a frigid obeisance, followed him as if to show him respect. On arriving at the door of the old cabinet, and just as he leaned down to raise the tapestry that covered it, Guise was struck by five poniard blows in the chest, neck, and reins: "God ha' mercy!" he cried, and, though his sword was entangled in his cloak and he was himself pinned by the arms and legs and choked by the blood that spurted from his throat, he dragged his murderers, by a supreme effort of energy, to the other end of the room, where he fell down backwards and lifeless before the bed of Henry III. who, coming to the door of his room and asking "if it was done," contemplated with mingled satisfaction and terror the inanimate body of his mighty rival, "who seemed to be merely sleeping, so little was he changed." "My God! how tall he is!" cried the king; "he looks even taller than when he was alive."

Thirteen days after the murder of the duke of Guise, on the 5th of January, 1589, Catherine de' Medici herself died. Nor was her death, so far as affairs and the public were concerned, an event. Time has restored Catherine de' Medici to her proper place in history; she was quickly forgotten by her contemporaries.

It was not long before Henry III. perceived that, to be king, it was not sufficient to have murdered his rival. He survived the duke of Guise only seven months, and, during that short period, he was not really king, all by himself, for a single day; never had his kingship been so embarrassed and impotent; the violent death of the duke of Guise had exasperated much more than enfeebled the league; the feeling against his murderer was passionate and contagious. The majority of the great towns of France, Paris, Rouen, Orleans, Toulouse, Lyons, Amiens, and whole provinces declared eagerly against the royal murderer. He demanded support from the States-general, who refused it; and he was obliged to dismiss them. The parliament of Paris, dismembered on the 16th of January, 1589, by the Council of Sixteen, became the instrument of the leaguers. The Sorbonne, consulted by a petition presented in the name of all Catholics, decided that Frenchmen were released from their oath of allegiance to Henry III., and might with a good conscience turn their arms against him.

There was clearly for him but one possible ally who had a chance of doing effectual service, and that was Henry of Navarre and the Protestants. It cost Henry III. a great deal to have recourse to that party; his conscience and pusillanimity both revolted at it equally. In spite of his moral corruption, he was a sincere Catholic, and the prospect of excommunication troubled him deeply. However, on the 3d of April, 1589, a truce for a year was concluded between the two kings. This negotiation was not concluded without difficulty, especially as regarded the town of Saumur; there was a general



Murder of Henri de Guise by order of Henry III. in the King's bedchamber of the Louvre.
Paul Delaroche. Page 120.

desire to cede to the king of Navarre only some place of less importance on the Loire; and when, on the 15th of April, Du Plessis-Mornay, who had been appointed governor of it, presented himself for admittance at the head of his garrison, the royalist commandant who had to deliver the keys to him limited himself to letting them drop at his feet. Mornay showed alacrity in picking them up.

On arriving before Paris toward the end of July, 1589, the two kings besieged it with an army of forty-two thousand men, the strongest and the best they had ever had under their orders. "The affairs of Henry III.," says De Thou, "had changed face; fortune was pronouncing for him." "On Tuesday, August 1st, at 8 A.M., he was told," says L'Estoile, "that a monk desired to speak with him, but that his guards made a difficulty about letting him in. 'Let him in,' said the king: 'if he is refused, it will be said that I drive monks away and will not see them.' Incontinently entered the monk, having in his sleeve a knife unsheathed. He made a profound reverence to the king, who had just got up and had nothing on but a dressing-gown about his shoulders, and presented to him dispatches from Count de Brienne, saying that he had further orders to tell the king privately something of importance. Then the king ordered those who were present to retire, and began reading the letter which the monk had brought, asking for a private audience afterward; the monk, seeing the king's attention taken up with reading, drew his knife from his sleeve and drove it right into the king's small gut, below the navel, so home that he left the knife in the hole; the which the king having drawn out with great exertion struck the monk a blow with the point of it on his left eyebrow, crying, 'Ah! wicked monk! he has killed me; kill him!' At which cry running quickly up, the guards and others, such as happened to be nearest, massacred this assassin of a Jacobin, who, as D'Aubigne says, stretched out his two arms against the wall, counterfeiting the crucifix, while the blows were dealt him. Having been dragged out dead from the king's chamber, he was stripped naked to the waist, covered with his gown and exposed to the public." Henry III. expired on the 2d of August, 1589, between two and three in the morning. The first persons Henry of Navarre met as he entered the Hotel de Retz were the officers of the Scottish guard, who threw themselves at his feet, saying: "Ah! sir, you are now our king and our master."

# IX.

# HENRY IV.—LOUIS XIII., RICHELIEU AND THE COURT.

(1589--1593.)

HENRY IV. perfectly understood and steadily took the measure of the situation in which he was placed. He set his thoughts higher, upon the general and natural interests of France as he found her and saw her. They resolved themselves, in his eyes, into the following great points: maintenance of the hereditary rights of monarchy, preponderance of Catholics in the government, peace between Catholics and Protestants, and religious liberty for Protestants. With him these points became the law of his policy and his kingly duty, as well as the nation's right. He proclaimed them in the first words that he addressed to the lords and principal personages of State assembled around him. On the 4th of August, 1589, in the camp at St. Cloud, the majority of the princes, dukes, lords, and gentlemen present in the camp expressed their full adhesion to the accession and the manifesto of the king. Two notable leaders, the duke of Epernon among the Catholics and the duke of La Tremoille among the Protestants, refused to join in this adhesion; the former saying that his conscience would not permit him to serve a heretic king, the latter alleging that his conscience forbade him to serve a prince who engaged to protect Catholic idolatry. Three contemporaries, Sully, La Force, and the bastard of Angouleme, bear witness that Henry IV. was deserted by as many Huguenots as Catholics. The French royal army was reduced, it is said, to one-half. As a make-weight, Sancy prevailed upon the Swiss, to the number of twelve thousand, and two thousand German auxiliaries, not only to continue in the service of the new king, but to wait six months for their pay, as he was at the moment unable to pay them.

There was, in 1589, an unlawful pretender to the throne of France; and that was Cardinal Charles de Bourbon, younger brother of Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, and consequently uncle of Henry IV., sole representative of the elder branch. Under Henry III. the cardinal had thrown in his lot with the league; and, after the murder of Guise, Henry III. had, by way of precaution, ordered him to be arrested and detained him

in confinement at Chinon, where he still was when Henry III. was in his turn murdered. The Leaguers proclaimed him king under the name of Charles X.; and, eight months afterward, on the 5th of March, 1590, the parliament of Paris issued a decree "recognizing Charles X. as true and lawful king of France." A few weeks before his death he had written to his nephew Henry IV. a letter in which he recognized him as his sovereign.

The league was more than ever dominant in Paris; Henry IV. could not think of entering there. He was closely pressed by Mayenne, who boasted that he would very shortly bring him into Paris bound hand and foot. Already windows were engaged on the line of streets through which the procession was to pass. He awaited the attack of Mayenne at Arques in Normandy, where with three thousand men alone he defeated an army of thirty thousand. Strengthened by the accession of a number of *gentilshommes*, Henry then once more attacked Paris, and pillaged the faubourg Saint Germain.

Henry left some of his lieutenants to carry on the war in the environs of Paris, and himself repaired on the 21st of November to Tours, where the royalist parliament, the exchequer-chamber, the court of taxation, and all the magisterial bodies which had not felt inclined to submit to the despotism of the league, lost no time in rendering him homage, as the head and the representative of the national and the lawful cause. He reigned and ruled, to real purpose, in the eight principal provinces; and his authority, although disputed, was making way in nearly all the other parts of the kingdom. He made war, not like a conqueror, but like a king who wanted to meet with acceptance in the places which he occupied and which he would soon have to govern. It was not long before Henry reaped the financial fruits of his protective equity; at the close of 1589 he could count upon a regular revenue of more than two millions of crowns, very insufficient, no doubt, for the wants of his government, but much beyond the official resources of his enemies. He had very soon taken his proper rank in Europe.

Unhappily the new pope, Gregory XIV., elected on the 5th of December, 1590, was humbly devoted to the Spanish policy, meekly subservient to Philip II.; that is, to the cause of religious persecution and of absolute power, without regard for anything else. The relations of France with the Holy See at once felt the effects of this; Cardinal Gaetani received from Rome all the instructions that the most ardent leaguers could desire; and he gave his approval to a resolution of the Sorbonne to the effect that Henry de Bourbon, heretic and relapsed, was forever excluded from the crown, whether he became a Catholic or not. Henry IV. had convoked the States-general at Tours for the month of March, and had summoned to that city the archbishops and bishops to form a national council, and to deliberate as to the means of restoring the king to the bosom of the Catholic Church. The legate prohibited this council, declaring, beforehand, the excommunication and deposition of any bishops who should be present at it. In view of such passionate hostility, Henry IV., a stranger to any

sort of illusion, at the same time that he was always full of hope, saw that his successes at Arques were insufficient for him, and that if he were to occupy the throne in peace, he must win more victories.

On Wednesday, the 14th of March, 1590, the two armies met on the plains of Ivry, a village six leagues from Evreux, on the left bank of the Eure. A battle ensued in which, although the resources of modern warfare were brought into operation, the decisive force consisted, as of old, in the cavalry. It appeared as if Henry IV. must succumb to the superior force of the enemy. At length Henry cried out that those who did not wish to fight against the enemy might at least turn and see him die, and immediately plunged into the thickest of the battle. Raising one mighty shout to God, they threw themselves upon the enemy, following their king, whose plume was now their banner. The cavalry was broken, scattered, and swept from the field, and the confused manner of their retreat so puzzled the infantry that they were not able to maintain their ground; the German and French were cut down; the Swiss surrendered. It was a complete victory for Henry IV.

The victory of Ivry had a great effect in France and in Europe, though not immediately and as regarding the actual campaign of 1590. The victorious king moved on Paris, and made himself master of the little towns in the neighborhood with a view of besieging the capital. The investment became more strict; it was kept up for more than three months, from the end of May to the beginning of September, 1590; and the city was reduced to a severe state of famine.

In the mean time Duke Alexander of Parma, in accordance with express orders from Philip II., went from the Low Countries, with his army, to join Mayenne at Meaux, and threaten Henry IV. with their united forces if they did not retire from the walls of the capital. Henry IV. offered the two dukes battle, if they really wished to put a stop to the investment. Henry in vain attempted to make the duke of Parma accept battle. The able Italian established himself in a strongly entrenched camp, surprised Lagny and opened to Paris the navigation of the Marne, by which provisions were speedily brought up. Henry decided upon retreating; he dispersed the different divisions of his army into Touraine, Normandy, Picardy, Champagne, Burgundy, and himself took up his quarters at Senlis, at Compiegne, in the towns on the banks of the Oise. The duke of Mayenne arrived on the 18th of September at Paris; the duke of Parma entered it himself with a few officers and left it on the 13th of November, with his army on his way back to the Low Countries.

Then began to appear the consequences of the victory of Ivry and the progress made by Henry IV., in spite of the check he received before Paris and at some other points in the kingdom. Not only did many moderate Catholics make advances to him, struck with his sympathetic ability and his valor, and hoping that he would end by becoming a Catholic, but patriotic wrath was kindling in France against Philip II.

and the Spaniards, those fomenters of civil war in the mere interest of foreign ambition.

The league was split up into two parties, the *Spanish League* and the *French League*. The committee of *Sixteen* labored incessantly for the formation and triumph of the *Spanish League*, and its principal leaders wrote, on the 2d of September, 1591, a letter to Philip II., offering him the crown of France and pledging their allegiance to him as his subjects. These ringleaders of the Spanish League had for their army the blindly fanatical and demagogic populace of Paris, and were, further, supported by four thousand Spanish troops whom Philip II. had succeeded in getting almost surreptitiously into Paris, They created a *council of ten*, the sixteenth century's committee of public safety; they proscribed the *policists*; they, on the 15th of November, had the president, Brisson, and two councillors of the Leaguer parliament arrested, hanged them to a beam, and dragged the corpses to the Place de Greve, where they strung them up to a gibbet with inscriptions setting forth that they were heretics, traitors to the city and enemies to the Catholic princes. While the *Spanish League* was thus reigning at Paris, the duke of Mayenne was at Laon, preparing to lead his army, consisting partly of Spaniards, to the relief of Rouen, the siege of which Henry IV. was commencing. Being summoned to Paris by messengers who succeeded one another every hour, he arrived there on the 28th of November, 1591, with two thousand French troops; he armed the guard of burgesses, seized and hanged, in a ground-floor room of the Louvre, four of the chief leaders of the Sixteen, suppressed their committee, re-established the parliament in full authority, and, finally, the security and preponderance of the *French League*, while taking the reins once more into his own hands.

In all the provinces, throughout all ranks of society, the population non-enrolled among the factions were turning their eyes toward Henry IV. as the only means of putting an end to war at home and abroad, the only pledge of national unity, public prosperity, and even freedom of trade, a hazy idea as yet, but even now prevalent in the great ports of France and in Paris. Would Henry turn Catholic? That was the question asked everywhere among Protestants with anxiety, but with keen desire and not without hope among the mass of the population. The rumor ran that, on this point, negotiations were half opened even in the midst of the league itself, even at the court of Spain, even at Rome. Such being the existing state of facts and minds, it was impossible that Henry IV. should not ask himself roundly the same question and feel that he had no time to lose in answering it.

In spite of the breadth and independence of his mind, Henry IV. was sincerely puzzled. There is no measuring accurately how far ambition, personal interest, a king's egotism had to do with Henry IV.'s abjuration of his religion: none would deny that those human infirmities were present; but all this does not prevent the conviction that patriotism

was uppermost in Henry's soul, and that the idea of his duty as king toward France, a prey to all the evils of civil and foreign war, was the determining motive of his resolution. It cost him a great deal. On the 26th of April, 1593, he wrote to the grand duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand de' Medici, that he had decided to turn Catholic. On the 28th of April he begged the bishop of Chartres, Nicholas de Thou, to be one of the Catholic prelates whose instructions he would be happy to receive on the 15th of July, and he sent the same invitation to several other prelates. On the 16th of May he declared to his council his resolve to become a convert. This news, everywhere spread abroad, produced a lively burst of national and Bourbonic feeling, even where it was scarcely to be expected.

During these disputes among the civil functionaries and continuing all the while to make proposals for a general truce, Henry IV. vigorously resumed warlike operations so as to bring pressure upon his adversaries and make them perceive the necessity of accepting the solution he offered them. He besieged and took the town of Dreux, of which the castle alone persisted in holding out. He cut off the provisions which were being brought by the Marne to Paris. He kept Poitiers strictly invested. Lesdiguieres defeated the Savoyards and the Spaniards in the valleys of Dauphiny and Piedmont. Count Mansfield had advanced with a division toward Picardy; but at the news that the king was marching to encounter him, he retired with precipitation. The castle of Dreux was obliged to capitulate. Thanks to the four thousand Swiss paid for him by the grand duke of Florence, to the numerous volunteers brought to him by the noblesse of his party, "and to the sterling quality of the old Huguenot phalanx, folks who, from father to son, are familiarized with death," says D'Aubigne, Henry IV. had recovered in June, 1593, so good an army that "by means of it," he wrote to Ferdinand de' Medici, "I shall be able to reduce the city of Paris in so short a time as will cause you great contentment." He entered resolutely, on the 15th of July, 1593, upon the employment of the moral means which alone could enable him to attain this end; he assembled at Mantes the conference of prelates and doctors, Catholic and Protestant, which he had announced as the preface to his conversion.

Ten days after, on Sunday, the 25th of July, 1593, he repaired in great state to the church of St. Denis. On arriving with all his train in front of the grand entrance, he was received by Reginald de Beaune, archbishop of Bourges "Who are you?" asked the archbishop who officiated. "The king." "What want you?" To be received into the bosom of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church." "Do you desire it?" "Yes, I will and desire it." At these words the king knelt and made the stipulated profession of faith. The archbishop gave him absolution together with benediction; and, conducted by all the clergy to the choir of the church, he there, upon the gospels, repeated his oath, made his confession, heard mass, and was fully reconciled with the Church. The vaulted roof of the church resounded with their shouts of *Hurrah for the king!* There was

the same welcome on the part of the dwellers in the country when Henry repaired to the valley of Montmorency and to Montmartre to perform his devotions there.

On one side a great majority of Catholics and Protestants favorable for different practical reasons to Henry IV. turned Catholic king; on the other, two minorities, one of stubborn Catholics of the league, the other of Protestants anxious for their creed and their liberty; both discontented and distrustful. This triple fact was constantly present to the mind of Henry IV. and ruled his conduct during all his reign; all the acts of his government are proof of that. It was province by province, inch by inch that he had to recover his kingdom. At Lyons, the success of the king was easy and disinterested; not so in Normandy. Andrew de Brancas, lord of Villars, an able man and valiant soldier, was its governor; he had served the league with zeal and determination; nevertheless thinking, however, that every man has his price, he determined to get out of Henry IV. as much as he could, and the following memorandum shows how far he was successful:—"To M. Villars, for himself, his brother Chevalier d'Oise, the towns of Rouen and Havre and other places, as well as for compensation which had to be made to MM. de Montpensier, Marshal de Biron, Chancellor de Chiverny, and other persons included in his treaty . . . . 3,447,800 livres."

Nicholas de Neufville, lord of Villeroi, after having served Charles IX. and Henry III., had become through attachment to the Catholic cause a member of the league and one of the duke of Mayenne's confidants. When Henry IV. was king of France and Catholic king, Villeroi tried to serve his cause with Mayenne, and induce Mayenne to be reconciled with him. Meeting with no success, he made up his mind to separate from the league, and go over to the king's service. He could do so without treachery or shame; even as a leaguer and a servant of Mayenne's, he had always been opposed to Spain, and devoted to a French, but at the same time a faithfully Catholic policy. He imported into the service of Henry IV. the same sentiments and the same bearing; he was still a zealous Catholic and a partisan, for king and country's sake, of alliance with Catholic powers. Henry IV. saw at once the advantage to be gained from him, and made him, on the 25th of September, 1594, Secretary of State for foreign affairs. This acquisition did not cost him so dear as that of Villars: still we read in the statement of sums paid by Henry IV. for this sort of conquest:—"Furthermore, to M. de Villeroi, for himself, his son, the town of Pontoise, and other individuals according to their treaty, 476,594 livres."

Henry IV. had been absolved and crowned at St. Denis by the bishops of France; he had not been annointed at Reims according to the religious traditions of the French monarchy. At Reims he could not be, for it was still in the power of the league. The ceremony took place at Chartres on the 27th of February, 1594; the bishop of Chartres,

Nicholas de Thou, officiated. Henry IV., on his knees before the grand altar, took the usual oath, the form of which was presented to him by Chancellor de Chiverny. With the exception of local accessories, which were acknowledged to be impossible and unnecessary, there was nothing lacking to this religious hallowing of his kingship.

Henry IV. started on the 21st of March, nearly one month after the ceremony we have just related, from Senlis, where he had mustered his troops, arrived about midnight at St. Denis, and immediately began his march to Paris, where a strong party, headed by Brissac and D'Epinay St. Luc, stood in readiness to receive him. The night was dark and stormy; thunder rumbled; rain fell heavily; the king was a little behind time. On the 22d of March three of the city gates were thrown open, and the king's troops entered Paris. They occupied the different districts and met with no show of resistance but at the quay of L'Ecole, where an outpost of lanzknechts tried to stop them; but they were cut in pieces or hurled into the river. Between five and six o'clock Henry IV., at the head of the last division, crossed the draw-bridge of the New Gate. Brissac, Provost l'Huillier, the sheriffs and several companies of burgesses advanced to meet him. At ten o'clock he was master of the whole city; the districts of St. Martin, of the Temple, and St. Anthony alone remained still in the power of three thousand Spanish soldiers under the orders of their leaders, the duke of Feria and Don Diego d'Ibarra. He sent word to the Spaniards that they must not move from their quarters, and must leave Paris during the day, at the same time promising not to bear arms any more against him in France. They eagerly accepted these conditions. At three o'clock in the afternoon, ambassador, officers, and soldiers all evacuated Paris and set out for the Low Countries.

After his conversion to Catholicism, the capture of Paris was the most decisive of the issues which made Henry IV. really king of France. The submission of Rouen followed almost immediately upon that of Paris; and the year 1594 brought Henry a series of successes, military and civil, which changed very much to his advantage the position of the kingship as well as the general condition of the kingdom.

The close of this happy and glorious year was at hand. On the 27th of September, between 6 and 7 P.M., a deplorable incident occurred, for the second time, to call Henry IV.'s attention to the weak side of his position. An attempt upon his life had already been made by a fanatic named Barriere; now it was a young man of nineteen, son of a cloth-merchant in the city, who, acting under the influence of the Jesuits, tried to murder the king. He was arrested and put to death, a decree of the parliament of Paris being at the same time (December 29th, 1594) issued against the Jesuits.

In the mean while Philip II. persisted in his active hostility and continued to give the king of France no title but that of *prince of Bearn*. On the 17th of January, 1595, Henry, in performance of what he had proclaimed, formally declared war against the king of Spain, forbade his subjects to have any commerce with him or his allies, and ordered them to make war on him for

the future, just as he persisted in making it on France. The conflict thus solemnly begun lasted three years and three months, from the 17th of January, 1595, to the 1st of May, 1598, from Henry IV.'s declaration of war to the peace of Vervins, which preceded by only four months and thirteen days the death of Philip II. and the end of the preponderance of Spain in Europe. The battle of Fontaine-Francaise (5th June) was a brilliant evidence that Navarre while becoming a monarch had not forgotten to be a soldier. The absolution at last granted by Pope Clement VIII. proved of the utmost benefit to the king. The king of Spain at last consented to accept terms of agreement (Peace of Vervins, May 2d); and as the promulgation of the edict of Nantes (April 13th) had put an end to the wars of religion, so by the treaty with Philip II. a long period of foreign wars was terminated.

A month before the conclusion of the treaty of peace at Vervins with Philip II., Henry IV. had signed and published at Paris on the 13th of April, 1598, the edict of Nantes, his treaty of peace with the Protestant malcontents. This treaty, drawn up in ninety-two open and fifty-six secret articles, was a code of old and new laws regulating the civil and religious position of Protestants in France, the conditions and guarantees of their worship, their liberties and their special obligations in their relations, whether with the crown or with their Catholic fellow-countrymen. By this code Henry IV. added a great deal to the rights of the Protestants and to the duties of the State toward them. The State was charged with the duty of providing for the salaries of the Protestant ministers and rectors in their colleges or schools, and an annual sum of one hundred and sixty-five thousand livres of those times (four hundred and ninety-five thousand francs of the present day) was allowed for that purpose. Donations and legacies to be so applied were authorized. The children of Protestants were admitted into the universities, colleges, schools and hospitals, without distinction between them and Catholics. There was great difficulty in securing for them, in all the parliaments of the kingdom, impartial justice; and a special chamber, called the *edict-chamber*, was instituted for the trial of all causes in which they were interested. Catholic judges could not sit in this chamber unless with their consent and on their presentation. The edict of Nantes retained, at first for eight years and then for four more, in the hands of the Protestants the towns which war or treaties had put in their possession, and which numbered, it is said, two hundred. The king was bound to bear the burthen of keeping up their fortifications and paying their garrisons; and Henry IV. devoted to that object five hundred and forty thousand livres of those times, or about two million francs of our day.

Whatever their imperfections and the objections that might be raised to them, the peace of Vervins and the edict of Nantes were, amid the obstacles and perils encountered at every step by the government of Henry IV., the two most timely and most beneficial acts in the world for France.

Four months after the conclusion of the treaty of Vervins, on the 13th of September, 1598, Philip II. died at the Escurial, and on the 3d of April,

1603, a second great royal personage, Queen Elizabeth, disappeared from the scene. Thus at the beginning of the seventeenth century Henry IV. was the only one remaining of the three great sovereigns who, during the sixteenth, had disputed, as regarded religion and politics, the preponderance in Europe. He had succeeded in all his kingly enterprises; he had become a Catholic in France without ceasing to be the prop of the Protestants in Europe; he had made peace with Spain without embroiling himself with England, Holland and Lutheran Germany. It was just then that he gave the strongest proof of his great judgment and political sagacity; he was not intoxicated with success; he did not abuse his power; he concerned himself chiefly with the establishment of public order in his kingdom and with his people's prosperity. Henry IV. had a sympathetic nature; his grandeur did not lead him to forget the nameless multitudes whose fate depended upon his government. He had, besides, the rich, productive, varied, inquiring mind of one who took an interest not only in the welfare of the French peasantry, but in the progress of the whole French community, progress agricultural, industrial, commercial, scientific, and literary.

Abroad the policy of Henry IV. was as judicious and far-sighted as it was just and sympathetic at home. There has been much writing and dissertation about what has been called his *grand design*. This name has been given to a plan for the religious and political organization of Christendom, consisting in the division of Europe among three religions, the Catholic, the Calvinistic and the Lutheran, and into fifteen States, great or small, monarchical or republican, with equal rights, alone recognized as members of the Christian confederation, regulating in concert their common affairs and pacifically making up their differences, while all the while preserving their national existence. The *grand design*, so far as Henry IV. was concerned, was never a definite project. His true external policy was much more real and practical. When he became the most puissant and most regarded of European kings, he set his heart very strongly on two things, toleration for the three religions which had succeeded in establishing themselves in Europe and showing themselves capable of contending one against another, and the abasement of the house of Austria, which, even after the death of Charles V. and of Philip II., remained the real and the formidable rival of France. The external policy of Henry IV. from the treaty of Vervins to his death was religious peace in Europe and the alliance of Catholic France with Protestant England and Germany against Spain and Austria.

Four men, very unequal in influence as well as merit, Sully, Villeroi, Du Plessis-Mornay, and D'Aubigne, did Henry IV. effective service, by very different processes and in very different degrees, toward establishing and rendering successful this internal and external policy. Three were Protestants; Villeroi alone was a Catholic. Sully is beyond comparison with the other three. He is the only one whom Henry IV. called *my friend;* the only one who had participated in all the life and all the government of Henry IV., his eivil as well as his exalted fortunes, his most painful embarrassments at home

as well as his greatest political acts; the only one whose name has remained inseparably connected with that of a master whom he served without servility as well as without any attempt to domineer.

Henry IV. made so great a case of Villeroi's co-operation and influence that, without loving him as he loved Sully, he upheld him and kept him as Secretary of State for foreign affairs to the end of his reign.

Philip du Plessis-Mornay occupied a smaller place than Sully and Villeroi in the government of Henry IV.; but he held and deserves to keep a great one in the history of his times. He was the most eminent and also the most moderate of the men of profound piety and conviction of whom the Reformation had made a complete conquest, soul and body, and who placed their public fidelity to their religious creed above every other interest and every other affair in this world.

A third Protestant, Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigne, grandfather of Madame de Maintenon, has been reckoned here among, not the councilors, certainly, but the familiar and still celebrated servants of Henry IV. He held no great post and had no great influence with the king; he was, on every occasion, a valiant soldier, a zealous Protestant, an indefatigable lover and seeker of adventure, sometimes an independent thinker, frequently an eloquent and bold speaker, always a very sprightly companion.

These politicians, these Christians, these warriors had, in 1600, a grave question to solve for Henry IV. and grave counsel to give him. He was anxious to separate from his wife, Marguerite de Valois, who had, in fact, been separated from him for the last fifteen years, was leading a very irregular life, and had not brought him any children. But in order to obtain from the pope annulment of the marriage it was first necessary that Marguerite should agree to it, and at no price would she yield so long as the king's favorite continued to be Gabrielle d'Estrees, whom she detested and by whom Henry already had several children. In consequence, however, of the favorite's sudden death (April 10th, 1599), the consent of Marguerite de Valois to the annulment of her marriage was obtained; and negotiations were opened at Rome by Arnauld d'Ossat, who was made a cardinal, and by Brulart de Sillery, ambassador *ad hoc*.

Clement VIII. pronounced on the 17th of December, 1599, and transmitted to Paris by Cardinal de Joyeuse the decree of annulment. On the 6th of January, 1600, Henry IV. gave his ambassador, Brulart de Sillery, powers to conclude at Florence his marriage with Mary de' Medici, daughter of Francis I. de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, and Joan, archduchess of Austria. As early as the year 1592 there had been something said about this project of alliance; it was resumed and carried out on the 5th of October, 1600, at Florence, with lavish magnificence. Mary embarked at Leghorn on the 17th with a fleet of seventeen galleys; she arrived at Marseilles on the 3d of November and at Lyons on the 2d of December, where she waited till the 9th for the king, who was detained by the war with Savoy. He entered her chamber in the middle of the night, booted and armed, and next

day, in the cathedral church of St. John, re-celebrated his marriage, more rich in wealth than it was destined to be in happiness.

Henry IV. seemed to have attained in his public and in his domestic life the pinnacle of earthly fortune and ambition. He was, at one and the same time, Catholic king and the head of the Protestant polity in Europe, accepted by the Catholics as the best, the only possible, king for them in France. He was at peace with all Europe, except one petty prince, the duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel I., from whom he demanded back the marquisate of Saluzzo or a territorial compensation in France itself on the French side of the Alps. After a short campaign, and thanks to Rosny's ordnance, he obtained what he desired, and by a treaty of January 17th, 1601, he added to French territory La Bresse, Le Bugey, the district of Gex and the citadel of Bourg, which still held out after the capture of the town.

The queen's coronation had been proclaimed on the 12th of May, 1610; she was to be crowned next day the 13th at St. Denis, and Sunday the 16th had been appointed for her to make her entry into Paris. On Friday the 14th the king had an idea of going to the Arsenal to see Sully, who was ill; we have the account of this visit and of the assassination given by Malherbe, at that time attached to the service of Henry IV., in a letter written on the 19th of May from the reports of eye-witnesses.

"At last he made up his mind to go, and having kissed the queen several times, bade her adieu. Among other things that were remarked he said to her, 'I shall only go there and back; I shall be here again almost directly.' When he got to the bottom of the steps where his carriage was waiting for him, M. de Praslin, his captain of the guard, would have attended him, but he said to him, 'Get you gone; I want nobody; go about your business.'

"Thus, having about him only a few gentlemen and some footmen, he got into his carriage, took his place on the back seat at the left-hand side, and made M. d'Epernon sit at the right. When he came to the Croix-du-Tiroir he was asked whither it was his pleasure to go; he gave orders to go toward St. Innocent. On arriving at Rue de la Ferronnerie, which is at the end of that of St. Honore on the way to that of St. Denis, opposite the Salamandre he met a cart which obliged the king's carriage to go nearer to the iron-mongers' shops which are on the St. Innocent side, and even to proceed somewhat more slowly, without stopping. Here it was that an abominable assassin, who had posted himself against the nearest shop, darted upon the king and dealt him, one after the other, two blows with a knife in the left side; one, catching him between the arm-pit and the nipple, went upward without doing more than graze; the other catches him between the fifth and sixth ribs, and, taking a downward direction, cuts a large artery of those called *venous*. He uttered a low cry and made a few movements.

"In a moment the carriage turned toward the Louvre. When he was at the steps where he had got into the carriage, which are those of the queen's rooms, some wine was given him. Of course some one had already run forward to bear the news. I tell you nothing about the queen's tears; all



Assassination of Marshal d'Ancre on the bridge of the Louvre, April 24, 1617.
A. de Neuville. Page 133.

that must be imagined. As for the people of Paris, I think they never wept so much as on this occasion."

On the king's death—and at the imperious instance of the duke of Epernon, who at once introduced the queen, and said in open session, as he exhibited his sword, "It is as yet in the scabbard, but it will have to leap therefrom unless this moment there be granted to the queen a title which is her due according to the order of nature and of justice,"—the Parliament forthwith declared Mary regent of the kingdom. Thanks to Sully's firm administration, there were, after the ordinary annual expenses were paid, at that time in the vaults of the Bastile or in securities easily realizable, forty-one million three hundred and forty-five thousand livres, and there was nothing to suggest that extraordinary and urgent expenses would come to curtail this substantial reserve. The army was disbanded and reduced to from twelve to fifteen thousand men, French or Swiss. For a long time past no power in France had, at its accession, possessed so much material strength and so much moral authority. Henry IV.'s first wife, the sprightly and too facile Marguerite de Valois, was dead also, after consenting to descend from the throne in order to make way for the mediocre Mary de' Medici. The Catholic champion whom Henry IV. felicitated himself upon being able to oppose to Du Plessis-Mornay in the polemical conferences between the two communions, Cardinal de Perron, was at the point of death. The decay was general and the same among the Protestants as among the Catholics; Sully and Mornay held themselves aloof or were barely listened to. In place of these eminent personages had come intriguing or ambitious subordinates, who were either innocent of, or indifferent to, anything like a great policy, and who had no idea beyond themselves and their fortunes. The chief among them were Leonora Galigai, daughter of the queen's nurse, and her husband, Concino Concini, son of a Florentine notary, both of them full of coarse ambition, covetous, vain and determined to make the best of their new position, so as to enrich themselves and exalt themselves beyond measure and at any price. The husband of Leonora Galigai, Concini, had amassed a great deal of money and purchased the marquisate of Ancre; nay, more, he had been created marshal of France. Louis XIII. had among his personal attendants a young nobleman, Albert de Luynes, clever in training little sporting birds, called *butcher-birds* (*pies grieches* or *shrikes*), then all the rage; and the king made him his falconer and lived on familiar terms with him. Playing at billiards one day, Marshal d'Ancre, putting on his hat, said to the king, "I hope your majesty will allow me to be covered." The king allowed it; but remained surprised and shocked. His young page, Albert de Luynes, observed his displeasure, and being anxious himself also to become a favorite he took pains to fan it. A domestic plot was set hatching against Marshal d'Ancre, who was shot down on the bridge of the Louvre (April 24th, 1617) by M. de Vitry, captain of the guard. Shortly after, Leonora Galigai, accused of witchcraft, was beheaded on the Place de Greve, and her body committed to the flames.

Concini and his wife, both of them, probably, in the secret service of the

court of Madrid, had promoted the marriage of Louis XIII. with the infanta Anne of Austria, eldest daughter of Philip III., king of Spain, and that of Philip, infanta of Spain, who was afterward Philip IV., with Princess Elizabeth of France, sister of Louis XIII. Henry IV., in his plan for the pacification of Europe, had himself conceived this idea and testified a desire for this double marriage, but without taking any trouble to bring it about. It was after his death that, on the 30th of April, 1612, Villeroi, minister of foreign affairs in France, and Don Inigo de Cardenas, ambassador of the king of Spain, concluded this double union by a formal deed. The States-general were convoked first for the 16th of September, 1614, at Sens; and, afterward, for the 20th of October following, when the young king, Louis XIII., after the announcement of his majority, himself opened them in state. The chief political fact connected with the convocation of the States-general of 1614 was the entry into their ranks of the youthful bishop of Lucon, Armand John du Plessis de Richelieu, marked out by the finger of God to sustain, after the powerful reign of Henry IV. and the incapable regency of Mary de' Medici, the weight of the government of France.

He had even then acquired among the clergy and at the court of Louis XIII. sufficient importance to be charged with the duty of speaking in presence of the king on the acceptance of the acts of the council of Trent and on the restitution of certain property belonging to the Catholic Church in Bearn. He made skillful use of the occasion for the purpose of still further exalting and improving the question and his own position. The post of almoner to the queen-regnant, Anne of Austria, was his reward. He carried still further his ambitious foresight; in February, 1615, at the time when the session of the States-general closed, Marshal d'Ancre and Leonora Galigai were still favorites with the queen-mother; Richelieu laid himself out to be pleasant to them, and received from the marshal in 1616 the post of secretary of State for war and foreign affairs. Marshal d'Ancre was at that time looking out for supports against his imminent downfall. When, in 1617, he fell and was massacred, people were astonished to find Richelieu on good terms with the marshal's court-rival, Albert de Luynes, who pressed him to remain in the council at which he had sat for only five months. He would, he said, be more useful to the government of the young king; for, by remaining at the side of Mary de' Medici, he would be able to advise and restrain her.

The astute minister contrived to interest both parties on his behalf. To the court he adduced his withdrawal from public business as a proof of the most absolute submission; to Mary de' Medici he described it as the result of his unremitting zeal for her service, and as a new persecution on the part of her enemies. He thus contrived to weather the storm; and when the excitement produced by the catastrophe of Concini had subsided, he looked round to see what could be done. The bishop of Lucon, through his determination, his intrigues, his unscrupulous conduct, had become a dangerous personage; he was first ordered to return to his priory at Coussay, then to his episcopal palace, and finally he was banished to Avignon. There he seemed



**MARIA DE MEDICI.**
P. P. Rubens. Prado, Madrid. Page 135.

determined upon leading a life of seclusion, and a casual observer, anxious to know how he spent his time, would have found him busily employed in writing theological works. This, of course, was merely a feint, and when Mary de' Medici contrived to escape from Blois, he joined her without any further delay. By his influence, the whole of the Anjou nobility—the dukes De Longueville, De Bouillon, D'Epernon—rallied round the standard of the queen. A battle was fought at Pont-de-Ce, near Angers, where the rebel troops met with a signal defeat. A treaty, nevertheless, concluded shortly after, secured to Richelieu almost as many advantages as if he, and not De Luynes, had triumphed. The queen received permission to return to court, with the full enjoyment of all the privileges and honors due to her rank; and the king pledged himself to solicit a cardinal's hat for Richelieu, whose niece, Mademoiselle de Pont-Courlay, married the Marquis de Combalet, nephew of De Luynes (1619–20).

Albert de Luynes came out of this crisis well content. He felicitated himself on the king's victory over the queen-mother, for he might consider the triumph as his own; he had advised and supported the king's steady resistance to his mother's enterprises. Besides, he had gained by it the rank and power of constable; it was at this period that he obtained them, thanks to the retirement of Lesdiguieres, who gave them up to assume the title of marshal-general of the king's camps and armies. The royal favor did not stop there for Luynes; the keeper of the seals, Du Vair, died in 1621; and the king handed over the seals to the new constable, who thus united the military authority with that of justice, without being either a great warrior or a great lawyer.

The favorite now turned his attention to the Protestants, and he pretended to compel those of Bearn and Navarre to restore what he designed as secularized Church property. A general rising was the consequence; in order to quell it, De Luynes took the command of an army of fifteen thousand men and laid siege before Montauban. The siege proved, however, more difficult than had been anticipated; the royal troops were compelled to withdraw: and De Luynes, having caught fever while attacking the smaller town of Monheurt, on the banks of the Garonne, died on the 14th of December.

Richelieu, created a cardinal in 1622, set his face steadily against all the influences of the great lords; he broke them down one after another; he presistently elevated the royal authority. It was the hand of Richelieu which made the court and paved the way for the reign of Louis XIV. The Fronde was but a paltry interlude and a sanguinary game between parties. At Richelieu's death, pure monarchy was founded.

In the month of December, 1622, the work was as yet full of difficulty. There were numerous rivals for the heritage of royal favor that had slipped from the dying hands of Luynes. The first victim of Richelieu's stern home policy proved to be Colonel Ornano, lately created a marshal at the duke of Anjou's request; he was arrested and carried off a prisoner "to the very room where, twenty-four years ago, Marshal

Biron had been confined." Richelieu was neither meddlesome nor cruel, but he was pitiless toward the sufferings as well as the supplication of those who sought to thwart his policy. Thus again, Henry de Talleyrand, count of Chalais, master of the wardrobe, hare-brained and frivolous, had hitherto made himself talked about only for his duels and his successes with women. He had already been drawn into a plot against the cardinal's life; but, under the influence of remorse, he had confessed his criminal intentions to the minister himself. Richelieu appeared touched by the repentance, but he did not forget the offense, and his watch over this "unfortunate gentleman," as he himself calls him, made him aware before long that Chalais was compromised in an intrigue which aimed at nothing less, it was said, than to secure the person of the cardinal by means of an ambush, so as to get rid of him at need. Chalais was arrested in his bed on the 8th of July, and condemned to death on the 18th of August, 1626.

At the outset of his ministry, in 1624, Richelieu had obtained from the king a severe ordinance against duels, a fatal custom which was at that time decimating the noblesse. Already several noblemen, among others M. du Plessis-Praslin, had been deprived of their offices, or sent into exile in consequence of their duels, when M. de Bouteville, of the house of Montmorency, who had been previously engaged in twenty-one affairs of honor, came to Paris to fight the marquis of Beuvron on the *Place Royale*. The marquis's second, M. de Bussy d'Amboise, was killed by the count of Chapelles, Bouteville's second. Beuvron fled to England. M. de Bouteville and his comrade had taken post for Lorraine; they were recognized and arrested at Vitry-le-Brule, and brought back to Paris; and the king immediately ordered parliament to bring them to trial. The crime was flagrant, and the defiance of the king's orders undeniable; but the culprit was connected with the greatest houses in the kingdom; he had given striking proofs of bravery in the king's service; and all the court interceded for him. Parliament, with regret, pronounced condemnation, absolving the memory of Bussy d'Amboise, who was the son of President de Mesmes's wife, and reducing to one-third of their goods the confiscation to which the condemned were sentenced.

The enemies of Richelieu had not renounced the idea of overthrowing him, their hopes even went on growing, since, for some time past, the queen-mother had been waxing jealous of the all-powerful minister, and no longer made common cause with him. The king was dangerously ill at Lyons; they thought the opportunity too good to be lost; and indeed managed so well that when the court returned to Paris, the cardinal's disgrace seemed inevitable. But he determined upon making a final effort, and securing an interview of a quarter of an hour with Louis XIII., at Versailles, he frightened the monarch, and left the palace as powerful as ever. Marshal Marillac had to pay for the rest; seized in the middle of his army, he was tried before a court composed of his



Cinq-Mars and De Thou led to execution for conspiracy against Louis XIII.
A. de Neuville. Page 138.

private enemies, and in the cardinal's own palace, at Ruel. Of course, under such circumstances, it was useless to expect mercy; the unfortunate warrior was beheaded. Assisted by the Duke de Lorraine, whose daughter he had married, Gaston raised an army of brigands, as they have justly been termed. A battle was fought at Castelnaudary (1632); the king's troops were victorious, and Montmorency shared the fate of Marillac, while Gaston d'Orleans "swore by the faith of a gentleman that he would ever be my lord the cardinal's best friend."

Women filled but a short space in the life of Louis XIII. Twice, however, in that interval of ten years which separated the plot of Montmorency from that of Cinq-Mars, did the minister believe himself to be threatened by feminine influence; and twice he used artifice to win the monarch's heart and confidence from two young girls of his court, Louise de Lafayette and Marie d'Hautefort. Both were maids of honor to the queen.

Louis XIII.'s fancies were never of long duration, and his growing affection for young Cinq-Mars, son of Marshal d'Effiat, led him to sacrifice Mdlle. d'Hautefort. The cardinal merely asked him to send her away for a fortnight. She insisted upon hearing the order from the king's own mouth. "The fortnight will last all the rest of my life," she said: "and so I take leave of your Majesty forever."

M. de Cinq-Mars was only nineteen when he was made master of the wardrobe and grand equerry of France. Brilliant and witty he amused the king and occupied the leisure which peace gave him.

Then began a series of negotiations and intrigues: the duke of Orleans had come back to Paris; the king was ill and the cardinal more so than he; thence arose conjectures and insenate hopes. The duke of Bouillon, being sent for by the king, who confided to him the command of the army of Italy, was at the same time drawn into the plot, which was beginning to be woven against the minister; the duke of Orleans and the queen were in it; and the town of Sedan, of which Bouillon was prince-sovereign, was wanted to serve the authors of the conspiracy as an asylum in case of reverse. Sedan alone was not sufficient; there was need of an army. Whence was it to come? Thoughts naturally turned toward Spain. A negotiation was therefore concluded at Madrid, by Fontrailles, in the name of the duke of Orleans, and a copy of it soon found its way to Richelieu's study.

The king could not believe his eyes; and his wrath equaled his astonishment. Together with that of the grand equerry, he ordered the immediate arrest of M. de Thou, his intimate friend; and the order went out to secure the duke of Bouillon, then at the head of the army of Italy. He, caught like Marshal Marillac in the midst of his troops, had vainly attempted to conceal himself; but he was taken and conducted to the castle of Pignerol.

The two accused denied nothing: M. de Thou merely maintained

that he had not been in any way mixed up with the conspiracy, proving that he had planned the treaty with Spain, and that his only crime was not having revealed it. The last tragic scene was not destined to be long deferred; the very day on which the sentence was delivered saw the execution of it. "We have seen," says a report of the time, "the favorite of the greatest and most just of kings lose his head upon the scaffold at the age of twenty-two, but with a firmness which has scarcely its parallel in our histories. We have seen a councillor of State die like a saint after a crime which men can not justly pardon. There is nobody in the world who, knowing of their conspiracy against the State, does not think them worthy of death, and there will be few who, having knowledge of their rank and their fine natural qualities, will not mourn their sad fate. At the last hour, and at the bottom of their hearts, the frivolous courtier and the hare-brained conspirator, as well as the brave soldier and the grave magistrate, had recovered their faith in God.

## X.

# RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN.

THE French parliaments, and in particular the parliament of Paris, had often assumed the right, without the royal order, of summoning the princes, dukes, peers and officers of the crown to deliberate upon what was to be done for the service of the king, the good of the State, and the relief of the people.

This pretension on the part of the parliaments was what Cardinal Richelieu was continually fighting against. He would not allow the intervention of the magistrates in the government of the State. When he took the power into his hands, nine parliaments sat in France—Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Rouen, Aix, Rennes, and Pau: he created but one, that of Metz, in 1633, to sever in a definitive manner the bonds which still attached the three bishoprics to the Germanic Empire. Trials at that time were carried in the last resort to Spires.

A notification of the king's, published in 1641, prohibited the parliament from any interference in affairs of State and administration. The cardinal had gained the victory; parliament bowed the head; its attempts at independence during the Fronde were but a flash, and the yoke of Louis XIV. became the more heavy for it.

Though ever first in the breach, the parliament of Paris was not alone in its opposition to the cardinal. The parliament of Rouen had always passed



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for one of the most recalcitrant. The province of Normandy was rich and, consequently, overwhelmed with imposts; and several times the parliament refused to enregister financial edicts which still further aggravated the distress of the people. In 1637 the king threatened to go in person to Rouen and bring the parliament to submission, whereat it took fright and enregistered decrees for twenty-two millions. It was, no doubt, this augmentation of imposts that brought about the revolt of the *Nu-pieds* (*Barefoots*) in 1639. Before now, in 1624 and in 1637, in Perigord and Rouergue, two popular risings of the same sort, under the name of *Croquants* (*Paupers*), had disquieted the authorities, and the governor of the province had found some trouble in putting them down. The *Nu-pieds* were more numerous and more violent still; from Rouen to Avranches all the country was ablaze. At Coutances and at Vire, several *monopoliers* and *gabeleurs*, as the fiscal officers were called, were massacred; a great number of houses were burnt, and most of the receiving-offices were pulled down or pillaged. Everywhere the *army of suffering* (*armee de souffrance*), the name given by the revolters to themselves, made appeal to violent passions; popular rhymes were circulated from hand to hand, in the name of General *Nu-pied* (*Barefoot*), an imaginary personage whom nobody ever saw.

Colonel Gassion, a good soldier and an inflexible character, was sent to put down the rebellion. First at Caen, then at Avranches, where there was fighting to be done, at Coutances and at Elbeuf, Gassion's soldiery everywhere left the country behind them in subjection, in ruin and in despair. They entered Rouen on the 31st of December, 1639, and on the 2d of January, 1640, the chancellor himself arrived to do justice on the rebels heaped up in the prisons, whom the parliament dared not bring up for judgment. The province and its parliament were henceforth reduced to submission.

It was not only the parliaments that resisted the efforts of Cardinal Richelieu to concentrate all the power of the government in the hands of the king. From the time that the sovereigns had given up convoking the States-general, the States-provincial had alone preserved the right of bringing to the foot of the throne the plaints and petitions of subjects. Unhappily few provinces enjoyed this privilege: Languedoc, Brittany, Burgundy, Provence, Dauphiny, and the countship of Pau alone were *States-districts*, that is to say, allowed to tax themselves independently and govern themselves to a certain extent. Normandy, though an *elections-district*, and, as such, subject to the royal agents in respect of finance, had States which continued to meet even in 1666. The States-provincial were always convoked by the king, who fixed the place and duration of assembly.

The composition of the States-provincial varied a great deal, according to the district.

As a sequel to the systematic humiliation of the great lords, even when provincial governors, and to the gradual enfeeblement of provincial institutions, Richelieu had to create in all parts of France, still so diverse in organization as well as in manners, representatives of the kingly power, of

too modest and feeble a type to do without him, but capable of applying his measures and making his wishes respected. Before now the kings of France had several times over perceived the necessity of keeping up a supervision over the conduct of their officers in the provinces. Richelieu substituted for these shifting commissions a fixed and regular institution, and in 1637 he established in all the provinces overseers of *justice, police, and finance*, who were chosen for the most part from among the burgesses, and who before long concentrated in their hands the whole administration and maintained the struggle of the kingly power against the governors, the sovereign courts and the States-provincial.

At the time when the overseers of provinces were instituted, the battle of pure monarchy was gained; Richelieu had no further need of allies, he wanted mere subjects; but at the beginning of his ministry he had felt the need of throwing himself sometimes for support on the nation, and this great foe of the States-general had twice convoked the *assembly of notables*. The first took place at Fontainebleau, in 1625–6, and the second, during the following year, after the conspiracy of Chalais. It was the notables who preserved in the hands of the inflexible minister the terrible weapon of which he availed himself so often. The assembly separated on the 24th of February, 1627, the last that was convoked before the revolution of 1789. It was in answer to its demands, as well as to those of the States of 1614, that the keeper of the seals, Michael Marillac, drew up, in 1629, the important administrative ordinance which has preserved from its author's name the title of *Code Michau*.

The cardinal had propounded to the notables a question which he had greatly at heart, the foundation of a navy. Harbors repaired and fortified, arsenals established at various points on the coast, organization of marine regiments, foundations of pilot-schools, in fact, the creation of a powerful marine which, in 1642, numbered sixty-three vessels and twenty-two galleys, that left the roads of Barcelona after the rejoicings for the capture of Perpignan and arrived the same evening at Toulon—such were the fruits of Richelieu's administration of naval affairs.

Richelieu labored for Catholicism while securing for himself Protestant alliances, and if the independence of his mind caused him to feel the necessity for a reformation, it was still in the Church and by the Church that he would have had it accomplished.

Mid all the diplomatic negotiations which he undertook in Richelieu's name and the intrigues he, with the queen-mother, often hatched against him, Cardinal Berulle founded the congregation of the Oratory, designed to train up well-informed and pious young priests with a capacity for devoting themselves to the education of children as well as the edification of the people. It was, again, under his inspiration the order of Carmelites, hitherto confined to Spain, was founded in France. The convent in Rue St. Jacques soon numbered among its penitents women of the highest rank.

Some time before, in 1610, St. Francis de Sales had founded, under the

direction of Madame de Chantal, the order of *Visitation*, whose duty was the care of the sick and poor; he had left the direction of his new institution to *M. Vincent*, as was at that time the appellation of the poor priest without birth and without fortune who was one day to be celebrated throughout the world under the name of St. Vincent de Paul. This direction was not enough to satisfy his zeal for charity; children and sick, the ignorant and the convict, all those who suffered in body or spirit, seemed to summon M. Vincent to their aid. St. Vincent de Paul had confidence in human nature, and everywhere on his path sprang up good works in response to his appeals: the foundation of Mission-priests or Lazarists, designed originally to spread about in the rural districts the knowledge of God, still testifies in the East, whither they carry at one and the same time the Gospel and the name of France, to that great awakening of Christian charity which signalized the reign of Louis XIII.

Nowhere was this fluctuating idea of the sacrifice, the immolation of man for God and of the present in prospect of eternity, more rigorously understood and practiced than among the disciples of John du Vergier de Hauranne, abbot of St. Cyran. He wrote also, and his book, "*Petrus Aurelius*," published under the veil of the anonymous, excited a great stir by its defense of the rights of the bishops against the monks and even against the pope. The Gallican bishops welcomed at that time with lively satisfaction its eloquent pleadings in favor of their cause. But, at a later period, the French clergy discovered in St. Cyran's book free-thinking concealed under dogmatic forms. "In case of heresy any Christian may become judge," says Petrus Aurelius. So M. de St. Cyran was condemned.

He had been already signaled out as dangerous by an enemy more formidable than the assemblies of the clergy of France. Cardinal Richelieu, naturally attracted toward greatness as he was at a later period toward the infant prodigy of the Pascals, had been desirous of attaching St. Cyran to himself. But the abbot of St. Cyran would accept no yoke but God's: he remained independent and perhaps hostile, pursuing, without troubling himself about the cardinal, the great task he had undertaken.

Before long he had seen forming, beside Port Royal and in the solitude of the fields, a nucleus of penitents, emulous of the hermits of the desert. M. le Maitre, Mother Angelica's nephew, a celebrated advocate in the parliament of Paris, had quitted all "to have no speech but with God." A *howling* penitent, he had drawn after him his brothers, MM. de Sacy and De Sericourt, and, ere long, young Lancelot, the learned author of *Greek roots:* all steeped in the rigors of penitential life, all blindly submissive to M. de St. Cyran and his saintly requirements. The director's power over so many eminent minds became too great. The king, being advertised, commanded him to be kept a prisoner in the Bois de Vincennes, where he remained up to the death of Cardinal Richelieu.

Cardinal Richelieu dreaded the doctrines of M. de St. Cyran, and still more those of the reformation, which went directly to the emancipation of

souls; but he had the wit to resist ecclesiastical encroachments, and, for all his being a cardinal, never did minister maintain more openly the independence of the civil power. "The king, in things temporal, recogizes no sovereign save God." That had always been the theory of the Gallican Church.

The French clergy did not understand it so; they had recourse to the liberties of the Gallican Church in order to keep up a certain measure of independence as regarded Rome, but they would not give up their ancient privileges, and especially the right of taking an independent share in the public necessities without being taxed as a matter of law and obligation. Here it was that Cardinal Richelieu withstood them: he maintained that, the ecclesiastics and the brotherhoods not having the right to hold property in France by mortmain, the king tolerated their possession of his grace, but he exacted the payment of seignorial dues. The clergy at that time possessed more than a quarter of the property in France; the tax to be paid amounted, it is said, to eighty millions. The subsidies further demanded reached a total of eight million six hundred livres.

The clergy in dismay wished to convoke an assembly to determine their conduct: and after a great deal of difficulty it was authorized by the cardinal; they consented to pay five millions and a half, the sum to which the minister lowered his pretensions.

While the cardinal imposed upon the French clergy the obligations common to all subjects, he defended the kingly power and majesty against the ultramontanes, and especially against the Jesuits; finally he turned his attention to the submission of the Protestants. Hostilities broke out afresh at the beginning of the year 1625. The peace of Montpellier had left the Protestants only two surety-places, Montauban and La Rochelle; and they clung to them with desperation. On the 6th of January, 1625, Soubise suddenly entered the harbor of Le Blavet with twelve vessels, and seizing without a blow the royal ships, towed them off in triumph to La Rochelle, a fatal success which was to cost that town dear.

The royal navy had hardly an existence; after the capture made by Soubise, help had to be requested from England and Holland; the English promised eight ships; the treaties with the United Provinces obliged the Hollanders to supply twenty, which they would gladly have refused to send against their brethren, if they could; the cardinal even required that the ships should be commanded by French captains. The siege of La Rochelle has become famous in history; it lasted thirteen months, and the unfortunate Huguenots had to surrender, in spite of the heroism of Guiton, the mayor of the town, assisted by the unflinching energy of the old duchess of Rohan.

With La Rochelle fell the last bulwark of religious liberties. Single-handed, Duke Henry of Rohan now resisted at the head of a handful of resolute men. But he was about to be crushed in his turn. The capture of La Rochelle had raised the cardinal's power to its height; it had, simultaneously, been the death-blow to the Huguenot party and to the factions of the grandees.



Cardinal Richelieu and his secretary, Father Joseph.
A. de Neuville. Page 142.

Town after town, "fortified Huguenot-wise," surrendered, opening to the royal armies the passage to the Cevennes. Rohan saw that he could no longer impose the duty of resistance upon a people weary of suffering. He sent "to the king, begging to be received to mercy, thinking it better to resolve on peace while he could still make some show of being able to help it, than to be forced, after a longer resistance, to surrender to the king with a rope round his neck." The cardinal advised the king to show the duke grace, "well knowing that, together with him individually, the other cities, whether they wished it or not, would be obliged to do the like, there being but little resolution and constancy in people deprived of leaders, especially when they are threatened with immediate harm and see no door of escape open."

The general assembly of the reformers, which was then in meeting at Nimes, removed to Anduze to deliberate with the duke of Rohan. No more surety-towns; fortifications everywhere razed, at the expense and by the hands of the reformers; the Catholic worship re-established in all the churches of the reformed towns; and, at this price, an amnesty granted for all acts of rebellion, and religious liberties confirmed anew—such were the conditions of the peace signed at Alais on the 28th of June, 1629, and made public the following month at Nimes under the name of *Edict of grace*. Montauban alone refused to submit to them.

The duke of Rohan left France and retired to Venice, where his wife and daughter were awaiting him. He had been appointed by the Venetian senate generalissimo of the forces of the republic, when the cardinal, who had no doubt preserved some regard for his military talents, sent him an offer of the command of the king's troops in the Valteline. There he for several years maintained the honor of France, being at one time abandoned and at another supported by the cardinal, who ultimately left him to bear the odium of the last reverse. Being threatened with the king's wrath, he set out for the camp of his friend Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar; and it was while fighting at his side against the Imperialists, that he received the wound of which he died in Switzerland on the 16th of April, 1638.

Meanwhile the king had set out for Paris, and the cardinal was marching on Montauban. Being obliged to halt at Pezenas because he had a fever, he there received a deputation from Montauban, asking to have its fortifications preserved. On the minister's formal refusal, supported by a movement in advance on the part of Marshal Bassompierre with the army, the town submitted unreservedly; the fortifications of Castres were already beginning to fall; and the Huguenot party in France was dead. This was the commencement of their material prosperity; they henceforth transferred to commerce and industry all the intelligence, courage and spirit of enterprise that they had but lately displayed in the service of their cause, on the battle-field, or in the cabinets of kings.

"From that time," says Cardinal Richelieu, "difference in religion never prevented me from rendering the Huguenots all sorts of good offices, and I made no distinction between Frenchmen but in respect of fidelity." A grand

assertion, true at bottom, in spite of the frequent grievances which the reformers had often to make the best of.

Everywhere in Europe were marks of Richelieu's handiwork. "There must be no end to negotiations near and far," was his saying: he had found negotiations succeed in France; he extended his views; numerous treaties had already marked the early years of the cardinal's power; and, after 1630, his activity abroad was redoubled. Between 1623 and 1642, seventy-four treaties were concluded by Richelieu: four with England: twelve with the United Provinces; fifteen with the princes of Germany; six with Sweden; twelve with Savoy; six with the Republic of Venice; three with the pope; three with the emperor; two with Spain; four with Lorraine; one with the Gray Leagues of Switzerland; one with Portugal; two with the revolters of Catalonia and Roussillon; one with Russia; two with the emperor of Morocco. Such was the immense network of diplomatic negotiations whereof the cardinal held the threads during nineteen years.

The foreign policy of Richelieu was a continuation of that of Henry IV.; it was to Protestant alliances that he looked for support in order to maintain the struggle against the house of Austria, whether the German or Spanish branch. So soon as he was secure that no political discussions in France itself would come to thwart his foreign designs, he marched with a firm step toward that *enfeeblement* of Spain and that *upsetting* of the empire of which Nani speaks; Henry IV. and Queen Elizabeth, pursuing the same end, had sought and found the same allies; Richelieu had the good fortune, beyond theirs, to meet, for the execution of his designs, with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden.

The marriage of Henry IV.'s daughter with the prince of Wales was, in Richelieu's eyes, one of the essential acts of a policy necessary to the greatness of the kingship and of France. He obtained the best conditions possible for the various interests involved, but without any stickling and without favor for such and such an one of these interests, skillfully adapting words and appearance, but determined upon attaining his end.

Spain had always been the great enemy of France, and her humiliation was always the ultimate aim of the cardinal's foreign policy. The first was the question of the Valteline, a lovely and fertile valley, which, extending from the lake of Como to the Tyrol, thus serves as a natural communication between Italy and Germany. Possessed but lately, as it was, by the Gray Leagues of the Protestant Swiss, the Valteline, a Catholic district, had revolted at the instigation of Spain in 1520; the emperor, Savoy and Spain wanted to divide the spoil between them; when France, the old ally of the Grisons, interfered, and, in 1623, the forts of the Valteline had been entrusted on deposit to the pope, Urban VIII. He still retained them in 1624, when the Grison lords, seconded by a French re-enforcement under the orders of the marquis of Cœuvres, attacked the feeble garrison of the Valteline; in a few days they were masters of all the places in the canton, and the enemies were compelled to sign the peace of Moncon (1626). The Grisons remained in




Death of the Swedish Hero-King, Gustavus Adolphus, at Lützen.
A. de Neuville. Page 145.

possession of the Valteline, Austria ceased to communicate with Spain, and Richelieu found himself, so to say, on the road to Vienna.

While the cardinal was holding La Rochelle besieged, the duke of Mantua had died in Italy, and his natural heir, Charles di Gonzaga, had hastened to put himself in possession of his dominions. Meanwhile the duke of Savoy claimed the marquisate of Montferrat; the Spaniards supported him; they entered the dominions of the duke of Mantua and laid siege to Casale. When La Rochelle succumbed, Casale was still holding out; but the duke of Savoy had already made himself master of the greater part of Montferrat; the duke of Mantua claimed the assistance of the king of France, whose subject he was. Here was a fresh battle-field against Spain; and, scarcely had he been victorious over the Rochellese, when the king was on the march for Italy. The siege of Casale was raised, and, by virtue of the treaty of Suza, the duchy of Mantua was secured to Richelieu's *protege*, the duke of Nevers. Scarcely however had Louis XIII. re-crossed the Alps when an Imperialist army advanced into the Grisons, and, supported by the celebrated Spanish general Spinola, laid siege to Mantua. Richelieu did not hesitate: he entered Piedmont in the month of March, 1630, to march before long on Pignerol, an important place, commanding the passage of the Alps. It, as well as the citadel, was carried in a few days. The result of this fresh interposition was the treaty of Cherasco (1630), where the young Giulio Mazarini won his spurs as an able and successful diplomatist.

The house of Austria, in fact, was threatened mortally. For two years Cardinal Richelieu had been laboring to carry war into its very heart. The Thirty Years' War, now raging in all its fury, had increased a hundred-fold the emperor's power. Richelieu's genius and activity checked the progress of the great Imperialist generals, and opposed to them a warrior who, in his short career, abundantly proved that a clever system of tactics does not always ensure success. Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of Zutphen, fought at the same time the battles of Richelieu and those of the Protestant cause. After the death of the king of Sweden, the position of France became for awhile extremely difficult. The Imperialists assumed the offensive; they entered France by Burgundy and by Picardy. In the year 1640, however, Richelieu adopted a more expeditious plan; he occupied the Spaniards at home by sending support to the rebels of Catalonia and of Portugal; while, to retaliate, the government of Madrid espoused the cause of the duke of Orleans, and prepared the catastrophe which was to impart such a tragic feature to the last moments of the great cardinal. For several months past, Richelieu's health, always precarious, had taken a serious turn; it was from his sick-bed that he, a prey to cruel agonies, directed the movements of the army and, at the same time, the prosecution of Cinq-Mars. All at once his chest was attacked; and the cardinal felt that he was dying. On the 2d of December, 1642, public prayers were ordered in all the churches; the king went from St. Germain to see his minister. The cardinal was quite prepared. "I have this satisfaction," he said, "that I have never deserted the king, and that I leave his kingdom

exalted and all his enemies abased." He commended his relatives to his Majesty, "who on their behalf will remember my services;" then, naming the two secretaries of state, Chavigny and De Noyers, he added: "Your Majesty has Cardinal Mazarin; I believe him to be capable of serving the king." And he handed to Louis XIII. a proclamation which he had just prepared for the purpose of excluding the duke of Orleans from any right to the regency in case of the king's death. The preamble called to mind that the king had five times already pardoned his brother, recently engaged in a new plot against him.

Richelieu's work survived him. On the very evening of the 3d of December, Louis XIII. called to his council Cardinal Mazarin; and the next day he wrote to the parliaments and governors of provinces: "God having been pleased to take to Himself the Cardinal de Richelieu, I have resolved to preserve and keep up all establishments ordained during his ministry, to follow out all projects arranged with him for affairs abroad and at home, in such sort that there shall not be any change." Scarcely had the most powerful kings yielded up their last breath, when their wishes had been at once forgotten: Cardinal Richelieu still governed in his grave.

The great statesman had been barely four months reposing in that chapel of the Sorbonne which he had himself repaired for the purpose, and already King Louis XIII. was sinking into the tomb. The minister had died at fifty-seven, the king was not yet forty-two; but his always languishing health seemed unable to bear the burden of affairs which had been but lately borne by Richelieu alone. He died on Thursday, May 14th, 1643. France owed to Louis XIII. eighteen years of Cardinal Richelieu's government; and that is a service which she can never forget.

For sixty years a momentous crisis had been exercising language and literature as well as society in France. They yearned to get out of it. Robust intellectual culture had ceased to be the privilege of the erudite only: it began to gain a footing on the common domain; people no longer wrote in Latin, like Erasmus; the Reformation and the Renaissance spoke French. In order to suffice for this change, the language was taking form; everybody had lent a hand to the work; Calvin with his *Christian Institutes* (*Institution Chretienne*) at the same time as Rabelais with his learned and buffoonish romance, Ramus with his *Dialectics*, and Bodin with his *Republic*, Henry Estienne with his essays in French philology, as well as Ronsard and his friends by their classical crusade. Simultaneously with the language there was being created a public intelligent, inquiring, and eager. Scarcely had the translation of Plutarch by Amyot appeared, when it at once became, as Montaigne says, "the breviary of women and of ignoramuses."

As for Montaigne himself, an inquiring spectator, without personal ambition, he had taken for his life's motto, "What do I know? (Que sais-je?)" Amid the wars of religion he remained without political or religious passion.

The sixteenth century began everything, attempted everything; it accomplished and finished nothing; its great men opened the road of the

future to France; but they died without having brought their work well through, without foreseeing that it was going to be completed. The Reformation itself did not escape this misappreciation and discouragement of its age; and nowhere do they crop out in a more striking manner than in Montaigne. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Rabelais, a satirist and a cynic, is, nevertheless, no skeptic; there is felt circulating through his book a glowing sap of confidence and hope. Fifty years later, Montaigne, on the contrary, expresses, in spite of his happy nature, in vivid, picturesque, exuberant language, only the lassitude of an antiquated age. "Make known to Monsieur de Geneve," said Henry IV. to one of the friends of St. Francis de Sales, "that I desire of him a work to serve as a manual for all persons of the court and the great world, without excepting kings and princes, to fit them for living Christianly, each according to their condition. I want this manual to be accurate, judicious, and such as any one can make use of." St. Francis de Sales published, in 1608, the *Introduction to a Devout Life*, a delightful and charming manual of devotion, more stern and firm in spirit than in form, a true Christian regimen, softened by the tact of a delicate and acute intellect, knowing the world and its ways.

Rene Descartes, who was born at La Haye, near Tours, in 1596, and died at Stockholm in 1650, escaped the influence of Richelieu by the isolation to which he condemned himself, as well as by the proud and somewhat uncouth independence of his character. His independence of thought did not tend to revolt; in publishing his *Discourse on Method* he halted at the threshold of Christianism without laying his hand upon the sanctuary.

By his philosophical method, powerful and logical, as well as by the clear, strong, and concise style he made use of to expound it, Descartes accomplished the transition from the sixteenth century to the seventeenth; he was the first of the great prose-writers of that incomparable epoch, which laid forever the foundations of the language. At the same moment the great Corneille was rendering poetry the same service.

It had come out of the sixteenth century more disturbed and less formed than prose; Ronsard and his friends had received it, from the hands of Marot, quite young, unsophisticated and undecided; they attempted, as a first effort, to raise it to the level of the great classic models of which their minds were full. The attempt was bold, and the Pleiad did not pretend to consult the taste of the vulgar. Peace revived with Henry IV., and the court, henceforth in accord with the nation, resumed that empire over taste, manners, and ideas, which it was destined to exercise so long and so supremely under Louis XIV. Malherbe became the poet of the court, whose business it was to please it, to adopt for it that literature which had but lately been reserved for the feasts of the learned. "All the wits were received at the Hotel Rambouillet, whatever their condition," says M. Cousin: "all that was asked of them was to have good manners; but the aristocratic tone was established there without any effort, the majority of the guests at the house being very great lords, and the mistress being at one and the same time

Rambouillet and Vivonne. The wits were courted and honored, but they did not hold the dominion."

Associations of the literary were not unknown in France; Ronsard and his friends, at first under the name of the *brigade*, and then under that of the *Pleiad*, often met to read together their joint productions, and to discuss literary questions; and the same thing was done, subsequently, in Malherbe's rooms. When Malherbe was dead, and Balzac had retired to his country-house on the borders of the Charente, some friends, "men of letters and of merits very much above the average," says Pellisson in his *Histoire de l'Academie Française*, "finding that nothing was more inconvenient in this great city than to go often and often to call upon one another without finding anybody at home, resolved to meet one day in the week at the house of one of them." Such were the commencements of the French Academy, which, even after the intervention and regulationizing of Cardinal Richelieu, still preserved something of that sweetness and that polished familiarity in their relations which caused the regrets of its earliest founders. In making of this little private gathering a great national institution, Cardinal Richelieu yielded to his natural yearning for government and dominion; he protected literature as a minister and as an admirer; the admirer's inclination was supported by the minister's influence. At the same time, and perhaps without being aware of it, he was giving French literature a center of discipline and union while securing for the independence and dignity of writers a supporting-point which they had hitherto lacked. Order and rule everywhere accompanied Cardinal Richelieu; the Academy drew up its statutes, chose a director, a chancellor and a perpetual secretary: Conrart was the first to be called to that honor; the number of Academicians was set down at forty. The letters patent for establishment of the French Academy had been sent to the parliament in 1635; they were not enregistered until 1637, at the express instance of the cardinal.

Among the earliest members of the Academy the cardinal had placed his most habitual and most intimate literary servants, Bois-Robert, Desmarets, Colletet, all writers for the theater, employed by Richelieu in his own dramatic attempts. Theatrical representations were the only pleasure the minister enjoyed, in accord with the public of his day. As for the theater, the cardinal aspired to try his own hand at the work: his literary labors were nearly all political pieces; his tragedy of *Mirame*, to which he attached so much value, and which he had represented at such great expense for the opening of his theater in the Palais-Cardinal, is nothing but one continual allusion, often bold even to insolence, to Buckingham's feelings toward Anne of Austria.

Many attempts have been made to fathom the causes of the cardinal's animosity to the *Cid*. It was a Spanish piece, and represented in a favorable light the traditional enemies of France and of Richelieu; it was all in honor of the duel, which the cardinal had prosecuted with such rigorous justice; it depicted a king simple, patriarchal, genial in the exercise of his power, con-

trary to all the views cherished by the minister touching royal majesty; all these reasons might have contributed to his wrath, but there was something more personal and petty in its bitterness. The triumph of the *Cid* seemed to the resentful spirit of a neglected and irritated patron a sort of insult. Therewith was mingled a certain shade of author's jealousy. Richelieu saw in the fame of Corneille the success of a rebel. Egged on by base and malicious influences, he attempted to crush him, as he had crushed the house of Austria and the Huguenots.

The cabal of bad taste enlisted to a man in this new war. Scudery was standard-bearer; astounded that "such fantastic beauties should have seduced knowledge as well as ignorance." The contest was becoming fierce and bitter; much was written for and against the *Cid;* the public remained faithful to it; the cardinal determined to submit it to the judgment of the Academy. At his instigation, Scudery wrote to the Academy to make them the judges in the dispute. The *Sentiments de l'Academie* at last saw the light in the month of December, 1637, and, as Chapelain had foreseen, they did not completely satisfy either the cardinal or Scudery, or Corneille, who testified bitter displeasure. Richelieu did not come out of it victorious; his anger, however, had ceased: the duchess of Aiguillon, his niece, accepted the dedication of the *Cid;* when *Horace* appeared, in 1639, the dedicatory epistle addressed to the cardinal proved that Corneille read his works to him beforehand; "Horace, condemned by the decemvirs, was acquitted by the people," said Corneille. The same year *Cinna* came to give the finishing touch to the reputation of the great poet:

"To the persecuted *Cid* the *Cinna* owed its birth."

The great literary movement of the seventeenth century had begun; it had no longer any need of a protector; it was destined to grow up alone during twenty years, amid troubles at home and wars abroad, to flourish all at once, with incomparable splendor, under the reign and around the throne of Louis XIV. Cardinal Richelieu, however, had the honor of protecting its birth; he had taken personal pleasure in it; he had comprehended its importance and beauty; he had desired to serve it while taking the direction of it.

The Academy, the Sorbonne, the Botanic Gardens (Jardin des Plantes), the King's Press have endured; the theater has grown and been enriched by many master-pieces, the press has become the most dreaded of powers; all the new forces that Richelieu created or foresaw have become developed without him, frequently in opposition to him and to the work of his whole life; his name has remained connected with the commencement of all these wonders, beneficial or disastrous, which he had grasped and presaged, in a future happily concealed from his ken.

The declaration of Louis XIII. touching the regency had been entirely directed toward counteracting by anticipation the power entrusted to his wife and his brother. The queen's regency and the duke of Orleans' lieutenant-generalship were in some sort subordinated to a council "with a prohibition against introducing any change therein, for any cause or on any occasion

whatsoever." The queen and the duke of Orleans had signed and sworn the declaration.

King Louis XIII. was not yet in his grave when his last wishes were violated; before his death the queen had made terms with the ministers; the course to be followed had been decided. On the 18th of May, 1643, the queen, having brought back the little king to Paris, conducted him in great state to the parliament of Paris to hold his bed of justice there, and on the evening of the same day the queen regent, having sole charge of the administration of affairs, and modifying the council at her pleasure, announced to the astounded court that she should retain by her Cardinal Mazarin.

A stroke of fortune came at the very first to strengthen the regent's position. Since the death of Cardinal Richelieu, the Spaniards, but recently overwhelmed at the close of 1642, had recovered courage and boldness; new counsels prevailed at the court of Philip IV., who had dismissed Olivarez; the house of Austria vigorously resumed the offensive; at the moment of Louis XIII.'s death, Don Francisco de Mello, governor of the Low Countries, had just invaded French territory by way of the Ardennes, and laid siege to Rocroi, on the 12th of May. The French army, commanded by the young duke of Enghien, the prince of Conde's son, scarcely twenty-two years old, gained a signal victory over the Spanish infantry, till then deemed invincible (1643).

Negotiations for a general peace, the preliminaries whereof had been signed by King Louis XIII. in 1641, had been going on since 1644 at Münster and at Osnabrück, without having produced any result. Fear of having him unoccupied deterred the cardinal from peace, and made all the harder the conditions he presumed to impose upon the Spaniards. Meanwhile the United Provinces, weary of a war which fettered their commerce, and skillfully courted by their old masters, had just concluded a private treaty with Spain; the emperor was trying, but to no purpose, to detach the Swedes likewise from the French alliance, when the victory of Lens, gained on the 20th of August, 1648, over Archduke Leopold and General Beck, came to throw into the balance the weight of a success as splendid as it was unexpected; one more campaign, and Turenne might be threatening Vienna while Conde entered Brussels; the emperor saw there was no help for it and bent his head. The house of Austria split in two; Spain still refused to treat with France, but the whole of Germany clamored for peace; the conditions of it were at last drawn up at Münster by MM. Servien and De Lionne; M. d'Avaux, the most able diplomatist that France possessed, had been recalled to Paris at the beginning of the year. On the 24th of October, 1648, after four years of negotiation, France at last had secured to her Alsace and the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; Sweden gained Western Pomerania, including Stettin, the Isle of Rugen, the three mouths of the Oder and the bishoprics of Bremen and Werden, thus becoming a German power; as for Germany, she had won liberty of conscience and political liberty; the rights of the Lutheran or reformed Protestants were equalized with those of

Catholics; henceforth the consent of a free assembly of all the estates of the empire was necessary to make laws, raise soldiers, impose taxes, and decide peace or war. The peace of Westphalia put an end at one and the same time to the Thirty Years' War and to the supremacy of the house of Austria in Germany.

So much glory and so many military or diplomatic successes cost dear; France was crushed by imposts, and the finances were discovered to be in utter disorder; the superintendent, D'Emery, an able and experienced man, was so justly discredited that his measures were, as a foregone conclusion, unpopular; an edict laying *octroi* or tariff on the entry of provisions into the city of Paris irritated the burgesses, and parliament refused to enregister it. For some time past the parliament, which had been kept down by the iron hand of Richelieu, had perceived that it had to do with nothing more than an able man and not a master; it began to hold up its head again; a union was proposed between the four sovereign courts of Paris; the queen quashed the deed of union; the magistrates set her at naught; the queen yielded, authorizing the delegates to deliberate in the chamber of St. Louis at the Palace of Justice; the pretensions of the parliament were exorbitant; the concessions which Cardinal Mazarin with difficulty wrung from the queen augmented the parliament's demands. Anne of Austria was beginning to lose patience, when the news of the victory of Lens restored courage to the court. The grave assemblage, on the 26th of August, was issuing from Notre Dame, where a *Te Deum* had just been sung, when Councillor Broussel and President Blancmesnil were arrested in their houses and taken, the one to St. Germain and the other to Vincennes.

The arrest of Broussel, an old man in high esteem, very keen in his opposition to the court, was like fire to flax.

Thousands of persons rushed to the Palais-Royal, where the court then resided, shouting out, "*Liberte et Broussel!*" Barricades were erected in the principal streets; the authority of the chancellor Seguier was set at naught, and the president of the parliament himself, Mathieu Mole, saw himself obliged to comply with the wishes of the people. They forced him to go to the queen at the head of the assembly, and, under penalty of death, to bring back either Broussel or the cardinal. He succeeded in obtaining the liberty of the captives, and the queen, frightened out of her obstinacy, hastened to confirm the resolutions of the *Chambre de Saint Louis* by a decree dated October 24th, 1648.

The court, however, had yielded only with the firm resolution of retracting its concession as soon as a fit opportunity should occur. The king was removed from Paris and, supported by Conde, the queen-dowager engaged against the parliament the war to which the name of *La Fronde* has been given by way of contempt; the rebellion of the parliamentarians being compared to that of unruly children who would persist in fighting with slings notwithstanding the prohibition of the police.

The chief results of this war, at least in its commencement, were songs,

epigrams, lampoons, and now and then a few insignificant skirmishes. The twenty councillors of Richelieu's creation, who supplied fifteen thousand livres toward the expenses of the war, in order to ingratiate themselves with their colleagues, were nick-named *les quinze-vingts*. As for serious battles, there were none. Conde had only to present himself with a handful of soldiers; he defeated at Charenton the armies of the Parisians who had marched out against him covered with ribbons and feathers. An arrangement was made at Ruel (April, 1649), but the court returned to Paris only four months afterward.

The State stroke had succeeded; Mazarin's skill and prudence once more checkmated all the intrigues concocted against him. When the news was told to Chavigny, in spite of all his reasons for bearing malice against the cardinal, who had driven him from the council and kept him for some time in prison, he exclaimed: "That is a great misfortune for the prince and his friends; but the truth must be told; the cardinal has done quite right; without it he would have been ruined." The contest was begun between Mazarin and the great Conde, and it was not with the prince that the victory was to remain.

Already hostilities were commencing; Mazarin had done everything for the Frondeurs who remained faithful to him, but the house of Conde was rallying all its partisans; the dukes of Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld had thrown themselves into Bordeaux, which was in revolt against the royal authority, represented by the duke of Epernon. The princess of Conde and her young son left Chantilly to join them; Madame de Longueville occupied Stenay, a strong place belonging to the prince of Conde: she had there found Turenne; on the other hand, the queen had just been through Normandy; all the towns had opened their gates to her. It was just the same in Burgundy; the princess of Conde's able agent, Lenet, could not obtain a declaration from the parliament of Dijon in her favor. Bordeaux was the focus of the insurrection; the people, passionately devoted to "the dukes," as the saying was, were forcing the hand of the parliament; riots were frequent in the town; the little king, with the queen and the cardinal, marched in person upon Bordeaux; one of the faubourgs was attacked, the dukes negotiated and obtained a general amnesty, but no mention was made of the princes' release. The parliament of Paris took the matter up, and on the 30th of January, Anne of Austria sent word to the premier president that she would consent to grant the release of the princes, "provided that the armaments of Stenay and of M. de Turenne might be discontinued."

The cardinal saw that he was beaten; he made up his mind, and anticipating the queen's officers, he hurried to Le Havre to release the prisoners himself; he entered the castle alone, the governor having refused entrance to the guards who attended him.

The cardinal had slowly taken the road to exile, summoning to him his nieces, Mdlles. Mancini and Martinozzi, whom he had, a short time



Mademoiselle de Montpensier orders the guns of the Bastile fired upon the Frondeurs.
A. de Neuville. Page 153.

since, sent for to court. He went from Normandy into Picardy, made some stay at Doullens, and, impelled by his enemies' hatred, he finally crossed the frontier on the 12th of March. The parliament had just issued orders for his arrest in any part of France. On the 6th of April, he fixed his quarters at Bruhl, a little town belonging to the electorate of Cologne, in the same territory which had but lately sheltered the last days of Mary de' Medici.

The Frondeurs, old and new, had gained the day; but even now there was disorder in their camp. Conde had returned to the court "like a raging lion, seeking to devour everybody, and, in revenge for his imprisonment, to set fire to the four corners of the realm" [*Memoires de Montglat*]. He retired southward and prepared for war. He was opposed, in the first instance, by Marshal d'Hocquincourt, who was defeated at Bleneau, on the banks of the Loire, and afterward by Turenne, who, having come to terms with the court, gained at Gien a battle over the rebels. Both commanders then marched upon Paris, and a general engagement took place at the Porte Saint Antoine, where the *Frondeurs* remained victorious, thanks to the audacity of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of Gaston, Duke d'Orleans. Conde marched into the metropolis, and after attempting vainly to maintain himself by violence, he took the command of the Spanish army, thus disgracing his character by joining the enemies of his country. The court then returned to Paris, punished the rebels, and in October, 1652, the Fronde may be said to have finished.

It was now Mazarin's turn to triumph; his progress back to Paris was almost regal. The duke of Orleans retired before long to his castle at Blois, where he died in 1660, deserted, toward the end of his life, by all the friends he had successively abandoned and betrayed. He was a prey to fear, fear of his friends as well as of his enemies. The Fronde, as we last said, was all over, that of the gentry of the long robe as well as that of the gentry of the sword. The parliament of Paris was once more falling in the State to the rank which had been assigned to it by Richelieu, and from which it had wanted to emerge by a supreme effort.

From 1653 to 1657 Turenne, seconded by Marshal la Ferte and sometimes by Cardinal Mazarin in person, constantly kept the Spaniards and the prince of Conde in check, recovering the places but lately taken from France, and relieving the besieged towns; without ever engaging in pitched battles, he almost always had the advantage. At last the victory he gained at the Downs was productive of the greatest results; Dunkerque surrendered immediately, and was ceded to England conformably to an agreement made between Mazarin and Cromwell. For a long time past the object of the cardinal's labors had been to terminate the war by an alliance with Spain. The infanta, Maria Theresa, was no longer heiress to the crown, for King Philip at last had a son; Spain was exhausted by long-continued efforts, and dismayed by the checks received

in the campaign of 1658; the alliance of the Rhine, recently concluded at Frankfurt between the two leagues, Catholic and Protestant, confirmed immutably the advantages which the treaty of Westphalia had secured to France. The electors had just raised to the head of the empire young Leopold I., on the death of his father Ferdinand III., and they proposed their mediation between France and Spain. While King Philip IV. was still hesitating, Mazarin took a step in another direction; the king set out for Lyons, accompanied by his mother and his minister, to go and see Princess Margaret of Savoy, who had been proposed to him a long time ago as his wife. He was pleased with her, and negotiations were already pretty far advanced, to the great displeasure of the queen-mother, when the cardinal, on the 29th of November, 1659, in the evening entered Anne of Austria's room. "He found her pensive and melancholy, but he was all smiles. 'Good news, madame,' said he. 'Ah!' cried the queen, 'is it to be peace?' 'More than that, madame; I bring your Majesty both peace and the infanta.'" The Spaniards had become uneasy; and Don Antonio de Pimental had arrived at Lyons at the same time with the court of Savoy, bearing a letter from Philip IV. for the queen his sister.

The year had not yet rolled away, and the duchess of Savoy had already lost every atom of illusion. Since the 13th of August, Cardinal Mazarin had been officially negotiating with Don Louis de Haro, representing Philip IV. The ministers, had held a meeting in the middle of the Bidassoa, on the Island of Pheasants, where a pavilion had been erected on the boundary-line between the two States. On the 7th of November, the peace of the Pyrenees was signed at last; it put an end to a war which had continued for twenty-three years, often internecine, always burdensome, and which had ruined the finances of the two countries. France was the gainer of Artois and Roussillon, and of several places in Flanders, Hainault and Luxembourg; and the peace of Westphalia was recognized by Spain, to whom France restored all that she held in Catalonia and Franche-Comte. Philip IV. had refused to include Portugal in the treaty. The infanta received as dowry five hundred thousand gold crowns, and renounced all her rights to the throne of Spain; the prince of Conde was taken back to favor by the king, and declared that he would fain redeem with his blood all the hostilities he had committed in and out of France. The king restored him to all his honors and dignities, gave him the government of Burgundy, and bestowed on his son, the duke of Enghien, the office of grand master of France. The honor of the king of Spain was saved; he did not abandon his allies, and he made a great match for his daughter. But the eyes of Europe were not blinded; it was France that triumphed; the policy of Cardinal Richelieu and of Cardinal Mazarin was everywhere successful. The work of Henry IV. was completed; the house of Austria was humiliated and vanquished in both its branches; the man

who had concluded the peace of Westphalia and the peace of the Pyrenees had a right to say, "I am more French in heart than in speech."

Like Cardinal Richelieu, Mazarin succumbed at the very pinnacle of his glory and power; he died of gout in the stomach, March 9th, 1661.

## XI.

# LOUIS XIV.—HIS FOREIGN POLICY, SUCCESSES AND REVERSES.

SCARCELY was the minister dead, when Louis XIV. sent to summon his council: Chancellor Seguier, Superintendent Fouquet and secretaries of State Le Tellier, De Lionne, Brienne, Duplessis-Guenegaud, and La Vrilliere. Then, addressing the chancellor: "Sir," said he, "I have had you assembled together with my ministers and my secretaries of State to tell you that until now I have been well pleased to leave my affairs to be governed by the late cardinal: it is time that I should govern them myself; you will aid me with your counsels when I ask for them. Beyond the general business of the seal, in which I do not intend to make any alteration, I beg and command you, Mr. Chancellor, to put the seal of authority to nothing without my orders, and without having spoken to me thereof, unless a secretary of State shall bring them to you on my behalf. . . . . And for you, gentlemen," addressing the secretaries of State, "I warn you not to sign anything, even a safety-warrant or passport, without my command, to report every day to me personally, and to favor nobody in your monthly rolls. Mr. Superintendent, I have explained to you my intentions; I beg that you will employ the services of M. Colbert, whom the late cardinal recommended to me." The king's councillors were men of experience; and they all recognized the master's tone. It was Louis XIV.'s misfortune to be king for seventy-two years, and to reign fifty-six years as sovereign master.

Superintendent Fouquet counted to increase his influence and probably his power with the king. Fouquet, who was born in 1615, and had been superintendent of finance in conjunction with Servien since 1655, had been in sole possession of that office since the death of his colleague in 1659. He had faithfully served Cardinal Mazarin through the troubles of the Fronde. The latter had kept him in power in spite of numerous accusations of malversation and extravagance.

At the time we are now speaking of, the tide had not yet set in against

the *surintendant;* but clouds were beginning to gather on the horizon, and it became evident that a tremendous catastrophe was at hand. The magnificent *fete* given to the king at Vaux by Fouquet was the immediate occasion of his disgrace. A few weeks after (September, 1661) he was arrested, sent to the Bastile and tried on a double charge of dilapidations and of a plot formed against the safety of the State. The first ground of accusation was too true; the second has never been proved. After a trial which lasted three years, nine judges voted for capital punishment and thirteen for banishment. The king passed a sentence of prison for life. Fouquet was taken to Pignerol, and all his family removed from Paris. He died piously in his prison, in 1680, a year before his venerable mother Marie Maupeou, who was so deeply concerned about her son's soul at the very pinnacle of greatness that she threw herself upon her knees on hearing of his arrest and exclaimed, "I thank Thee, O God; I have always prayed for his salvation, and here is the way to it!"

Foreign affairs were in no worse hands than the administration of finance and of war. M. de Lionne was an able diplomatist, broken in for a long time past to important affairs, shrewd and sensible, more celebrated among his contemporaries than in history, always falling into the second rank, behind Mazarin or Louis XIV., "who have appropriated his fame," says M. Mignet. The negotiations conducted by M. de Lionne were of a delicate nature. Louis XIV. had never renounced the rights of the queen to the succession in Spain; King Philip IV. had not paid his daughter's dowry, he said; the French ambassador at Madrid, the archbishop of Embrun, was secretly negotiating to obtain a revocation of Maria Theresa's renunciation, or at the very least a recognition of the right of *devolution* over the Catholic Low Countries. This strange custom of Hainault secured to the children of the first marriage succession to the paternal property to the exclusion of the offspring of the second marriage. Louis XIV. claimed the application of it to the advantage of the queen his wife, daughter of Elizabeth of France.

In this view and with these prospects, he needed the alliance of the Hollanders, and had remained faithful to the policy of Henry IV. and Richelieu when Philip IV. died on the 17th of September, 1665. Almost at the same time the dissension between England and Holland, after a period of tacit hostility, broke out into action. The United Provinces claimed the aid of France. Louis XIV. took the field in the month of May, 1667. The Spaniards were unprepared. Audenarde was taken in two days; and the king laid siege to Lille. Vauban, already celebrated as an engineer, traced out the lines of circumvallation; the burgesses forced the garrison to capitulate; and Louis XIV. entered the town on the 27th of August, after ten days' open trenches. This first campaign had been nothing but playing at war, almost entirely without danger or bloodshed; it had, nevertheless, been sufficient to alarm Europe. Scarcely had peace been concluded at Breda, when, on the 23d of January, 1668, the celebrated treaty of the Triple Alliance was signed at the Hague between England, Holland and Sweden.

At bottom, the Triple Alliance was resolved to protect helpless Spain against France; a secret article bound the three allies to take up arms to restrain Louis XIV., and to bring him back, if possible, to the peace of the Pyrenees. At the same moment, Portugal was making peace with Spain, who recognized her independence.

The king refused the long armistice demanded of him: "I will grant it up to the 31st of March," he had said, "being unwilling to miss the first opportunity of taking the field." The marquis of Castel-Rodrigo made merry over this proposal: "I am content," said he, "with the suspension of arms that winter imposes upon the king of France." The governor of the Low Countries made a mistake: in the midst of winter, after having concentrated from all parts of France ninety thousand men at Dijon, the king threw himself upon the Spanish possessions in Franche-Comte, carried Besançon in two days, Dôle in four, and the whole province in three weeks. Louis XIV., satisfied with the brilliant results of his expedition and not wishing to compromise it, signed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 2d). According to the terms of that agreement, Spain abandoned to France all her conquests in the North, together with the towns of Bergues and Furnes on the sea-coast; France restored Franche-Comte, but after having destroyed the fortifications which protected it, and reduced it to a defenseless state. By so doing, Louis XIV. was further enabled to gain the time he required for the preparation of the campaign which he meditated against Holland.

In the mean while Sweden had joined the side of France; through the mediation of Henrietta of England, duchess of Orleans, and sister of Charles II., this monarch had taken the same resolution; and finally the league was strengthened by the accession of the emperor and of the princes of the confederation of the Rhine (1672).

At length, when everything was ready, Louis XIV., at the head of one hundred thousand men, crossed the Rhine without obstacle, marching straight into the very heart of Holland. Rheinberg, Wesel, Burick, and Orsoy, attacked at once, did not hold out four days. On the 12th of June the king and the prince of Conde appeared unexpectedly on the right bank of the intermediary branch of the Rhine, between the Wahal and the Yssel. The Hollanders were expecting the enemy at the ford of the Yssel, being more easy to pass; they were taken by surprise; the king's cuirassier regiment dashed into the river and crossed it partly by fording and partly by swimming; the resistance was brief. Meanwhile the duke of Longueville was killed and the prince of Conde was wounded for the first time in his life. "I was present at the passage, which was bold, vigorous, full of brilliancy and glorious for the nation," writes Louis XIV. Arnheim and Deventer had just surrendered to Turenne and Luxembourg; Duisbourg resisted the king for a few days; Monsieur was besieging Zutphen. John van Witt was for evacuating the Hague and removing to Amsterdam the center of government and resistance; the prince of Orange had just abandoned the province of Utrecht, which was immediately occupied by the French; the defensive

efforts were concentrated upon the province of Holland; already Naarden, three leagues from Amsterdam, was in the king's hands. A deputation from the States was sent on the 22d of June to the king's head-quarters to demand peace. Louis XIV. had just entered Utrecht, which, finding itself abandoned, opened its gates to him. On the same day, John van Witt received in a street of the Hague four stabs with a dagger from the hand of an assassin, while the city of Amsterdam, but lately resolved to surrender and prepared to send its magistrates as delegates to Louis XIV., suddenly decided upon resistance to the bitter end.

The States-general decided to "reject the hard and intolerable conditions proposed by their lordships the kings of France and Great Britain, and to defend this State and its inhabitants with all their might." The province of Holland in its entirety followed the example of Amsterdam; the dikes were everywhere broken down, at the same time that the troops of the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony were advancing to the aid of the United Provinces, and that the emperor was signing with those two princes a defensive alliance for the maintenance of the treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees and Aix-la-Chapelle. The murder of the brothers Van Witt was an act of wanton cruelty and of brutal ingratitude; the instinct of the people of Holland, however, saw clearly into the situation. John van Witt would have failed in the struggle against France; William of Orange, prince, politician and soldier, saved his country and Europe from the yoke of Louis XIV.

Louis XIV. saw the danger. "So many enemies," says he in his *Mémoires*, "obliged me to take care of myself, and think what I must do to maintain the reputation of my arms, the advantage of my dominions and my personal glory." It was in Franche-Comté that Louis XIV. went to seek these advantages. The whole province was reduced to submission in the month of June, 1674. Turenne had kept the Rhine against the Imperialists; the marshal alone escaped the tyranny of the king and Louvois, and presumed to conduct the campaign in his own way. Condé had gained on the 11th of August the bloody victory of Seneffe over the prince of Orange and the allied generals. Advantages remained balanced in Flanders; the result of the campaign depended on Turenne, who commanded on the Rhine. On the 16th of June, he engaged in battle at Sinzheim with the duke of Lorraine, who was coming up with the advance guard. He subsequently entered the palatinate, quartering his troops upon it, while the superintendents sent by Louvois were burning and plundering the country, crushed as it was under war-contributions. The king and Louvois were disquieted by the movement of the enemy's troops, and wanted to get Turenne back into Lorraine. On the 20th of September, the burgesses of the free city of Strasburg delivered up the bridge over the Rhine to the Imperialists who were in the heart of Alsace. The victory of Ensheim, the fights of Mülhausen and Turckheim, sufficed to drive them back; but it was only on the 22d of January, 1675, that Turenne was at last enabled to leave Alsace reconquered.

The coalition was proceeding slowly; the prince of Orange was ill; the

king made himself master of the citadel of Liège and some small places. Limburg surrendered to the prince of Condé without the allies having been able to relieve it. In June, 1675, Turenne returned to his army; he invaded once more the palatinate, and was opposed by Montecuculli, a general who, ten years before, had defeated the Turks at the battle of Saint-Gothard, and who was considered a consummate tactician. For six weeks the two commanders observed and followed one another, and their reputation was much increased by the proof they thus give of strategic skill. At last, they were on the point of fighting, near the village of Sassbach, on a spot which Turenne had selected, and where he made sure of being victorious, when the marshal, while observing the position of a battery, was killed by a cannon-ball, which carried off likewise the arm of Saint-Hilaire, lieutenant-general of the artillery (July 27th, 1675). His death was, for France, a public calamity.

Europe demanded a general peace; England and Holland desired it passionately. "I am as anxious as you for an end to be put to the war," said the prince of Orange to the deputies from the estates, "provided that I get out of it with honor." He refused obstinately to separate from his allies. William had just married (November 15th, 1677) the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York and Anne Hyde. An alliance offensive and defensive between England and Holland was the price of this union, which struck Louis XIV. an unexpected blow. He had lately made a proposal to the prince of Orange to marry one of his natural daughters. "The first notice I had of the marriage," wrote the king, "was through the bonfires lighted in London." "The loss of a decisive battle could not have scared the king of France more," said the English ambassador, Lord Montagu. For more than a year past negotiations had been going on at Nimeguen; Louis XIV. resolved to deal one more great blow.

The campaign of 1676 had been insignificant, save at sea. John Bart, a corsair of Dunkerque, scoured the seas and made foreign commerce tremble; he took ships by boarding, and killed with his own hands the Dutch captain of the *Neptune*, who offered resistance. Messina, in revolt against the Spaniards, had given herself up to France; the duke of Vivonne, brother of Madame de Montespan, who had been sent thither as governor, had extended his conquests; Duquesne, quite young still, had triumphantly maintained the glory of France against the great Ruyter, who had been mortally wounded off Catana on the 21st of April. But already the possession of Sicily was becoming precarious, and these distant successes had paled before the brilliant campaign of 1677; the capture of Valenciennes, Cambrai, and St. Omer, the defense of Lorraine, the victory of Cassel gained over the prince of Orange, had confirmed the king in his intentions. Ghent was invested by the French on the 1st of March and capitulated on the 11th; Ypres in its turn succumbed on the 25th after a vigorous resistance. Louis XIV. sent his *ultimatum* to Nimeguen.

On the 10th of August, in the evening, the special peace between Holland and France was signed after twenty-four hours' conference. The

prince of Orange had concentrated all his forces near Mons, confronting Marshal Luxembourg, who occupied the plateau of Casteau; he had no official news as yet from Nimeguen, and, on the 14th, he began the engagement outside the abbey of St. Denis. The affair was a very murderous one and remained indecisive; it did more honor to the military skill of the prince of Orange than to his loyalty. Holland had not lost an inch of her territory during this war, so long, so desperate, and notoriously undertaken in order to destroy her; she had spent much money, she had lost many men, she had shaken the confidence of her allies by treating alone and being the first to treat, but she had furnished a chief to the European coalition, and she had shown an example of indomitable resistance; the States-general and the prince of Orange alone, besides Louis XIV., came the greater out of the struggle. The king of England had lost all consideration both at home and abroad, and Spain paid all the expenses of the war.

Peace was concluded on the 17th of September, thanks to the energetic intervention of the Hollanders.

It still required a successful campaign under Marshal Crequi to bring the emperor and the German princes over to peace; exchanges of territory and indemnities re-established the treaty of Westphalia on all essential points. The duke of Lorraine refused the conditions on which the king proposed to restore to him his duchy; so Louis XIV. kept Lorraine.

The king of France was at the pinnacle of his greatness and power. "Singly against all," as Louvois said, he had maintained the struggle against Europe, and he came out of it victorious; everywhere, with good reason, was displayed his proud device, *Nec pluribus impar.* The prince of Orange regarded the peace of Nimeguen as a truce, and a truce fraught with danger to Europe. For that reason did he soon seek to form alliances in order to secure the repose of the world against the insatiable ambition of King Louis XIV. While all the contending parties disbanded their troops, Louis XIV. alone took advantage of the situation for the purpose of increasing his power by means which were very little short of actual warfare. By virtue of the last arrangements he had obtained the surrender of a certain number of towns and districts *together with their dependencies.* In order to ascertain what these dependencies were, he established at Tournay, at Metz, at Brisach and at Besançon special courts, known as *chambres de reunion*, because their business was to *reunite* to France certain territories alleged to have been dismembered from the cities of Flanders, Alsace, *Trois-évêchés*, and Franche-Comté. Some German princes, the elector palatine, and the king of Spain were obliged to appear by deputy and make their respective titles good; and sentences supported by force gave to Louis XIV. twenty important military positions which Vauban fortified, thus making the strongest barrier of the kingdom on the Rhenish frontier (1681). In Italy, Louis XIV. purchased Casal in the Montferrate from the duke of Mantua, in order to command the north of the peninsula and Piedmont, which he was already in a certain sense master of by the possession of Pignerol.

He was, however, himself about to deal his own kingdom a blow more fatal than all those of foreign wars and of the European coalition. He had been carrying matters with a very high hand in other quarters. The stronghold of the Algerian pirates was twice bombarded by Duquesne (1683); the republic of Genoa, which had supplied them with arms and ships, found itself compelled to make *amende honorable* in the person of the doge, who, contrary to the laws of the State, came to Versailles (1685). Pope Innocent XI. himself incurred the resentment of the king for attempting to abolish the right of asylum which the French ambassadors had till then enjoyed in Rome (1687). The glory of Louis XIV. seemed to extend to the remotest limits of the known world, and the king of Siam sent to Versailles an embassy which created, at the time, the greatest sensation. He set at naught all the rights consecrated by edicts, and the long patience of those Protestants whom Mazarin called "the faithful flock;" in vain had persecution been tried for several years past; tyranny interfered, and the edict of Nantes was revoked on the 13th of October, 1685. Some years later, the reformers, by hundreds of thousands, carried into foreign lands their industries, their wealth and their bitter resentments. Protestant Europe, indignant, opened her doors to these martyrs to conscience, living witnesses of the injustice and arbitrary power of Louis XIV. All the princes felt themselves at the same time insulted and threatened in respect of their faith as well as of their puissance. In the early months of 1686, the league of Augsburg united all the German princes, Holland and Sweden; Spain and the duke of Savoy were not slow to join it. In 1687, the diet of Ratisbonne refused to convert the twenty years' truce into a definitive peace. By his haughty pretensions the king gave to the coalition the support of Pope Innocent XI.; Louis XIV. was once more single-handed against all, when he invaded the electorate of Cologne in the month of August, 1686. Philipsburg, lost by France in 1676, was recovered on the 29th of October; at the end of the campaign, the king's armies were masters of the palatinate. In the month of January, 1689, war was officially declared against Holland, the emperor and the empire. The command-in-chief of the French forces was entrusted to the dauphin, then twenty-six years of age.

The dauphin was already tasting the pleasures of conquest, and the coalition had not stirred. They were awaiting their chief; William of Orange was fighting for them in the very act of taking possession of the kingdom of England. (See History of England.) On the Rhine, the dauphin, at the head of one hundred thousand men, with the assistance of Marshal de Duras, took Philipsburg, Worms, Manheim, and by the order of Louvois the palatinate was once more subjected to all the horrors of wholesale destruction by sword and fire. This piece of unwarrantable atrocity is said to have been the cause of Louvois's disgrace, who died shortly afterward.

In Italy Catinat kept his ground against Victor-Amadeus, duke of Savoy, and against prince Eugene, who, in consequence of an act of injustice on the part of Louis XIV., had joined the enemy. The French general defeated the

allies at Staffarde, and three years afterward at Marsaglia; but compelled as he was to see his foot-soldiers withdrawn from his command for the purpose of strengthening other divisions of the French army he was himself obliged merely to keep the defensive.

The most brilliant episodes of the war took place in the Netherlands. Luxembourg, whose military talents and whose energy have often caused him to be compared with Condé, defeated the prince of Waldeck at Fleurus (1690), then took possession of Mons under the eyes of William III., who had come from Ireland on purpose to relieve the town, and finally made himself master of Namur during the following campaign (1692). The battle of Steinkirk was an act of skill which reflected the greatest credit upon Marshal Luxembourg. Exhausted by the fatigues of war and the pleasures of the court, he died on the 4th of January, 1695, at sixty-seven years of age.

By detaching the duke of Savoy from the coalition, Louis XIV. struck a fatal blow at the great alliance: the campaign of 1696 in Germany and in Flanders had resolved itself into mere observations and insignificant engagements; Holland and England were exhausted, and their commerce was ruined; in vain did parliament vote fresh and enormous supplies.

There was no less cruel want in France. "I calculate that in these latter days more than a tenth part of the people," said Vauban, "are reduced to beggary, and in fact beg." Sweden had for a long time been proffering mediation; conferences began on the 9th of May, 1697, at Nieuburg, a castle belonging to William III., near the village of Ryswick. Three great halls opened one into another; the French and the plenipotentiaries of the coalition of princes occupied the two wings, the mediators sat in the center. Before arriving at Ryswick, the most important points of the treaty between France and William III. were already settled.

On the 27th of July a preliminary deed was signed between Marshal Boufflers and Bentinck, earl of Portland, the intimate friend of King William; the latter left the army and retired to his castle of Loo; there it was that he heard of the capture of Barcelona by the duke of Vendôme; Spain, which had hitherto refused to take part in the negotiations, lost all courage and loudly demanded peace, but France withdrew her concessions on the subject of Strasburg, and proposed to give as equivalent Friburg in Brisgau and Brisach. William III. did not hesitate. Heinsius signed the peace in the name of the States-general on the 20th of September at midnight; the English and Spanish plenipotentiaries did the same; the emperor and the empire were alone in still holding out: the Emperor Leopold made pretensions to regulate in advance the Spanish succession, and the Protestant princes refused to accept the maintenance of the Catholic worship in all the places in which Louis XIV. had restored it.

Here again the will of William III. prevailed over the irresolution of his allies. For the first time since Cardinal Richelieu, France moved back her frontiers by the signature of a treaty. She had gained the important place of Strasburg, but she lost nearly all she had won by the treaty of Nimeguen

in the Low Countries and in Germany; she kept Franche-Comté, but she gave up Lorraine. Louis XIV. had wanted to aggrandize himself at any price and at any risk; he was now obliged to precipitately break up the grand alliance, for King Charles II. was slowly dying at Madrid, and the Spanish succession was about to open.

The competitors for the succession were numerous; the king of France and the emperor claimed their rights in the name of their mothers and wives, daughters of Philip III. and Philip IV.; the elector of Bavaria put up the claims of his son by right of his mother, Mary Antoinette of Austria, daughter of the emperor; for a short time Charles II. had adopted this young prince; the child died suddenly at Madrid in 1699. The persons most interested in the succession had not thought proper either to obtain the king's consent or to wait for his demise before dividing his possessions between themselves; they had even made a partition twice, and had satisfied none of the claimants. Charles was informed of this unwarrantable arrangement, and under the impressions of disgust which it excited in him, he named as his successor Philip, Duke d'Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV.

To triumph over such formidable opponents Louis XIV. would have required the illustrious generals of the preceding generation, but they were either dead or worn out, and the heavy atmosphere of Versailles produced none that could continue their work. Like a soil which has given too luxuriant a crop, France was becoming exhausted, and the king was on the point of seeing soldiers failing just as much as generals and cabinet ministers. The inefficient Chamillard, the creature of Madame de Maintenon, gave way under the double weight of the treasury and the war administration, which Colbert and Louvois had divided between themselves. Louis XIV. thought he would counteract Chamillard's weakness by directing him, and never indeed did he show more activity. But here, too, obstacles of another kind arrested him. He had no experience of either men or things; he hampered his generals with directions which they were to observe punctually and which often brought about the worst results. And yet some of the commanders whom France had still, Villars, Catinat, Boufflers, Vendôme, deserved more confidence and greater liberty of action. It is true that men like Villeroi, Marsin, Tallard, La Feuillade, required advice and the assistance of trustworthy guides, but the fact of keeping them in leading strings did not prevent them from inflicting irreparable disasters upon the French arms.

The campaigns of 1702 and 1703 had shown Marlborough to be a prudent and bold soldier, fertile in resources and novel conceptions; and those had earned him the thanks of parliament and the title of duke. The campaign of 1704 established his glory upon the misfortunes of France. Marshals Tallard and Marsin were commanding in Germany together with the elector of Bavaria; the emperor, threatened with a fresh insurrection in Hungary, recalled Prince Eugene from Italy; Marlborough effected a junction with him by a rapid march, which Marshal Villeroi would fain have hindered, but to no purpose; on the 13th of August, 1704, the hostile armies met between Blen-

heim and Hochstett, near the Danube; the forces were about equal, but on the French side the counsels were divided, the various corps acted independently. Tallard sustained single-handed the attack of the English and the Dutch commanded by Marlborough; he was made prisoner, his son was killed at his side; the cavalry, having lost their leader and being pressed by the enemy, took to flight in the direction of the Danube; many officers and soldiers perished in the river; the slaughter was awful. Marsin and the elector, who had repulsed five successive charges of Prince Eugene, succeeded in effecting their retreat; but the electorates of Bavaria and Cologne were lost, Landau was recovered by the allies after a siege of two months, the French army recrossed the Rhine, Alsace was uncovered and Germany evacuated.

The king's personal attachment to Marshal Villeroi blinded him as to his military talents. Beaten in Italy by Prince Eugene, Villeroi, as presumptuous as he was incapable, hoped to retrieve himself against Marlborough. There had been eight hours' fighting at Hochstett, inflicting much damage upon the enemy; at Ramilies, the Bavarians took to their heels at the end of an hour; the French, who felt that they were badly commanded, followed their example; the rout was terrible and the disorder inexpressible. Villeroi kept recoiling before the enemy, Marlborough kept advancing; two-thirds of Belgium and sixteen strong places were lost, when Louis XIV. sent Chamillard into the Low Countries; it was no longer the time when Louvois made armies spring from the very soil, and when Vauban prepared the defense of Dunkerque. The king recalled Villeroi, showing him to the last unwavering kindness. "There is no more luck at our age, marshal," was all he said to Villeroi on his arrival at Versailles. The king summoned Vendôme, to place him at the head of the army of Flanders, "in hopes of restoring to it the spirit of vigor and audacity natural to the French nation," as he himself says. For two years past, amid a great deal of ill-success, Vendôme had managed to keep in check Victor Amadeo and Prince Eugene, in spite of the embarrassment caused him by his brother, the grand prior, the duke of La Feuillade, Chamillard's son-in-law, and the orders which reached him directly from the king: he had gained during his two campaigns the name of *taker of towns*, and had just beaten the Austrians in the battle of Cascinato. Prince Eugene had, however, crossed the Adige and the Po when Vendôme left Italy; he effected his junction with Victor Amadeo, encountered and defeated the French army between the rivers Doria and Stora. Marsin was killed, discouragement spread among the generals and the troops, and the siege of Turin was raised; before the end of the year nearly all the places were lost, and Dauphiny was threatened. Victor Amadeo refused to listen to a special peace; in the month of March, 1707, the prince of Vaudemont, governor of Milaness for the king of Spain, signed a capitulation at Mantua, and led back to France the troops which still remained to him. The Imperialists were masters of Naples. Spain no longer had any possessions in Italy.

Philip V. had been threatened with the loss of Spain as well as of Italy.

For two years past Archduke Charles, under the title of Charles III., had, with the support of England and Portugal, been disputing the crown with the young king. Philip V. had lost Catalonia and had just failed in his attempt to retake Barcelona; the road to Madrid was cut off, the army was obliged to make its way by Roussillon and Béarn to resume the campaign; the king threw himself in person into his capital, whither he was escorted by Marshal Berwick, a natural son of James II., a Frenchman by choice, full of courage and resolution, "but a great stick of an Englishman, who hadn't a word to say," and who was distasteful to the young queen Marie-Louise. Philip V. could not remain at Madrid, which was threatened by the enemy; he removed to Burgos; the English entered the capital and there proclaimed Charles III.

This was too much; Spain could not let herself submit to have an Austrian king imposed upon her by heretics and Portuguese; the campaign of 1707 was signalized in Spain by the victory of Almanza, gained on the 13th of April by Marshal Berwick over the Anglo-Portuguese army, and by the capture of Lérida, which capitulated on the 11th of November into the hands of the duke of Orleans. In Germany, Villars drove back the enemy from the banks of the Rhine, advanced into Suabia and ravaged the palatinate, crushing the country with requisitions, of which he openly reserved a portion for himself.

The invasion of Provence by Victor Amadeo and Prince Eugene, their check before Toulon and their retreat, precipitated by the rising of the peasants, had irritated the allies; the attempts at negotiation which the king had entered upon at the Hague remained without result; the duke of Burgundy took the command of the armies of Flanders with Vendôme for his second. On the 5th of July, Ghent was surprised; Vendôme had intelligence inside the place, the Belgians were weary of their new masters; Bruges opened its gates to the French. Prince Eugene advanced to second Marlborough, but he was late in starting; the troops of the elector of Bavaria harassed his march. The English encountered the French army in front of Audenarde. The engagement began. Vendôme, who commanded the right wing, sent word to the duke of Burgundy. The latter hesitated and delayed; the generals about him did not approve of Vendôme's movement. He fought single-handed, and was beaten. Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough laid siege to Lille, which was defended by old Marshal Boufflers, the bravest and the most respected of all the king's servants. Lille was not relieved, and fell on the 25th of October; the citadel held out until the 9th of December; the king heaped rewards on Marshal Boufflers; at the march out from Lille, Prince Eugene had ordered all his army to pay him the same honors as to himself. Ghent and Bruges were abandoned to the Imperialists.

The campaign in Spain had not been successful; the duke of Orleans, weary of his powerlessness, and under suspicion at the court of Philip V., had given up the command of the troops; the English admiral, Leake, had taken possession of Sardinia, of the island of Minorca and of Port Mahon; the

archduke was master of the isles and of the sea. The destitution in France was fearful, and the winter so severe that the poor were in want of everything; riots multiplied in the towns; the king sent his plate to the Mint, and put his jewels in pawn; he likewise took a resolution, which cost him even more—he determined to ask for peace. He offered the Hollanders a very extended barrier in the Low Countries and all the facilities they had long been asking for their commerce. He accepted the abandonment of Spain to the archduke and merely claimed to reserve to his grandson, Naples, Sardinia and Sicily. This was what was secured to him by the second treaty of partition lately concluded between England, the United Provinces and France; he did not even demand Lorraine. President Rouillé, formerly French envoy to Lisbon, arrived disguised in Holland; conferences were opened secretly at Bodegraven.

Led on by his fidelity to the allies, distrustful and suspicious as regarded France, burning to avenge the wrongs put upon the republic, Heinsius, in concert with Marlborough and Prince Eugene, required conditions so hard that the French agent scarcely dared transmit them to Versailles. What was demanded was the abdication pure and simple of Philip V.; Holland merely promised her good offices to obtain in his favor Naples and Sicily; England claimed Dunkerque; Germany wanted Strasburg and the renewal of the peace of Westphalia; Victor Amadeo aspired to recover Nice and Savoy; to the Dutch barrier stipulated for at Ryswick were to be added Lille, Condé, and Tournay. In vain was the matter discussed article by article; in their short-sighted resentment the allies had overstepped reason. War recommenced on all sides. The king had just consented at last to give Chamillard his discharge. "Sire, I shall die over the job," had for a long time been the complaint of the minister worn out with fatigue. "Ah! well, we will die together," had been the king's rejoinder.

France was dying, and Chamillard was by no means a stranger to the cause. Louis XIV. put in his place Voysin, former superintendent of Hainault, entirely devoted to Madame de Maintenon. He loaded with benefits the minister from whom he was parting, the only one whom he had really loved. The troops were destitute of everything. The king was afraid of losing his last army; the dukes of Harcourt and Berwick were covering the Rhine and the Alps; Marlborough and Prince Eugene, who had just made themselves masters of Tournay, marched against Villars, whom they encountered on the 11th of September, 1709, near the hamlet of Malplaquet. Marshal Boufflers had just reached the army to serve as a volunteer. Villars had entrenched himself in front of the woods; his men were so anxious to get under fire that they threw away the rations of bread just served out; the allies looked sulkily at the works: "We are going to fight moles again," they said. The allies won the victory, but they had lost more than twenty thousand men, according to their official account.

This glorious defeat was followed by a triumph of a more decided character. Louis XIV. sent into Spain the Duke de Vendôme, who was in

disgrace since the famous campaign of Audenarde. His name alone was worth an army. A number of volunteers crowded under his command, and Philip V., who as yet had not appeared on any field of battle, placed himself at the head of his troops. The Spaniards, roused up at the voice of the king, began against the imperial forces a guerilla warfare which proved fatal to their invaders; and, finally, the archduke's troops, headed by Count Stahrenberg, were thoroughly routed at Villaviciosa (December 9th, 1710). The victory of Villaviciosa not only saved the crown of Philip V., but also prevented Louis XIV. from losing Canada. An English expedition was fitted out to occupy that colony, but the success of Vendôme obliged it to remain in observation on the coast of Spain.

A court intrigue, which ended in the downfall of the Whig administration and the disgrace of the duchess of Marlborough, brought matters to a crisis. The Tories, called to the direction of the government, tried to establish their credit on peaceful measures. Secret negotiations between France and England were begun: after the death of the emperor (April 17th, 1711) they became public, a suspension of arms was immediately decided, and the preliminaries of peace were signed in London on the 8th of October following. This example decided the allies; a congress assembled at Utrecht on the 29th of January, 1712. The new emperor refused to have anything to do with it; but the forces were now equal, and one campaign proved to the emperor that he could not, single-handed, hope to reduce France.

The bolts of Heaven were falling one after another upon the royal family of France. On the 14th of April, 1711, Louis XIV. had lost by small-pox his son, the grand dauphin, a mediocer and submissive creature, ever the most humble subject of the king, at just fifty years of age. His eldest son, the duke of Burgundy, devout, austere and capable, the hope of good men and the terror of intriguers, had taken the rank of dauphin, and was seriously commencing his apprenticeship in government, when he was carried off on the 18th of February, 1712, by spotted fever (*rougeole po rpréc*), six days after his wife, the charming Mary Adelaide of Savoy, the idol of the whole court, supremely beloved by the king, and by Madame de Maintenon, who had brought her up; their son, the duke of Brittany, four years old, died on the 8th of March; a child in the cradle, weakly and ill, the little duke of Anjou remained the only shoot of the elder branch of the Bourbons. Dismay seized upon all France. Europe in its turn was excited. If the little duke of Anjou were to die, the crown of France reverted to Philip V. The Hollanders and the ambassadors of the emperor Charles VI., recently crowned at Frankfurt, insisted on the necessity of a formal renunciation, In accord with the English ministers, Louis XIV. wrote to his grandson:—

"You will be told what England proposes, that you should renounce your birthright, retaining the monarchy of Spain and the Indies, or renounce the monarchy of Spain, retaining your rights to the succession in France, and receiving in exchange for the crown of Spain the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, the States of the duke of Savoy, Montferrat and the Mantuan, the

said duke of Savoy succeeding you in Spain. . . . If this child were to die, as his weakly complexion gives too much reason to suppose, you would enjoy the succession to me following the order of your birth, and I should have the consolation of leaving to my people a virtuous king, capable of commanding them, and one who, on succeeding me, would unite to the crown States so considerable as Naples, Savoy, Piedmont and Montferrat. If gratitude and affection toward your subjects are to you pressing reasons for remaining with them, I may say that you owe me the same sentiments; you owe them to your own house, to your own country, before Spain. All that I can do for you is to leave you once more the choice, the necessity for concluding peace becoming every day more urgent."

The choice of Philip V. was made; he had already written to his grandfather to say that he would renounce all his rights of succession to the throne of France rather than give up the crown of Spain. This decision was solemnly enregistered by the Cortes. The English required that the dukes of Berry and Orleans should likewise make renunciation of their rights to the crown of Spain. Negotiations began again, but war began again at the same time as the negotiations.

The king had given Villars the command of the army of Flanders. The marshal went to Marly to receive his last orders. "You see my plight, marshal," said Louis XIV. "There are few examples of what is my fate—to lose in the same week a grandson, a grandson's wife and their son, all of very great promise and very tenderly beloved. God is punishing me; I have well deserved it. But suspend we my griefs at my own domestic woes, and look we to what may be done to prevent those of the kingdom. If anything were to happen to the army you command. . . . I should count upon getting to Péronne or St. Quentin, and there massing all the troops I had, making a last effort with you, and falling together or saving the kingdom; I will never consent to let the enemy approach my capital" [*Mémoires de Villars*, t. ii. p. 362].

God was to spare Louis XIV. that crowning disaster reserved for other times. On the 25th of May, the king secretly informed his plenipotentiaries as well as his generals that the English were proposing to him a suspension of hostilities, and he added: "It is no longer a time for flattering the pride of the Hollanders, but, while we treat with them in good faith, it must be with the dignity that becomes me." That which the king's pride refused to the ill-will of the Hollanders he granted to the good will of England. The day of the commencement of the armistice Dunkerque was put as guarantee into the hands of the English, who recalled their native regiments from the army of Prince Eugene; the king complained that they left him the auxiliary troops; the English ministers proposed to prolong the truce, promising to treat separately with France if the allies refused assent to the peace. The news received by Louis XIV. gave him assurance of better conditions than any one had dared to hope for.

Villars had not been able to prevent Prince Eugene from becoming

master of Quesnoy on the 3d of July; the Imperialists were already making preparations to invade France. The marshal resolved to relieve Landrecies, and, having had bridges thrown over the Scheldt, he crossed the river between Bouchain and Denain on the 23d of July, 1712; the latter little place was defended by the duke of Albemarle, son of General Monk, with seventeen battalions of auxiliary troops in the pay of the allies. The Imperialist lines, stretching over a space of between twelve and fifteen leagues, were too straggling, and the different corps too far separated to be within reach of relieving one another. Villars took advantage of this mistake; by a false attack toward Landrecies he deceived the Prince Eugene, and then marching with all speed upon Denain, where was the earl of Albemarle, he destroyed that general's camp and cut to pieces seventeen battalions (July 24th, 1712). Eugene comes up; he too is driven back. All the posts on the bank of the Scarpe are successively carried, Landrecies is relieved, Douai, Marchiennes, Bouchain and Le Quesnoy are taken, and the frontiers of France become safe once more.

The victory of Denain hastened the conclusion of the peace. Three treaties were signed: 1st, that of Utrecht (April 11th, 1713), between France, Spain, Holland, Savoy and Portugal; 2d, that of Rastadt (March 7th, 1714), between France and Charles VI., 3d, that of Baden (June 7th, 1714), between France and the empire. The treaty of Rastadt was delayed for one year on account of the obstinacy of Charles VI., who persisted in continuing the war, although his allies had come to terms with Louis XIV. Villars, sent toward the Rhenish frontier, where he found himself opposed to Prince Eugene, disconcerted the Imperial troops by the rapidity of his movements. He retook Landau, scaled at the head of his grenadiers the mountain of Roskhof, which protected Friburg, and made himself master of this city. This brilliant success constrained at last the emperor to give to his subjects that peace with which for so long a time they had ceased to be acquainted. France kept Landau and Fort Louis, she restored Spires, Brisach and Friburg. The emperor refused to recognize Philip V., but he accepted the *status quo;* the crown of Spain remained definitively with the house of Bourbon; it had cost men and millions enough; for an instant the very foundations of order in Europe had seemed to be upset; the old French monarchy had been threatened; it had recovered of itself and by its own resources, sustaining single-handed the struggle, and obtained conditions which restored its frontiers to the limits of the peace of Ryswick; but it was exhausted, gasping, at wits' end for men and money; absolute power had obtained from national pride the last possible efforts, but it had played itself out in the struggle; the confidence of the country was shaken; it had been seen what dangers the will of a single man made the nation incur. The habit of respect, the memories of past glories, the personal majesty of Louis XIV. still kept up about the aged king the deceitful appearances of uncontested power and sovereign authority; the long decadence of his great-grandson's reign was destined to complete its ruin.

Louis XIV. had the good fortune to profit by the efforts of his predecessors as well as of his own servants: Richelieu and Mazarin, Condé and Turenne, Luxembourg, Catinat, Vauban, Villars and Louvois all toiled at the same work; under his reign, France was intoxicated with excess of the pride of conquest, but she did not lose all its fruits; she witnessed the conclusion of five peaces, mostly glorious, the last sadly honorable; all tended to consolidate the unity and power of the kingdom; it is to the treaties of the Pyrenees, of Westphalia, of Nimeguen, of Ryswick, and of Utrecht, all signed in the name of Louis XIV., that France owed Roussillon, Artois, Alsace, Flanders and Franche-Comté.

## XII.

# LOUIS XIV.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.—LITERATURE.—THE COURT AND SOCIETY.

IT is King Louis XIV.'s distinction and heavy burden in the eyes of history that it is impossible to tell of anything in his reign without constantly recurring to himself. He had two ministers of the higher order, Colbert and Louvois; several of good capacity, such as Seignelay and Torcy; others incompetent, like Chamillard; he remained as much master of the administrators of the first rank as if they had been insignificant clerks; the home government of France, from 1661 to 1715, is summed up in the king's relations with his ministers.

It was their genius which made the fortunes and the power of Louis XIV.'s two great ministers, Colbert and Louvois. On the faith of Cardinal Marazin, the king knew the worth of Colbert. "I had all possible confidence in him," says he, "because I knew that he had a great deal of application, intelligence and probity." Rough, reserved, taciturn, indefatigable in work, passionately devoted to the cause of order, public welfare and the peaceable aggrandisement of France, Colbert, on becoming the comptroller of finance in 1661, brought to the service of the State superior views, consummate experience and indomitable perseverance.

The punishment of the tax-collectors (*traitants*), prosecuted at the same time as Superintendent Fouquet the arbitrary redemption of *rentes* (annuities) on the city of Paris or on certain branches of the taxes, did not suffice to alleviate the extreme suffering of the people. The talliages, from which the nobility and the clergy were nearly everywhere exempt, pressed upon the people with the most cruel inequality. Colbert proposed to the king to remit

the arrears of that tax, and devoted all his efforts to reducing them, while regulating its collection. He was only very partially successful, without, however, allowing himself to be repelled by the difficulties presented by differences of legislation and customs in the provinces. He died without having completed his work; but the talliages had been reduced by eight millions of livres within the first two years of his administration.

Peace was of short duration in the reign of Louis XIV., and often so precarious that it did not permit disarmament. At the very period when the able minister was trying to make the people feel the importance of the diminution in the talliages, he wrote to the king: "I merely entreat your Majesty to permit me to say that in war as well as in peace you have never consulted your finances for the purpose of determining your expenditure, which is a thing so extraordinary that assuredly there is no example thereof. For the past twenty years during which I have had the honor of serving your Majesty, though the receipts have greatly increased, you would find that the expenses have much exceeded the receipts, which might perhaps induce you to moderate and retrench such as are excessive." Louis XIV. did not "moderate or retrench his expenses." The expenses of recovering the taxes, which had but lately led to great abuses, were diminished by half. The puissance of the provincial governors, already curtailed by Richelieu, suffered from fresh attacks under Louis XIV. Everywhere the power passed into the hands of the superintendents, themselves subjected in their turn to inspection by the masters of requests. Order was restored in all parts of France.

Colbert knew how to "throw millions about" when it was for endowing France with new manufactures and industries. "One of the most important works of peace," he used to say, "is the re-establishment of every kind of trade in this kingdom and to put it in a position to do without having recourse to foreigners for the things necessary for the use and comfort of the subjects." The cloth manufactures were dying out, they received encouragement; a Protestant Hollander, Van Robais, attracted over to Abbeville by Colbert, there introduced the making of fine cloths; at Beauvais and in the Gobelins establishment at Paris, under the direction of the great painter, Lebrun, the French tapestries soon threw into the shade the reputation of the tapestries of Flanders; Venice had to yield up her secrets and her workmen for the glass manufactories of St. Gobain and Tourlaville. The bad state of the roads "was a dreadful hindrance to traffic;" Colbert ordered them to be everywhere improved. The magnificent canal of Languedoc, due to the generous initiative of Riquet, united the ocean to the Mediterranean; the canal of Orleans completed the canal of Briare, commenced by Henry IV. The inland custom-houses, which shackled the traffic between province and province, were suppressed at divers points; many provinces demurred to the admission of this innovation, declaring that, to set their affairs right, "there was need of nothing but order, order, order." Colbert also wanted order, but his views were higher and broader than those of Breton or Gascon merchants; in spite of his desire to "put the kingdom

in a position to do without having recourse to foreigners for things necessary for the use and comfort of the French," he had too lofty and too judicious a mind to neglect the extension of trade; like Richelieu, he was for founding great trading companies; he had five, for the East and West Indies, the Levant, the North, and Africa; his efforts were not useless; at his death, the maritime trade of France had developed itself, and French merchants were effectually protected at sea by ships of war. In 1692, the royal navy numbered a hundred and eighty-six vessels; a hundred and sixty thousand sailors were down on the books; the works at the ports of Toulon, Brest, and Rochefort, were in full activity; Louis XIV. was in a position to refuse the salute of the flag, which the English had up to that time exacted in the Channel from all nations.

Louis XIV. was the victim of three passions which hampered and in the long run destroyed the accord between king and minister: that for war, whetted and indulged by Louvois; that for kingly and courtly extravagance; and that for building and costly fancies. Colbert urged the king to complete the Louvre, plans for which were requested of Bernini, who went to Paris for the purpose; after two years' useless feelers and compliments, the Italian returned to Rome, and the work was entrusted to Perrault, whose plan for the beautiful colonnade still existing had always pleased Colbert. The completion of the castle of St. Germain, the works at Fontainbleau and at Chambord, the triumphal arches of St. Denis and St. Martin, the laying out of the Tuileries, the construction of the Observatory, and even that of the Palais des Invalides, which was Louvois's idea, found the comptroller of the finances well disposed if not eager.

Colbert was mistaken in his fears for Louis XIV.'s glory; if the expenses of Versailles surpassed his most gloomy apprehensions, the palace which rose upon the site of Louis XIV.'s former hunting box was worthy of the king who had made it in his own image and who managed to retain all his court around him there; he died, however, before Versailles was completed; at sixty-four years of age Colbert succumbed to excess of labor and of cares. His thoughts were occupied with his soul's salvation. Madame de Maintenon used to accuse him of always thinking about his finances and very little about religion. He repeated bitterly, as the dying Cardinal Wolsey had previously said in the case of Henry: "If I had done for God what I have done for that man, I had been saved twice over; and now I know not what will become of me." He expired on the 6th of September, 1683.

Louvois remained henceforth alone, without rival and without check. The work he had undertaken for the reorganization of the army was pretty nearly completed; he had concentrated in his own hands the whole direction of the military service, the burden and the honor of which were both borne by him. He had subjected to the same rules and the same discipline all corps and all grades; the general as well as the colonel obeyed him blindly. M. de Turenne alone had managed to escape from the administrative level. Order reigned in the army, and supplies were regular. Louvois received the

nickname of great *Victualler* (*Vivrier*). The wounded were tended in hospitals devoted to their use. He conceived the grand idea of the Hôtel des Invalides. Never had the officers of the army been under such strict and minute supervision; promotion went by seniority, by "the order on the list," as the phrase then was, without any favor for rank or birth; commanders were obliged to attend to their corps.

Artillery and engineering were developed under the influence of Vauban, "the first of his own time and one of the first of all times" in the great art of besieging, fortifying and defending places. Louvois had singled out Vauban at the sieges of Lille, Tournay and Douai, which he had directed in chief under the king's own eye. The honesty and moral worth of Vauban equaled his genius; he was as high-minded as he was modest; evil reports had been spread about concerning the contractors for the fortifications of Lille; Vauban demanded an inquiry: "You are quite right in thinking, my lord," he wrote to Louvois, to whom he was united by a sincere and faithful friendship, "that, if you do not examine into this affair, you can not do me justice, and, if you do it me not, that would be compelling me to seek means of doing it myself, and of giving up forever fortification and all its concomitants." It was not until eight years after the death of Louvois, in 1699, when Vauban had directed fifty-three sieges, constructed the fortifications of thirty-three places, and repaired those of three hundred towns, that he was made a marshal, an honor that no engineer had yet obtained.

The leisure of peace was more propitious to Vauban's fame than to his favor. Generous and sincere as he was, a patriot more far-sighted than his contemporaries, he had the courage to present to the king a memorial advising the recall of the fugitive Huguenots and renewal, pure and simple, of the edict of Nantes. He had just directed the siege of Brisach and the defense of Dunkerque when he published a great economical work entitled *la Dime Royale*. The king was offended; he gave the marshal a cold reception and had the work seized. Vauban received his death-blow from this disgrace: the royal edict was dated March 19th, 1707: the great engineer died on the 30th; he was not quite seventy-four. The king testified no regret for the loss of so illustrious a servant, with whom he had lived on terms of close intimacy. Vauban had appeared to impugn his supreme authority; this was one of the crimes that Louis XIV. never forgave.

On the 16th of July, 1691, death suddenly removed the minister Louvois, fallen in royal favor, detested and dreaded in France, universally hated in Europe, leaving, however, the king, France and Europe with the feeling that a great power had fallen, a great deal of merit disappeared.

The king felt his loss, but did not regret the minister whose tyranny and violence were beginning to be oppressive to him: he felt himself to be more than ever master in the presence of the young or inexperienced men to whom he henceforth entrusted his affairs. Louvois's son, Barbezieux, had the reversion of the war-department; Pontchartrain, who had been comptroller

of finance ever since the retirement of Lepelletier, had been appointed to the navy in 1690 at the death of Seignelay.

Then came the age of mediocrity in the cabinet as well as on the field; Chamillard was the first, the only one of his ministers, whom the king had ever loved. The court bore with him because he was easy and good-natured, but the affairs of the State were imperiled in his hands; Pontchartrain had already had recourse to the most objectionable proceedings in order to obtain money; the mental resources of Colbert himself had failed in presence of financial embarrassments and increasing estimates. Trade was languishing; the manufactures founded by Colbert were dropping away one after another; the revocation of the edict of Nantes and the emigration of Protestants had drained France of the most industrious and most skillful workmen; many of the reformers had carried away a great deal of capital; the roads, everywhere neglected, were becoming impracticable.

Desmarets in the finance and Voysin in the war-department, both superintendents of finance, the former a nephew of Colbert's and initiated into business by his uncle, both of them capable and assiduous, succumbed, like their predecessors, beneath the weight of the burdens which were overwhelming and ruining France. Desmarets succeeded better than could have been expected without being able to rehabilitate the finances of the State. Pontchartrain had exhausted the resource of creating new offices. Desmarets had recourse to the bankers; and the king seconded him by the gracious favor with which he received at Versailles the greatest of the collectors (*traitants*), Samuel Bernard. France kept up the contest to the end. When the treaty of Utrecht was signed, the fleet was ruined and destroyed, the trade diminished by two-thirds, the colonies lost or devastated by the war, the destitution in the country so frightful that orders had to be given to sow seed in the fields; the exportation of grain was forbidden on pain of death. Meanwhile the peasantry were reduced to browse upon the grass in the roads and to tear the bark off the trees and eat it. Thirty years had rolled by since the death of Colbert, twenty-two since that of Louvois; everything was going to perdition simultaneously; reverses in war and distress at home were uniting to overwhelm the aged king, alone upstanding amid so many dead and so much ruin.

Independently of simple submission to the Catholic Church, there were three great tendencies which divided serious minds among them during the reign of Louis XIV.; three noble passions held possession of pious souls; liberty, faith, and love were, respectively, the groundwork as well as the banner of Protestantism, Jansenism, and Quietism. It was the name of the fundamental and innate liberty of the soul, its personal responsibility and its direct relations with God, that the Reformation had sprung up and reached growth in France, even more than in Germany and in England. M. de St. Cyran, the head and founder of Jansenism, abandoned the human soul unreservedly to the supreme will of God; his faith soared triumphant over flesh and blood, and his disciples, disdaining

the joys and the ties of earth, lived only for eternity. Madame Guyon and Fenelon, less ardent and less austere, discovered in the tender mysticism of *pure love* that secret of God's which is sought by all pious souls; in the name of divine love, the Quietists renounced all will of their own, just as the Jansenists in the name of faith.

Louis XIV. on one occasion had solemnly promised that he would respect the rights of conscience; but from the very beginning of his personal government he plainly showed that he did not mean to keep his word; and after an interval of twenty years, the series of arbitrary measures which he countenanced and even ordered were replaced by open and avowed persecution. To begin with the Huguenots; all the guarantees stipulated by the edict of Nantes were successively withdrawn, the mixed chambers established in the parliaments of Toulouse, Grenoble, and Bordeaux were suppressed, and no Protestant could enter any one of the liberal professions or practice as physician, lawyer, publisher, printer, etc. Roman Catholics were prohibited from embracing Calvinism under penalty of hard labor at the hulks for life; and children of Protestant parents were, on the contrary, authorized to abjure their faith as early as the age of seven years. By virtue of this declaration, a great number of children were torn from the bosom of their family; and Madame de Maintenon founded the convent of Saint-Cyr, near Versailles, for the reception of young ladies of noble origin, thus converted. Missions were multiplied throughout the provinces, consciences were bought according to a certain tariff, and Pellisson, who, like the new favorite, had been originally a Protestant, received the direction of a special fund organized to pay these shameful abjurations.

It was pleasantly remarked at court, that the golden doctrine of M. Pellisson was much more convincing than that of Monsieur de Meaux. The Protestants called his coffers the box of Pandora, while he himself compared them to the cruse of the widow of Sarepta. Louvois had recourse to means still more persuasive, he sent soldiers to take up their quarters in the houses of the Protestants. "Sometimes the poor frightened people at once declared themselves converts by general acclamation. The people of education signed a profession of faith, while the common people only said, 'I reunite myself,' or cried out 'Ave Maria,' or made the sign of the cross. In some towns, offices of conversion were established, where the proselytes, after having their names registered on a list, received a certificate *written on the back of a playing card*, which was to protect them from the persecution of the soldiery. The people of Nismes, using on apocalyptic phrase, called this card the mark of the beast; and, indeed, they only announced a profound truth; for what is a man worth who, to preserve what is animal and mortal in him, gives up his spiritual being—his soul, the heavenly and immortal part of his nature?"

At last the fatal blow was struck. The king assembled his council: the lists of converts were so long that there could scarcely remain in

the kingdom more than a few thousand recalcitrants.. A resolution was carried unanimously for the suppression of the edict of Nantes. The declaration, drawn up by Chancellor Le Tellier and Châteauneuf, was signed by the king on the 15th of October, 1685; it was dispatched on the 17th to all the superintendents. The edict of pacification, that great work of the liberal and prudent genius of Henry IV., respected and confirmed in its most important particulars by Cardinal Richelieu, recognized over and over again by Louis XIV. himself, disappeared at a single stroke, carrying with it all hope of liberty, repose and justice for fifteen hundred thousand subjects of the king. "Our pains," said the preamble of the edict, "have had the end we had proposed, seeing that the better and the greater part of our subjects of the religion styled reformed have embraced the Catholic; the execution of the edict of Nantes consequently remaining useless, we have considered that we could not do better, for the purpose of effacing entirely the memory of the evils which this false religion has caused in our kingdom, than revoke entirely the aforesaid edict of Nantes and all that has been done in favor of the said religion."

The edict of October 15th, 1685, supposed the religion styled reformed to be already destroyed and abolished. It ordered the demolition of all the chapels that remained standing and interdicted any assembly or worship: *recalcitrant* (*opiniâtres*) ministers were ordered to leave the kingdom within fifteen days; the schools were closed; all new-born babies were to be baptized by the parish-priests; religionists were forbidden to leave the kingdom on pain of the galleys for the men and confiscation of person and property for the women. "The will of the king," said Superintendent Marillac at Rouen, "is that there be no more than one religion in this kingdom; it is for the glory of God and the well-being of the State." Two hours were allowed the reformers of Rouen for making their abjuration.

One clause, at the end of the edict of October 15th, seemed to extenuate its effect: "Those of our subjects of the religion styled reformed who shall persist in their errors, pending the time when it may please God to enlighten them like the rest, shall, be allowed to remain in the kingdom, country and lands which obey the king, there to continue their trade and enjoy their property without being liable to be vexed or hindered on pretext of prayer or worship of the said religion, of whatsoever nature they may be." "Never was there illusion more cruel than that which this clause caused people," says Benoît in his *Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes:* "it was believed that the king meant only to forbid special exercises, but that he intended to leave conscience free, since he granted this grace to all those who were still reformers, pending the time when it should please God to enlighten them. Many gave up the measures they had taken for leaving the country with their families, many voluntarily returned from the retreats where they had hitherto been

fortunate enough to lie hid. The most mistrustful dared not suppose that so solemn a promise was only made to be broken on the morrow. They were all, nevertheless, mistaken; and those who were imprudent enough to return to their homes were only just in time to receive the dragoons there." The pride of Louis XIV. was engaged in the struggle; those of his subjects who refused to sacrifice their religion to him were disobedient, rebellious and besotted with *silly vanity*.

Even in his court and among his most useful servants the king encountered unexpected opposition. Marshal Schomberg with great difficulty obtained authority to leave the kingdom; Duquesne was refused. All ports were closed, all frontiers watched. The great lords gave way, one after another; accustomed to enjoy royal favors, attaching to them excessive value, living at court, close to Paris, which was spared a great deal during the persecution, they, without much effort, renounced a faith which closed to them henceforth the door to all offices and all honors. The gentlemen of the provinces were more resolute; many realized as much as they could of their property and went abroad, braving all dangers, even that of the galleys in case of arrest. It was impossible to estimate precisely the number of emigrations; it was probably between three and four hundred thousand. Almost all trade was stopped in Normandy. The little amount of manufacture that was possible rotted away on the spot for want of transport to foreign countries, whence vessels were no longer found to come. The Norman emigration had been very numerous, thanks to the extent of its coasts and to the habitual communication between Normandy, England and Holland; Vauban, however, remained very far from the truth when he deplored, in 1688, "the desertion of one hundred thousand men, the withdrawal from the kingdom of sixty millions of livres, the enemy's fleets swelled by nine thousand sailors, the best in the kingdom, and the enemy's armies by six hundred officers and twelve thousand soldiers, who had seen service." It is a natural but a striking fact that the reformers who left France and were received with open arms in Brandenburg, Holland, England and Switzerland carried in their hearts a profound hatred for the king who drove them away from their country and everywhere took service against him, while the Protestants who remained in France, bound to the soil by a thousand indissoluble ties, continued at the same time to be submissive and faithful.

The peace of Ryswick had not brought the Protestants the hoped for alleviation of their woes. Louis XIV. haughtily rejected the petition of the English and Dutch plenipotentiaries on behalf of "those in affliction who ought to have their share in the happiness of Europe." The persecution everywhere continued, with determination and legality in the North, with violence and passion in the South, abandoned to the tyranny of M. de Lamoignon de Bâville, a crafty and cold-bloodedly cruel politician, without the excuse of any zealous religious conviction. The execu-

tion of several ministers who had remained in hiding in the Cevennes or had returned from exile to instruct and comfort their flocks raised to the highest pitch the enthusiasm of the reformers of Languedoc. Deprived of their highly prized assemblies and of their pastors' guidance, men and women, graybeards and children, all at once fancied themselves animated by the spirit of prophecy. Young girls had celestial visions; the little peasant-lasses poured out their utterances in French, sometimes in the language and with the sublime eloquence of the Bible, sole source of their religious knowledge. In vain did M. de Bâville have three hundred children imprisoned at Uzès, and then send them to the galleys; the religious contagion was too strong for the punishments; "women found themselves in a single day husbandless, childless, houseless and penniless," says the historian Court: they remained immovable in their pious ecstasy; the assemblies multiplied; the troops which had so long occupied Languedoc had been summoned away by the war of succession in Spain; the militia could no longer restrain the reformers, growing every day more enthusiastic through the prophetic hopes which were born of their long sufferings.

The insurrection of the Cevenols, or, as the Catholic peasants called them, the *Camisards*, led by Jean Cavalier, Roland and others, was put down by Marshal Villars, after many vicissitudes of successes and reverses. Little by little the chiefs were killed off in petty engagements or died in obscurity of their wounds; provisions were becoming scarce; the country was wasted; submission became more frequent every day. The principals all demanded leave to quit France. Some partial risings alone recalled, up to 1709, the fact that the old leaven still existed; the war of the Camisards was over. It was the sole attempt in history on the part of French Protestantism since Richelieu, a strange and dangerous effort made by an ignorant and savage people, roused to enthusiasm by persecution, believing itself called upon by the spirit of God to win, sword in hand, the freedom of its creed, under the leadership of two shepherd-soldiers and prophets. The silence of death succeeded everywhere in France to the plaints of the reformers and to the crash of arms; Louis XIV. might well suppose that Protestantism in his dominions was dead.

It was a little before the time when the last of the Camisards, Abraham Mazel and Claris, perished near Uzès (in 1710), that the king struck the last blow at Jansenism by destroying its earliest nest and its last refuge, the house of the nuns of Port-Royal des Champs. With truces and intervals of apparent repose, the struggle had lasted more than sixty years between the Jesuits and Jansenism. M. de St. Cyran, who left the Bastile a few months after the death of Richelieu, had dedicated the last days of his life to writing against Protestantism, being so much the more scared by the heresy in that, perhaps, he felt himself attracted thereto by a secret affinity. He was already dying when there appeared the book *Frequente Communion*, by M. Arnauld, youngest son and twentieth child of that illustrious family of Arnaulds, in whom Jansenism seemed to be personified. The author was immediately accused at



Marshal Villars putting down the insurrection of the Camisards.
A. de Neuville. Page 178.

Rome and buried himself for twenty years in retirement. "Sir, tell your Fathers, when I am dead, not to triumph, and that I leave behind me a dozen stronger than I." With all his penetration the director of consciences was mistaken. M. Arnauld was a great theologian, an indefatigable controversialist, the oracle and guide of his friends in their struggle against the Jesuits; M. de Sacy and M. Singlin were wise and able directors, as austere as M. de St. Cyran in their requirements, less domineering and less rough than he; but M. de St. Cyran alone was and could be the head of Jansenism; he alone could have inspired that idea of immolation of the whole being to the sovereign will of God, as to the truth which resides in Him alone. Once assured of this point, M. de St. Cyran became immovable.

Mother Angelica Arnauld was the most perfect image and the most accomplished disciple of M. de St. Cyran. More gentle and more human than he, she was quite as strong and quite as zealous. A reformer of many a convent since the day when she had closed the gates of Port-Royal against her father, M. Arnauld, in order to restore the strictness of the cloister, Mother Angelica carried rule along with her, for she carried within herself the government, rigid no doubt, for it was life in a convent, but characterized by generous largeness of heart, which caused the yoke to be easily borne.

Mother Angelica was nearing the repose of eternity, the only repose admitted by her brother M. Arnauld, when the storm of persecution burst upon the monastery. The *Augustinus* of Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, a friend of M. de St. Cyran's, had just been condemned at Rome. Five propositions concerning grace were extracted from the book, and pronounced heretical. The opposers of what was called Jansenist doctrines employed every means in their power to have these propositions condemned by the court of Rome; and having obtained to this effect two bulls from the popes Innocent X. and Alexander VII., their next object was to secure the promulgation of these documents in the dominions of the French king. An assembly of court-bishops drew up a declaration which was subsequently made more valid still by the king's own signature, and which became obligatory on all ecclesiastical persons throughout France. A negotiation was opened with the archbishop of Paris, for the purpose of endeavoring to obtain from him a pastoral letter conceived in moderate terms. Several meetings took place among the Jansenists, Pascal and Domat deciding against all compliance contrary to Christian truth and sincerity, while Nicole and Arnauld wrote in favor of conditional obedience. The latter prevailed; the authority of Arnauld especially carried along with it the votes of the majority. Port-Royal had breathed its last! In the year 1709 the monastery was destroyed, and not even the sanctity of the grave was respected by the agents of Louis XIV. Dogs were seen disputing the mangled remains of bodies torn from what should have been their last resting-place.

Nevertheless the publication of the *Réflexions sur le Nouveau Testament*, by Quesnel, a priest of the congregation of the Oratory (1671), revived all the disputes, and proved the vitality of the doctrines with which the name of

Jansenism had been connected. One hundred and one propositions extracted from the work were condemned at Rome by the bull *Unigenitus*, and Louis XIV., in 1712, bound the whole French clergy to adhere to that condemnation under penalty of disgrace, prison and exile. Quietism was proscribed quite as strictly as Jansenism. It is well known that a pious but mistaken lady, Madame Guyon, had endeavored to spread a kind of mystical form of religion introduced previously by a Spanish priest, Michael de Molinos, and condemned by Pope Innocent XI. Through the Duke de Beauvilliers this lady became acquainted with Fenelon. Naturally inclined to the contemplative sort of piety which springs more from the heart than from the understanding, the prelate adopted Madame Guyon's views, and a kind of sect was soon organized at court, of which the Dukes de Beauvilliers and de Chevreuse, Fenelon and Madame Guyon were the leaders. The bishop of Chartres, in whose diocese the establishment was, soon perceived what the consequences would be of allowing an exalted, quintessentiated form of mysticism to spread through a community of young girls. He warned Madame de Maintenon; and this lady accordingly desired that Madame Guyon's works and opinions should be examined by a committee composed of Bosseut, M. de Noailles, bishop of Châlons, and Tronson, superior of the ecclesiastical college of St. Sulpice, in Paris. Fenelon had openly taken Madame Guyon's part; he was therefore quite as much on his trial as the fair disciple of Molinos; but he expressly declared that he would abide by the decision of the examiners, especially that of Bossuet; and, as a reward for his submission, Madame de Maintenon secured his nomination to the archbishopric of Cambrai. The disappointment was general; and the Countess de Guiche, among many others, is said to have been so mortified, that she could not conceal her tears. In order to secure by other means the authority which his nomination to the see of Cambrai could not give him, Fenelon courted the Jesuits, openly acknowledged his sympathy for them, and did his utmost to conciliate men whose power at Versailles was then without control.

The result of the conference held at Issy proved null; Madame Guyon persevered in promulgating the principles of Molinos, and Quietism seemed to spread more rapidly than ever. Exasperated at Fenelon's questionable behavior, and at the determination with which he supported the condemned doctrines, after having promised to yield to the decision of the examiners, Bossuet prepared his celebrated *Instructions sur les États d Oraison.* Fenelon, however, was ready beforehand; he refused to approve the work of the bishop of Meaux, and published in support of his opinions the well-known volume containing the maxims of the saints on the spiritual life. Madame Guyon was arrested, Fenelon exiled in his diocese, and the pope requested to pronounce judgment in a case respecting which there could hardly be any difficulty. The archbishop of Cambrai was condemned, and whatever may have been his errors during the course of this affair, he redeemed them by the dignity with which he bore his disgrace.

Bossuet was the real head and the pride of the great Catholic Church of

France in the seventeenth century; what he approved of was approved of by the immense majority of the French clergy, what he condemned was condemned by them. It was with pain and not without having sought to escape therefrom that he found himself obliged, at the assembly of the clergy in 1682, to draw up the solemn declaration of the Gallican Church. The meeting of the clergy had been called forth by the eternal discussions of the civil power with the court of Rome on the question of the rights of *regale*, that is to say, the rights of the sovereign to receive the revenues of vacant bishoprics and to appoint to benefices belonging to them. The French bishops were of independent spirit; the archbishop of Paris, Francis de Harlay, was on bad terms with Pope Innocent XI.; Bossuet managed to moderate the discussions and kept within suitable bounds the declaration which he could not avoid. He had always taught and maintained what was proclaimed by the assembly of the clergy of France, that "St. Peter and his successors, vicars of Jesus Christ, and the whole Church itself received from God authority over only spiritual matters and such as appertain to salvation, and not over temporal and civil matters, in such sort that kings and sovereigns are not subject to any ecclesiastical power, by order of God, in temporal matters, and can not be deposed directly or indirectly by authority of the keys of the Church; finally that, though the pope has the principal part in questions of faith, and though his decrees concern all the churches and each church severally, his judgment is, nevertheless, not irrefragable, unless the consent of the Church intervene." Old doctrines in the Church of France, but never before so solemnly declared and made incumbent upon the teaching of all the faculties of theology in the kingdom.

Bossuet had died on the 12th of April, 1704. The king was about to bring the Jansenist question before his bed of justice when he fell ill: "I am sorry to leave the affairs of the Church in the state in which they are," he said to his councillors; "I am perfectly ignorant in the matter; you know and I call you to witness that I have done nothing therein but what you wanted, and that I have done all you wanted; it is you who will answer before God for all that has been done, whether too much or too little; I charge you with it before Him, and I have a clear conscience; I am but a know-nothing who have left myself to your guidance." An awful appeal from a dying king to the guides of his conscience; he had dispeopled his kingdom, reduced to exile, despair or falsehood fifteen hundred thousand of his subjects, but the memory of the persecutions inflicted upon the Protestants did not trouble him; they were, for him, rather a pledge of his salvation and of his acceptance before God; he was thinking of the Catholic Church, the holy priests exiled or imprisoned, the nuns driven from their convent, the division among the bishops, the scandal among the faithful; the great burden of absolute power was evident to his eyes; he sought to let it fall back upon the shoulders of those who had enticed him or urged him upon that fatal path. A vain attempt in the eyes of men, whatever may be the judgment of God's sovereign mercy; history has left weighing upon Louis XIV. the crushing weight of the religious persecutions ordered under his reign.

Pascal, had he been born later, would have remained independent and proud, from the nature of his mind and of his character, as well as from the connection he had full early with Port-Royal, where they did not rear courtiers; he died, however, at thirty-nine, in 1661, the very year in which Louis XIV. began to govern. Born at Clermont in Auvergne, educated at his father's and by his father, though it was not thought desirable to let him study mathematics, he had already discovered by himself the first thirty-two propositions of Euclid. Richelieu, however, died three years later, without having done anything for the children who had impressed him, beyond giving their father a share in the superintendence of Rouen; he thus put them in the way of the great Corneille, who was affectionately kind to Jacqueline, but took no particular notice of Blaise Pascal. The latter was seventeen; he had already written his *Traite des Coniques* (*Treatise on Conics*) and begun to occupy himself with "his arithmetical machine," as his sister, Madame Perier, calls it. At twenty-three he had ceased to apply his mind to human siences; "when he afterward discovered the *roulette* (*cycloid*), it was without thinking," says Madame Perier, "and to distract his attention from a severe tooth-ache he had." He was not twenty-four when anxiety for his salvation and for the glory of God had taken complete possession of his soul.

The Provincials could not satisfy for long the pious ardor of Pascal's soul; he took in hand his great work on the *Verite de la Religion*, but unfortunately was unable to finish it. "God, who had inspired my brother with this design and with all his thoughts," writes his sister, "did not permit him to bring it to its completion, for reasons to us unknown."

In 1627, four years after Pascal, and, like him, in a family of the long robe, was born, at Dijon, his only rival in that great art of writing prose which established the superiority of the French language. At sixteen, Bossuet preached his first sermon in the drawing-room of Madame de Rambouillet, and the great Conde was pleased to attend his theological examinations. He was already famous at court as a preacher and a polemist when the king gave him the title of bishop of Condom, almost immediately inviting him to become preceptor to the dauphin.

Bossuet labored conscientiously to instruct his little prince, studying for him and with him the classical authors, preparing grammatical expositions, and, lastly, writing for his edification. The labor was in vain; the very loftiness of his genius, the extent and profundity of his views, rendered Bossuet unfit to get at the heart and mind of a boy who was timid, idle and kept in fear by the king as well as by his governor. The dauphin was nineteen when his marriage restored Bossuet to the Church and to the world; the king appointed him almoner to the dauphiness and, before long, bishop of Meaux.

He was writing incessantly, all the while that he was preaching at Meaux and at Paris, making funeral orations over the queen, Maria Theresa, over the Princess Palatine, Michael le Tellier and the prince of Condé; the edict of Nantes had just been revoked: controversy with the Protestant ministers, headed by Claude and Jurieu, occupied a great space in the life of the bishop

of Meaux; he at that time wrote his *Histoire des Variations*, often unjust and violent, always able in its attacks upon the Reformation.

Bossuet died at Paris on the 12th of April, 1704, just when the troubles of the Church were springing up again. Great was the consternation among the bishops of France, wont as they were to shape themselves by his counsels. "Men were astounded at this mortal's mortality." Bossuet was seventy-three.

A month later, on the 13th of May, Father Bourdaloue in his turn died: a model of close logic and moral austerity, with a stiff and manly eloquence, so impressed with the miserable insufficiency of human efforts, that he said as he was dying, "My God, I have wasted life, it is just that Thou recall it." There remained only Fénelon in the first rank, which Massillon did not as yet dispute with him. Malebranche was living retired in his cell at the Oratory, seldom speaking, writing his *Recherches sur la Vérité* (*Researches into Truth*) and his *Entretiens sur la Métaphysique* (*Discourses on Metaphysics*), bolder in thought than he was aware of or wished, sincere and natural in his meditations as well as in his style.

Fénelon was born in Perigord, at the castle of Fénelon, on the 6th of August, 1651. Like Cardinal de Retz he belonged to an ancient and noble house, and was destined from his youth for the Church. He had held himself modestly aloof, occupied with confirming *new Catholics* in their conversion or with preaching to the Protestants of Poitou; he had written nothing but his *Traité de l'Éducation des Filles*, intended for the family of the duke of Beauvilliers, and a book on the *ministère du pasteur*. He was in bad odor with Harlay, archbishop of Paris, who had said to him curtly one day: "You want to escape notice, M. Abbe, and you will;" nevertheless, when Louis XIV. chose the duke of Beauvilliers as governor to his grandson, the duke of Burgundy, the duke at once called Fenelon, then thirty-eight years of age, to the important post of preceptor.

Fenelon's best known work is *Telemaque*. "It is a fabulous narrative," he himself says, "in the form of a heroic poem, like Homer's or Virgil's, wherein I have set forth the principal actions that are meet for a prince whose birth points him out as destined to reign. I did it at a time when I was charmed with the marks of confidence and kindness showered upon me by the king."

*Telemaque* was published, without any author's name and by an indiscretion of the copyist's, on the 6th of April, 1699. Fenelon was in exile at his diocese; public rumor before long attributed the work to him; the *Maximes des Saints* had just been condemned, *Telemaque* was seized, the printers were punished; some copies had escaped the police; the book was reprinted in Holland; all Europe read it, finding therein the allusion and undermeanings against which Fenelon defended himself. Louis XIV. was more than ever angry with the archbishop.

Fenelon died in disgrace, leaving among his friends, so diminished already

by death, an immeasurable gap, and among his adversaries themselves the feeling of a great loss.

Leaving the desert and the Church and once more entering the world we immediately encounter, among women, one, and one only, in the first rank—Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marchioness of Sevigne, born at Paris on the 5th of February, 1627, five months before Bossuet. Madame de Sevigne is a friend whom we read over and over again, whose emotions we share, to whom we go for an hour's distraction and delightful chat. Madame de Sevigne's letters to her daughter are superior to all her other letters, charming as they are; when she writes to M. de Pomponne, to M. de Coulanges, to M. de Bussy, the style is less familiar, the heart less open, the soul less stirred; she writes to her daughter as she would speak to her; it is not letters, it is an animated and charming conversation, touching upon everything, embellishing everything with an inimitable grace.

After having suffered so much from separation and so often traversed France to visit her daughter in Provence, Madame de Sévigné had the happiness to die in her house at Grignan. She was sixty-nine when an attack of small-pox carried her off on the 19th of April, 1696.

All the women who had been writers in her time died before Madame de Sévigné. Madame de Motteville, a judicious and sensible woman, more independent at the bottom of her heart than in externals, had died in 1689, exclusively occupied, from the time that she lost Queen Anne of Austria, in works of piety and in drawing up her *Mémoires*. Mdlle. de Montpensier, "my great Mademoiselle," as Madame de Sévigné used to call her, had died at Paris on the 5th of April, 1693, after a violent illness, as feverish as her life. A few days after *Mademoiselle*, died, likewise at Paris, Madelaine de la Vergne, marchioness of La Fayette, the most intimate friend of Madame de Sévigné. Sensible, clever, a sweet and safe acquaintance, Madame de La Fayette was as simple and as true in her relations with her confidants as in her writings. *La Princesse de Clèves* alone has outlived the times and the friends of Madame de La Fayette.

Madame de La Fayette had in her life one great sorrow which had completed the ruin of her health. On the 16th of March, 1680, after the closest and longest of intimacies, she had lost her best friend, the duke of La Rochefoucauld. He had lost his son at the passage of the Rhine, in 1672. He was ill, suffering cruelly. "I was yesterday at M. de La Rochefoucauld's," writes Madame de Sévigné in 1680: "I found him uttering loud shrieks: his pain was such that his endurance was quite overcome without a single scrap remaining; the excessive pain upset him to such a degree that he was setting out in the open air with a violent fever upon him. He begged me to send you word and to assure you that the wheel-broken do not suffer during a single moment what he suffers one half of his life, and so he wishes for death as a happy release." He died with Bossuet at his pillow. M. de La Rochefoucauld thought worse of men than of life. "I have scarcely any fear of things," he had said: "I am not at all afraid of death." With all his

rare qualities and great opportunities, he had done nothing but frequently embroil matters in which he had meddled, and had never been anything but a great lord with a good deal of wit. Actionless penetration and skeptical severity may sometimes clear the judgment and the thoughts, but they give no force or influence that has power over men.

Cardinal de Retz had more wits, more courage and more resolution than the duke of La Rochefoucauld; he was more ambitious and more bold; he was, like him, meddlesome, powerless and dangerous to the State. He thought himself capable of superseding Cardinal Mazarin and far more worthy than he of being premier minister; but every time he found himself opposed to the able Italian, he was beaten. All that he displayed, during the Fronde, of address, combination, intrigue and resolution would barely have sufficed to preserve his name in history, if he had not devoted his leisure in his retirement to writing his *Mémoires*. Vigorous, animated, always striking, often amusing, sometimes showing rare nobleness and high-mindedness, his stories and his portraits transport us to the very midst of the scenes he desires to describe and the personages he makes the actors in them. His rapid, nervous, picturesque style, is the very image of that little dark, quick, agile man more soldier than bishop, and more intriguer than soldier, faithfully and affectionately beloved by his friends, detested by his very numerous enemies, and dreaded by many people, for the causticity of his tongue, long after the troubles of the Fronde had ceased, and he was reduced to be a wanderer in foreign lands, still archbishop of Paris without being able to set foot in it.

Mesdames de Sévigné and de La Fayette were of the court, as were the duke of La Rochefoucauld and Cardinal de Retz; La Bruyère lived all his life rubbing shoulders with the court; he knew it, he described it, but he was not of it and could not be of it. Nothing is known of his family. He was born at Dourdan, in 1639, and had just bought a post in the Treasury (*trésorier de France*) at Caen, when Bossuet, who knew him, induced him to remove to Paris as teacher of history to the duke, grandson of the great Condé. He remained forever attached to the person of the prince, who gave him a thousand crowns a year, and he lived to the day of his death at Conde's house.

More earnest and less bitter than La Rochefoucauld, and as brilliant and as firm as Cardinal de Retz, La Bruyère was a more sincere believer than either.

We pass from prose to poetry, from La Bruyère to Corneille, who had died in 1684, too late for his fame, in spite of the vigorous returns of genius which still flash forth sometimes in his feeblest works. Through the regency and the Fronde, Corneille had continued to occupy almost alone the great French stage. Rotrou, his sometime rival with his piece of *Venceslas* and ever tenderly attached to him, had died, in 1650, at Dreux, of which he was civil magistrate. An epidemic was ravaging the town, and he was urged to go away: "I am the only one who can maintain good order, and I shall

remain," he replied: "at the moment of my writing to you the bells are tolling for the twenty-second person to-day; perhaps, to-morrow it will be for me, but my conscience has marked out my duty; God's will be done!" Two days later he was dead.

Posterity has done for Corneille more than Louis XIV. could have done; it has left in oblivion *Agesilas*, *Attila*, *Titus* and *Pulcherie*, it has preserved the memory of the triumphs only. The poet was accustomed to say with a smile, when he was reproached with his slowness and emptiness in conversation: "I am Peter Corneille all the same." The world has passed similar judgment on his works; in spite of the rebuffs of his latter years, he has remained "the great Corneille."

When he died, in 1684, Racine, elected by the Academy in 1673, found himself on the point of becoming its director: he claimed the honor of presiding at the obsequies of Corneille. The latter had not been admitted to the body until 1641, after having undergone two rebuffs. Corneille had died in the night. The Academy decided in favor of Abbe de Lavau, the outgoing director. "Nobody but you could pretend to bury Corneille," said Benserade to Racine, "yet you have not been able to obtain the chance." It was only when he received into the Academy Thomas Corneille, in his brother's place, that Racine could praise, to his heart's content, the master and rival who, in old age, had done him the honor to dread him. At that time, his own dramatic career was already ended. He was born, in 1639, at La Ferte-Milon; he had made his first appearance on the stage in 1664, with the *Frères ennemis*, and had taken leave of it in 1673 with *Phèdre*.

Racine for a long while enjoyed the favors of the king, who went so far as to tolerate the attachment the poet had always testified toward Port-Royal. Racine, moreover, showed tact in humoring the susceptibilities of Louis XIV. and his counselors. All this caution did not prevent him, however, from displeasing the king. After a conversation he had held with Madame de Maintenon about the miseries of the people, she asked him for a memorandum on the subject. The king demanded the name of the author and flew out at him. "Because he is a perfect master of verse," said he, "does he think he knows everything? And, because he is a great poet, does he want to be minister?" On the 21st of April, 1699, the great poet, the scrupulous Christian, the noble and delicate painter of the purest passions of the soul, expired at Paris at fifty-nine years of age, leaving life without regret, spite of all the successes with which he had been crowned.

Boileau himself had entered the arena of letters at three-and-twenty, after a sickly and melancholy childhood. The *Art Poetique* and the *Lutrin* appeared in 1674; the first nine Satires and several of the Epistles had preceded them. Rather a witty, shrewd and able versifier than a great poet, Boileau displayed in the *Lutrin* a richness and suppleness of fancy which his other works had not foreshadowed. He survived all his friends; La Fontaine, born in 1621 at Château-Thierry, had died in 1695. La Fontaine has been described as a solitary being, without wit and without external charm of any

kind. We are told that La Fontaine knew nothing of natural history; he knew and loved animals; up to his time, fable-writers had been merely philosophers or satirists; he was the first who was a poet, unique not only in France but in Europe, discovering the deep and secret charm of nature, animating it with his inexhaustible and graceful genius, giving lessons to men from the example of animals, without making the latter speak like man, ever supple and natural, sometimes elegant and noble, with penetration beneath the cloak of his simplicity, inimitable in the line which he had chosen from taste, from instinct, and not from want of power to transport his genius elsewhere.

A charming and a curious being, serious and simple, profound and childlike, winning by reason of his very vagaries, his good-natured originality, his helplessness in common life, La Fontaine knew how to estimate the literary merits as well as the moral qualities of his illustrious friends; Molière, in particular, was appreciated by him at once, and he commemorated the death of the great comic writer in a touching epitaph.

Shakespeare might dispute with Corneille and Racine the scepter of tragedy. He had succeeded in showing himself as full of power, with more truth, as the one, and as full of tenderness, with more profundity, as the other; Molière is superior to him in originality, abundance and perfection of characters; he yields to him neither in range, nor penetration, nor complete knowledge of human nature. The lives of these two great geniuses, authors and actors both together, present in other respects certain features of resemblance.

It has been a labor of love to go into some detail over the lives, works and characters of the great writers during the age of Louis XIV. They did too much honor to their time and their country, they had too great and too deep an effect in France and in Europe upon the successive developments of the human intellect to refuse them an important place in the history of that France to whose influence and glory they so powerfully contributed.

In this brief survey of French literature we should not forget to mention the French Academy, which had grown and found its liberty had increased under the sway of Louis XIV.; it held its sittings at the Louvre, and, as regarded complimentary addresses to the king on state occasions, it took rank with the sovereign bodies. The Academy of Medals and Inscriptions was founded by Colbert in 1662, "in order to render the acts of the king immortal by deciding the legends of the medals struck in his honor." Pontchartrain raised to forty the number of the members of the *petite academie*, as it was called, extended its functions, and entrusted it thenceforth with the charge of publishing curious documents relating to the history of France. The Academy of Sciences had already for many years had sittings in one of the rooms of the king's library. Like the French Academy, it had owed its origin to private meetings at which Descartes, Gassendi and young Pascal were accustomed to be present. Colbert had the true scholar's taste; he had brought Cassini from Italy to take the direction of the new Observatory; he

had ordered surveys for a general map of France; he had founded the *Journal des Savants;* literary men, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, enjoyed the king's bounties; Colbert had even conceived the plan of a universal academy, a veritable forerunner of the Institute. The arts were not forgotten in this grand project; the Academy of Painting and Sculpture dated from the regency of Anne of Austria; the pretensions of the Masters of Arts (*maitres ès arts*), who placed an interdict upon artists not belonging to their corporation, had driven Charles Lebrun, himself the son of a Master, to agitate for its foundation; Colbert added to it the Academy of Music and the Academy of Architecture, and created the French school of painting at Rome.

Philip of Campagne deserves a prominent place in the brilliant roll of French seventeenth century artists. He had passionately admired Le Poussin, he had attached himself to Lesueur. This upright, simple painstaking soul, this inflexible conscience, looking continually into the human face, had preserved in his admirable portraits the life and the expression of nature which he was incessantly trying to seize and reproduce. Lebrun was preferred to him as first painter to the king by Louis XIV. himself; Philip of Champagne was delighted thereat; he lived in retirement, in fidelity to his friends of Port-Royal, whose austere and vigorous lineaments he loved to trace, beginning with M. de St. Cyran, and ending with his own daughter, Sister Suzanne, who was restored to health by the prayers of Mother Agnes Arnauld.

Lebrun was as able a coutier as he was a good painter: the clever arrangement of his pictures, the richness and brilliancy of his talent, his faculty for applying art to industry, secured him with Louis XIV. a sway which lasted as long as his life. He was first painter to the king, he was director of the Gobelins and of the Academy of Painting. After Lebrun's death (1690) Mignard became first painter to the king. He painted the ceiling of the Val-de-Grâce which was celebrated by Molière, but it was as a painter of portraits that he excelled in France. To Mignard succeeded Rigaud as portrait-painter, worthy to preserve the features of Bossuet and Fenelon. The unity of organization, the brilliancy of style, the imposing majesty which the king's taste had everywhere stamped about him upon art as well as upon literature, were by this time beginning to decay simultaneously with the old age of Louis XIV., with the reverses of his arms and the increasing gloominess of his court; the artists who had illustrated his reign were dying one after another as well as the orators and the poets; the sculptor James Sarazin had been gone some time; Puget and the Anguiers were dead, as well as Mansard, Perrault and Le Nôtre; Girardon had but a few months to live; only Coysevox was destined to survive the king whose statue he had many a time molded. The great age was disappearing slowly and sadly, throwing out to the last some noble gleams, like the aged king who had constantly served as its center and guide, like olden France which he had crowned with its last and its most splendid wreath.

The principle of absolute power, firmly fixed in the young king's mind, began to pervade his court from the time that he disgraced Fouquet and ceased to dissemble his affection for Mdlle. de La Vallière. She was young, charming and modest. Of all the king's favorites she alone loved him sincerely. "What a pity he is a king!" she would say. Louis XIV. made her a duchess; but all she cared about was to see him and please him. When Madame de Montespan began to supplant her in the king's favor, the grief of Madame de La Vallière was so great that she thought she should die of it. Then she turned to God, in penitence and despair; and, later on, it was at her side that Madame de Montespan, in her turn forced to quit the court, went to seek advice and pious consolation. "This soul will be a miracle of grace," Bossuet had said.

Madame de Montespan was haughty, passionate, "with hair dressed in a thousand ringlets, a majestic beauty to show off to the ambassadors;" she openly paraded the favor she was in, accepting and angling for the graces the king was pleased to do her and hers, having the superintendence of the household of the queen, whom she insulted without disguise, to the extent of wounding the king himself: "Pray consider that she is your mistress," he said one day to his favorite. The scandal was great; Bossuet attempted the task of stopping it. It was the time of the Jubilee: neither the king nor Madame de Montespan had lost all religious feeling; the wrath of God and the refusal of the sacraments had terrors for them still.

The great Mademoiselle had just attempted to show her independence; tired of not being married, she had made up her mind to a love-match; she did not espouse Lauzun just then, the king broke off the marriage. "I will make you so great," he said to Lauzun, "that you shall have no cause to regret what I am taking from you; meanwhile, I make you duke and peer and marshal of France." "Sir," broke in Lauzun insolently, "you have made so many dukes that it is no longer an honor to be one, and, as for the bâton of marshal of France, your Majesty can give it me when I have earned it by my services." He was before long sent to Pignerol, where he passed ten years. There he met Fouquet and that mysterious personage called the Iron Mask, whose name has not yet been discovered to a certainty by means of all the most ingenious conjectures. It was only by settling all her property on the duke of Maine after herself that Mademoiselle purchased Lauzun's release. The king had given his posts to the prince of Marcillac, son of La Rochefoucauld.

All the style of living at court was in accordance with the magnificence of the king and his courtiers; Colbert was beside himself at the sums the queen lavished on play. Madame de Montespan lost and won back four millions in one night at bassette; Mdlle. de Fontanges gave away twenty thousand crowns' worth of New Year's gifts. A new power, however, was beginning to appear on the horizon, with such modesty and backwardness that none could as yet discern it, least of all could the king. Madame de Montespan had looked out for some one to take care of and educate her

children. She had thought of Madame Scarron; she considered her clever; she was so herself, "in that unique style which was peculiar to the Mortemarts," said the duke of St. Simon; she was fond of conversation; Madame Scarron had a reputation for being rather a blue-stocking; this the king did not like; Madame de Montespan had her way; Madame Scarron took charge of the children secretly and in an isolated house. She was attentive, careful, sensible. The king was struck with her devotion to the children entrusted to her. "She can love," he said: "it would be a pleasure to be loved by her." This expression plainly indicated what was to happen; and Madame de Montespan saw herself supplanted by Madame Scarron. The widow of the deformed poet had bought the estate of Maintenon out of the king's bounty. He made her take the title. The recollection of Scarron was displeasing to him.

The queen had died on the 30th of July, 1683, piously and gently, as she had lived. "This is the first sorrow she ever caused me," said the king, thus rendering homage, in his superb and unconscious egotism, to the patient virtue of the wife he had put to such cruel trials. Madame de Maintenon was agitated but resolute. The date has never been ascertained exactly of the king's private marriage with Madame de Maintenon. It took place probably eighteen months or two years after the queen's death; the king was forty-seven, Madame de Maintenon fifty. "She had great remains of beauty, bright and sprightly eyes, an incomparable grace," says St. Simon, who detested her, "an air of ease and yet of restraint and respect, a great deal of cleverness with a speech that was sweet, correct, in good terms and naturally eloquent and brief."

The chief ornament of the court of Versailles was the duchess of Burgundy. For the king and for Madame de Maintenon, the great and inexhaustible attraction of this young lady was her gayety and unconstrained ease, tempered by the most delicate respect, which, on coming as quite a child to France from the court of Savoy, she had tact enough to introduce and always maintain amid the most intimate familiarity.

The dauphiness had died in 1690; the duchess of Burgundy was, therefore, almost from childhood, queen of the court and before long the idol of the courtiers; it was around her that pleasures sprang up; it was for her that the king gave the entertainments to which he had habituated Versailles, not that for her sake or to take care of her health he would ever consent to modify his habits or make the least change in his plans. "Thank God, it is over," he exclaimed one day, after an accident to the princess; "I shall no longer be thwarted in my trips, and in all I desire to do by the representations of physicians. I shall come and go as I fancy; and I shall be left in peace." Even in his court and among his most devoted servants, this monstrous egotism astounded and scandalized everybody.

Flattery, at Versailles, ran a risk of becoming hypocrisy. On returning to a regular life, the king was for imposing the same upon his whole court; the instinct of order and regularity, smothered for awhile in the hey-day of

passion, had resumed all its sway over the naturally proper and steady mind of Louis XIV. The king was sincere in his repentance for the past, many persons in his court were as sincere as he; others, who were not, affected, in order to please him, the externals of austerity; absolute power oppressed all spirits, extorting from them that hypocritical complaisance which it is liable to engender; corruption was already brooding beneath appearances of piety; the reign of Louis XV. was to see its deplorable fruits displayed with a haste and a scandal which are to be explained only by the oppression exercised in the last years of King Louis XIV.

Madame de Maintenon was like the genius of this reaction toward regularity, propriety, order; all the responsibility for it has been thrown upon her; the good she did has disappeared beneath the evil she allowed or encouraged; the regard lavished upon her by the king has caused illusions as to the discreet care she was continually taking to please him. She was faithful to her friends, so long as they were in favor with the king; if they had the misfortune to displease him, she, at the very least, gave up seeing them; without courage or hardihood to withstand the caprices and wishes of Louis XIV., she had gained and preserved her empire by dint and dexterity and far-sighted suppleness beneath the externals of dignity.

It was through Madame de Maintenon and her correspondence with the Princess des Ursins that the private business between the two courts of France and Spain was often carried on. At Madrid far more than at Versailles the influence of women was all-powerful. The queen ruled her husband, who was honest and courageous but without wit or daring; and the Princess de Ursins ruled the queen, as intelligent and as amiable as her sister the duchess of Burgundy, but more ambitious and more haughty. Louis XIV. had several times conceived some misgiving of the *camarera* major's influence over his grandson; she had been disgraced and then recalled; she had finally established her sway by her fidelity, ability, dexterity and indomitable courage.

But the time came for Madame des Ursins to make definitive trial of fortune's inconstancy. After having enjoyed unlimited power and influence, with great difficulty she obtained an asylum at Rome, where she lived seven years longer, preserving all her health, strength, mind and easy grace until she died, in 1722, at more than eighty-four years of age, in obscurity and sadness, notwithstanding her opulence, but avenged of her Spanish foes, Cardinals della Giudice and Alberoni, whom she met again at Rome, disgraced and fugitive like herself.

"One has no more luck at our age," Louis XIV. had said to his old friend Marshal Villars, returning from his most disastrous campaign. It was a bitter reflection upon himself which had put these words into the king's mouth. After the most brilliant, the most continually and invariably triumphant of reigns, he began to see fortune slipping away from him and the grievous consequences of his errors successively overwhelming the State. "God is punishing me; I have richly deserved it," he said to Marshal Villars,

who was on the point of setting out for the battle of Denain. The aged king, dispirited and beaten, could not set down to men his misfortunes and reverses; the hand of God Himself was raised against his house; Death was knocking double knocks all round him. The grand-dauphin had for some days past been ill of small-pox; he died in April, 1711; the duchess of Burgundy was carried off by an attack of malignant fever in February, 1712; her husband followed her within a week, and their eldest child, the duke of Brittany, about a month afterward.

There was universal and sincere mourning in France and in Europe. The most sinister rumors circulated darkly; a base intrigue caused the duke of Orleans to be accused; people called to mind his taste for chemistry and even magic, his flagrant impiety, his scandalous debauchery. Beside himself with grief and anger, he demanded of the king to be sent to the Bastile; the king refused curtly, coldly, not unmoved in his secret heart by the perfidious insinuations which made their way even to him, but too just and too sensible to entertain a hateful lie, which, nevertheless, lay heavy on the duke of Orleans to the end of his days.

Darkly, but to no more effect, the same rumors were renewed before long. The duke of Berry died at the age of twenty-seven, on the 4th of May, 1714, of a disease which presented the same features as the scarlet fever (*rougeole pourpree*), to which his brother and sister-in-law had succumbed. The king was old and sad: the state of his kingdom preyed upon his mind; he was surrounded by influences hostile to his nephew, whom he himself called "a vaunter of crimes." A child who was not five years old remained sole heir to the throne. Madame de Maintenon, as sad as the king, "naturally mistrustful, addicted to jealousies, susceptibilities, suspicions, aversions, spites, and woman's wiles," being, moreover, sincerely attached to the king's natural children, was constantly active on their behalf. On the 19th of July, 1714, the king announced to the premier president and the attorney-general of the parliament of Paris that it was his pleasure to grant to the duke of Maine and to the count of Toulouse, for themselves and their descendants, the rank of princes of the blood, in its full extent, and that he desired that the deed should be enregistered in the parliament. Soon after, still under the same influence, he made a will which was kept a profound secret and which he sent to be deposited in the strong-room (*greffe*) of the parliament, committing the guardianship of the future king to the duke of Maine, and placing him, as well as his brother, on the council of regency, with close restrictions as to the duke of Orleans, who would be naturally called to the government of the kingdom during the minority. The will was darkly talked about: the effect of the elevation of bastards to the rank of princes of the blood had been terrible. He had only just signed his will when he met, at Madame de Maintenon's, the ex-queen of England. "I have made my will, Madame," said he: "I have purchased repose; I know the impotence and uselessness of it. We can do all we please as long as we

are here; after we are gone, we can do less than private persons; we have only to look at what became of my father's, and immediately after his death too, and of those of so many other kings. I am quite aware of that; but, in spite of all that, it was desired; and so, Madame, you see it has been done; come of it what may, at any rate I shall not be worried about it any more." It was the old man yielding to the entreaties and intrigues of his domestic circle; the judgment of the king remained steady and true, without illusions and without prejudices.

Death was coming, however, after a reign which had been so long, and had occupied so much room in the world, that it caused mistakes as to the very age of the king. He was seventy-seven; he continued to work with his ministers; the order so long and so firmly established was not disturbed by illness any more than it had been by the reverses and sorrows of late. The king said farewell to Madame de Maintenon: she still remained a little while in his room, and went out when he was no longer conscious. She had given away here and there the few movables that belonged to her, and now took the road to St. Cyr. On the steps she met Marshal Villeroy: "Good-by, marshal," she said curtly and covered up her face in her coifs. He it was who sent her news of the king to the last moment. The duke of Orleans, on becoming regent, went to see her and took her the patent (*brevet*) for a pension of sixty thousand livres, "which her disinterestedness had made necessary for her," said the preamble. It was paid her up to the last day of her life. History makes no further mention of her name; she never left St. Cyr. Thither the czar Peter the Great, when he visited Paris and France, went to see her; she was confined to her bed; he sat a little while beside her. "What is your malady?" he asked her through his interpreter. "A great age," answered Madame de Maintenon, smiling. He looked at her a moment in silence; then, closing the curtains, he went out abruptly. The memory he would have called up had vanished. The woman on whom the great king had, for thirty years, heaped confidence and affection was old, forgotten, dying; she expired at St. Cyr on the 15th of April, 1719, at the age of eighty-three.

She had left the king to die alone. He was in the agonies; the prayers in extremity were being repeated around him; the ceremonial recalled him to consciousness. He joined his voice with the voices of those present, repeating the prayers with them. Already the court was hurrying to the duke of Orleans; some of the more confident had repaired to the duke of Maine's; the king's servants were left almost alone around his bed; the tones of the dying man were distinctly heard above the great number of priests. He several times repeated: *Nunc et in hora mortis.* Then he said quite loud: "O my God, come Thou to help me, haste Thou to succor me." Those were his last words. He expired on Sunday, the 1st of September, 1715, at 8. A.M. Next day he would have been seventy-seven years of age, and he had reigned seventy-two of them.

In spite of his faults and his numerous and culpable errors, Louis XIV. had lived and died like a king. The slow and grievous agony of olden France was about to begin.

## XIII.

# Louis XV., the Regency, Cardinal Dubois and Cardinal de Fleury.

(1715—1748.)

UNDER Henry IV., under Richelieu, under Louis XIV., events found quite naturally their guiding hand and their center; men as well as circumstances formed a group around the head of the nation, whether king or minister, to thence unfold themselves quite clearly before the eyes of posterity. Starting from the reign of Louis XV. the nation has no longer a head, history no longer a center; at the same time with a master of the higher order, great servants also fail the French monarchy; it all at once collapses, betraying thus the exhaustion of Louis XIV.'s latter years; decadence is no longer veiled by the remnants of the splendor which was still reflected from the great king and his great reign; the glory of olden France descends slowly to its grave. At the same time, and in a future as yet obscured, intellectual progress begins to dawn; new ideas of justice, of humanity, of generous equity toward the masses germinate sparsely in certain minds; it is no longer Christianity alone that inspires them, though the honor is reflected upon it in a general way and as regards the principles with which it has silently permeated modern society, but they who contribute to spread them refuse with indignation to acknowledge the source whence they have drawn them. Intellectual movement no longer appertains exclusively to the higher classes, to the ecclesiastics, or to the members of the parliaments; vaguely as yet, and retarded by apathy in the government as well as by disorder in affairs, it propagates and extends itself, imperceptibly pending that signal and terrible explosion of good and evil which is to characterize the close of the eighteenth century. Decadence and progress are going on confusedly in the minds as well as in the material condition of the nation. They must be distinguished and traced without any pretense of separating them.

There we have the reign of Louis XV. in its entirety.

Louis XIV. had made no mistake about the respect which his last wishes were to meet with after his death. His will was as good as annulled; it was opened, it was read, and so were the two codicils. All the authority was

entrusted to a council of regency of which the duke of Orleans was to be the head, but without preponderating voice and without power to supersede any of the members, all designated in advance by Louis XIV. The person and the education of the young king, as well as the command of the household troops, were entrusted to the duke of Maine. The parliament applauded the formation of the six councils of foreign affairs, of finance, of war, of the marine, of *home* or the interior, of *conscience* or ecclesiastical affairs; the regent was entrusted with the free disposal of graces.

The victory was complete. Not a shred remained of Louis XIV.'s will. The duke of Maine, confounded and humiliated, retired to his castle of Sceaux, there to endure the reproaches of his wife. The king's affection and Madame de Maintenon's clever tactics had not sufficed to found his power; the remaining vestiges of his greatness were themselves about to vanish before long in their turn.

On the 12th of September, the little king held a bed of justice; his governess, Madame de Ventadour, sat alone at the feet of the poor orphan, abandoned on the pinnacle of power. All the decisions of September 2d were ratified in the child's name. Louis XIV. had just descended to the tomb without pomp and without regret.

The new councils had already been constituted, when it was discovered that commerce had been forgotten; and to it was assigned a seventh body. How singular are the monstrosities of inexperience! At the head of the council of finance a place was found for the duke of Noailles, active in mind and restless in character, without any fixed principles, an adroit and a shameless courtier, strict in all religious observances under Louis XIV. and a notorious debauchee under the regency, but intelligent, insolent, ambitious, hungering and thirsting to do good if he could, but evil if need were and in order to arrive at his ends. His uncle, Cardinal Noailles, who had been but lately threatened by the court of Rome with the loss of his hat, and who had seen himself forbidden to approach the dying king, was now president of the council of conscience. Marshal d'Huxelles, one of the negotiators who had managed the treaty of Utrecht, was at the head of foreign affairs. The regent had reserved to himself one simple department, the Academy of Sciences.

The regent's predilection, consolidating the work of Colbert, contributed to the development of scientific researches, for which the neatness and clearness of French thought rendered it thenceforth so singularly well adapted.

The gates of the prison were meanwhile being thrown open to many a poor creature; the Jansenists left the Bastile; others, who had been for a long time past in confinement, were still ignorant of the grounds for their captivity, which was by this time forgotten by everybody. For awhile the Protestants thought they saw their advantage in the clemency with which the new reign appeared to be inaugurated, and began to meet again in their assemblies; the regent had some idea of

doing them justice, re-establishing the edict of Nantes and re-opening to the exiles the doors of their country, but his councillors dissuaded him, the more virtuous, like St. Simon, from catholic piety, the more depraved from policy and indifference. However, the lot of the Protestants remained under the regency less hard than it had been under Louis XIV. and than it became under the duke of Bourbon. The chancellor, Voysin, had just died. To this post the regent summoned the attorney-general, D'Aguesseau, beloved and esteemed of all, learned, eloquent, virtuous, but too exclusively a man of parliament for the functions which had been confided to him.

The new system of government, as yet untried and confided to men for the most part little accustomed to affairs, had to put up with the most formidable difficulties and to struggle against the most painful position. The treasury was empty and the country exhausted; the army was not paid and the most honorable men, such as the duke of St. Simon, saw no other remedy for the evils of the State but a total bankruptcy and the convocation of the States-general. Both expedients were equally repugnant to the duke of Orleans. The duke of Noailles had entered upon a course of severe economy; the king's household was diminished, twenty-five thousand men were struck off the strength of the army, exemption from talliage for six years was promised to all such discharged soldiers as should restore a deserted house and should put into cultivation the fields lying waste. In order to re-establish the finances, the duke of Noailles demanded fifteen years' impracticable economy, as chimerical as the increment of the revenues on which he calculated; and the duke of Orleans finally suffered himself to be led away by the brilliant prospect which was flashed before his eyes by the Scotsman Law, who had now for more than two years been settled in France.

Law, born in Edinburgh in 1671, son of a goldsmith, had for a long time been scouring Europe, seeking in a clever and systematic course of gambling a source of fortune for himself and the first foundation of the great enterprises he was revolving in his singularly inventive and daring mind. Passionately devoted to the financial theories he had conceived, Law had expounded them to all the princes of Europe in succession. The regent had not the same repugnance as Louis XIV. for novelties of foreign origin; so soon as he was in power, he authorized the Scot to found a circulating and discount bank, which at once had very great success and did real service. Encouraged by this first step, Law reiterated to the regent that the credit of bankers and merchants decupled their capital; if the State became the universal banker and centralized all the values in circulation, the public fortune would naturally be decupled. The system was not as yet applied; the discreet routine of the French financiers was scared at such risky chances, the pride of the great lords sitting in the council was shocked at the idea of seeing the State turning banker, perhaps even trader. Law went on, however;

to his bank he had just added a great company. The king ceded to him Louisiana, which was said to be rich in gold and silver mines superior to those of Mexico and Peru. People vaunted the fertility of the soil, the facility offered for trade by the extensive and rapid stream of the Mississippi; it was by the name of that river that the new company was called at first, though it soon took the title of *Compagnie d'Occident*, when it had obtained the privilege of trading in Senegal and in Guinea. For the generality, and in the current phraseology, it remained the *Mississippi;* and that is the name it has left in history. New Orleans was beginning to arise at the mouth of that river. Law had bought Belle-Isle-en-Mer, and was constructing the port of Lorient.

The regent's councillors were scared and disquieted; the chancellor proclaimed himself loudly against the deception or illusion which made of Louisiana a land of promise. This opposition, resulting from the purest motives, caused his temporary disgrace; he was ordered by the regent to give up the seals, which were entrusted to D'Argenson. The die had been cast and the duke of Orleans outstripped Law himself in the application of his theories. A company, formed secretly, and protected by the new keeper of the seals, had bought up the general farmings, that is to say, all the indirect taxes, for the sum of forty-eight million fifty-two thousand livres; the *Compagnie des Indes* re-purchased them for fifty-two million; the general receipts were likewise conceded to it, and Law's bank was proclaimed a royal bank; the company's shares already amounted to the supposed value of all the coin circulating in the kingdom, estimated at seven or eight hundred millions. Law thought he might risk everything in the intoxication which had seized all France, capital and province. He created some fifteen hundred millions of new shares, promising his shareholders a dividend of twelve per cent. From all parts silver and gold flowed into his hands; everywhere the paper of the bank was substituted for coin. The delirium mastered all minds. The most modest fortunes suddenly became colossal, lackeys of yesterday were millionaires to-morrow; extravagance followed the progress of this outburst of riches, and the price of provisions followed the progress of extravagance.

This extraordinary financial delusion did not, could not last. Law had brought with him to France a considerable fortune; he had scarcely enough to live upon when he retired to Venice, where he died some years later (1729), convinced to the last of the utility of his system, at the same time he acknowledged the errors he had committed in its application.

Throughout the successive periods of intoxication and despair caused by the necessary and logical development of Law's scheme, the duke of Orleans had delt other blows and directed other affairs of importance. Easy-going, indolent, often absorbed by his pleasures, the regent found no great difficulty in putting up with the exaltation of the legitimatized

princes; it had been for him sufficient to wrest authority from the duke of Maine: he let him enjoy the privileges of a prince of the blood. But the duke of Bourbon, heir of the house of Condé, fierce in temper, violent in his hate, greedy of honors as well as of money, had just arrived at man's estate, and was wroth at sight of the bastards' greatness. He drew after him the count of Charolais his brother, and the prince of Conti his cousin: on the 22d of April, 1716, all three presented to the king a request for the revocation of Louis XIV.'s edict declaring his legitimatized sons princes of the blood and capable of succeeding to the throne.

The regent saw the necessity of firmness. The rights thereto were maintained in the case of the duke of Maine and the count of Toulouse, for their lives, by the bounty of the regent.

In the excess of her indignation and wrath the duchess of Maine determined not to confine herself to reproaches. She had passed her life in elegant entertainments, in sprightly and frivolous intellectual amusements; ever bent on diverting herself, she made up her mind to taste the pleasure of vengeance, and set on foot a conspiracy, as frivolous as her diversions. The object, however, was nothing less than to overthrow the duke of Orleans, and to confer the regency on the king of Spain, Philip V., with a council and a lieutenant, who was to be the duke of Maine.

Some scatter-brains of great houses were mixed up in the affair: MM. de Richelieu, De Laval, and De Pompadour; there was secret coming and going between the castle of Sceaux and the house of the Spanish ambassador, the prince of Céllamare; M. de Malézieux, the secretary and friend of the duchess, drew up a form of appeal from the French nobility to Philip V., but nobody had signed it or thought of doing so. They got pamphlets written by Abbé Brigault, whom the duchess had sent to Spain; the mystery was profound and all the conspirators were convinced of the importance of their maneuvers; every day, however, the regent was informed of them by his most influential negotiator with foreign countries, Abbé Dubois, his late tutor, and the most depraved of all those who were about him. Able and vigilant as he was, he was not ignorant of any single detail of the plot, and was only giving the conspirators time to compromise themselves. At last, just as a young abbé, Porto Carrero, was starting for Spain, carrying important papers, he was arrested at Poitiers and his papers were seized. Next day, December 7th, 1718, the prince of Cellamare's house was visited and the streets were lined with troops.

At 6 A.M. the king's men entered the duke of Maine's house. The regent had for a long time delayed to act, as if he wanted to leave everybody time to get away; but the conspirators were too careless to take the trouble. The duchess was removed to Dijon, within the government and into the very house of the duke of Bourbon her nephew, which was a very bitter pill for her. The duke of Maine, who protested his innocence and his ignorance, was detained in the castle of Dourlans in Picardy. Cellamare received his

passports and quitted France. The less illustrious conspirators were all put in the Bastile; the majority did not remain there long, and purchased their liberty by confessions, which the duchess of Maine ended by confirming.

The only serious result of Cellamare's conspiracy was to render imminent a rupture with Spain. From the first days of the regency the old enmity of Philip V. toward the duke of Orleans and the secret pretensions of both of them to the crown of France, in case of little Louis XV.'s death, rendered the relations between the two courts thorny and strained at bottom, though still perfectly smooth in appearance. It was from England that Abbé Dubois urged the regent to seek support. "Avarice, debauchery, ambition were his gods; perfidy, flattery, slavishness his instruments; and complete unbelief his comfort. He excelled in low intrigues; the boldest lie was second nature to him, with an air of simplicity, straightforwardness, sincerity, and often bashfulness." In spite of all these vices, and the depraving influence he had exercised over the duke of Orleans from his earliest youth, Dubois was able, often far-sighted, and sometimes bold; he had a correct and tolerably practical mind.

Inspired by Dubois, weary of the weakness and dastardly incapacity of the pretender, the regent consented to make overtures to the king of England. The Spanish nation was favorable to France, but the king was hostile to the regent; the English loved neither France nor the regent, but their king had an interest in severing France from the pretender forever. Dubois availed himself ably of his former relations with Lord Stanhope, heretofore commander of the English troops in Spain, for commencing a secret negotiation which soon extended to Holland, still closely knit to England. The order of succession to the crowns of France and England, conformably to the peace of Utrecht, was guaranteed in the scheme of treaty; that was the only important advantage to the regent, who considered himself to be thus nailing the renunciation of Philip V.; in other respects all the concessions came from the side of France; her territory was forbidden ground to the Jacobites, and the pretender, who had taken refuge at Avignon on papal soil, was to be called upon to cross the Alps. Dubois yielded on all the points, defending to the last with fruitless tenacity the title of king of France, which the English still disputed. The negotiations came to an end at length on the 6th of January, 1717, and Dubois wrote in triumph to the regent: "I signed at midnight; so there are you quit of servitude (your own master), and here am I quit of fear."

At the moment when the signature was being put to the treaty of the triple alliance, the sovereign of most distinction in Europe, owing to the eccentric renown belonging to his personal merit, the czar Peter the Great, had just made flattering advances to France. He had some time before wished to take a trip to Paris, but Louis XIV. was old, melancholy and vanquished, and had declined the czar's visit. The regent could not do the same thing, when, being at the Hague in 1717, Peter I. repeated the expression of his desire. Marshal Cossé was sent to meet him, and the honors due

to the king himself were everywhere paid to him on the road. He testified toward the regent a familiar good grace mingled with a certain superiority. At his first interview with the little king, he took up the child in his arms and kissed him over and over again, "with an air of tenderness and politeness which was full of nature and nevertheless intermixed with a something of grandeur, equality of rank and, slightly, superiority of age; for all that was distinctly perceptible." One of his first visits was to the church of the Sorbonne; when he caught sight of Richelieu's monument, he ran up to it, embraced the statue, and, "Ah! great man," said he, "if thou wert still alive, I would give thee one half of my kingdom to teach me to govern the other."

Amid all his chatting, studying, and information-hunting, Peter the Great did not forget the political object of his trip. He wanted to detach France from Sweden, her heretofore faithful ally, still receiving a subsidy which the czar would fain have appropriated to himself. Together with his own alliance he promised that of Poland and of Prussia. "France has nothing to fear from the emperor," he said: as for King George, whom he detested, "if any rupture should take place between him and the regent, Russia would suffice to fill toward France the place of England as well as of Sweden."

Thanks to the ability of Dubois, the regent felt himself infeoffed to England; he gave a cool reception to the overtures of the czar, who proposed a treaty of alliance and commerce. Prussia had already concluded secretly with France; Poland was distracted by intestine struggles; matters were confined to the establishment of amicable relations; France thenceforth maintained an ambassador in Russia, and the czar accepted the regent's mediation between Sweden and himself.

Alberoni had restored the finances and reformed the administration of Spain; he was preparing an army and a fleet, meditating, he said, to bring peace to the world, and beginning that great enterprise by maneuvers which tended to nothing less than setting fire to the four corners of Europe, in the name of an enfeebled and heavy-going king, and of a queen ambitious, adroit, and unpopular. He dreamed of reviving the ascendency of Spain in Italy, of overthrowing the Protestant king of England, while restoring the Stuarts to the throne, and of raising himself to the highest dignities in Church and State. He had already obtained from Pope Clement XI. the cardinal's hat, disguising under pretext of war against the Turks the preparations he was making against Italy; he had formed an alliance between Charles XII. and the czar, intending to sustain by their united forces the attempts of the Jacobites in England. His first enterprise, at sea, made him master of Sardinia within a few days; the Spanish troops landed in Sicily. The emperor and Victor Amadeo were in commotion; the pope, overwhelmed with reproaches by those princes, wept, after his fashion, saying that he had damned himself by raising Alberoni to the Roman purple; Dubois profited by the disquietude excited in Europe by the bellicose attitude of the Spanish minister to finally draw the emperor into the alliance between France and England. France and England left Holland and Savoy free to accede to the

treaty; but, if Spain refused to do so voluntarily within a specified time, the allies engaged to force her thereto by arms.

The Hollanders hesitated. Certain advantages secured to their commerce at last decided the States-general. Victor Amadeo regretfully acceded to the treaty which robbed him of Sicily: he was promised one of the regent's daughters for his son.

Alberoni refused persistently to accede to the great coalition brought about by Dubois. The hope of a sudden surprise in England, on behalf of the Jacobites, had been destroyed by the death of the king of Sweden, Charles XII., killed on the 12th of December, 1718, at Freiderishalt, in Norway; in spite of the feverish activity of his mind and the frequently chimerical extent of his machinations, Alberoni remained isolated in Europe, without ally and without support.

The treaty of the quadruple alliance had at last come to be definitively signed. Some days later appeared, almost at the same time—the 17th of December, 1718, and the 9th of January, 1719—the manifestoes of England and France, proclaiming the resolution of making war upon Spain, while Philip V., by a declaration of December 25th, 1718, pronounced all renunciations illusory, and proclaimed his right to the throne of France in case of the death of Louis XV. At the same time he made an appeal to an assembly of the States-general against the tyranny of the regent, "who was making alliances," he said, "with the enemies of the two crowns."

Preparations for war were actively carried on in France; the prince of Conti was nominally at the head of the army, Marshal Berwick was entrusted with the command. He accepted it, in spite of his old connections with Spain, the benefits which Philip V. had heaped upon him, and the presence of his eldest son, the duke of Liria, in the Spanish ranks. Everywhere the depots were committed to the flames: this cruel and destructive war against an enemy, whose best troops were fighting far away and who was unable to offer more than a feeble resistance, gratified the passions and the interests of England rather than of France.

Alberoni attempted in vain to create a diversion by hurling into the midst of France the brand of civil war. Philip V. was beaten at home as well as in Sicily. The regent succeeded in introducing to the presence of the king of Spain an unknown agent, who managed to persuade the monarch that the cardinal was shirking his responsibility before Europe, asserting that the king and queen had desired the war and that he had confined himself to gratifying their passions. The duke of Orleans said, at the same time, quite openly, that he made war not against Philip V. or against Spain, but against Alberoni only. Lord Stanhope declared, in the name of England, that no peace was possible, unless its preliminary were the dismissal of the pernicious minister.

The cardinal's fall was almost as speedy as that which he had but lately contrived for his enemy the Princess des Ursins. On the 4th of December, 1719, he received orders to quit Madrid within eight days and Spain under

three weeks. So great success in negotiation, however servile had been his bearing, he little by little increased the influence of Dubois over his master. The regent knew and despised him, but he submitted to his sway and yielded to his desires, sometimes to his fancies. Dubois had for a long while comprehended that the higher dignities of the Church could alone bring him to the grandeur of which he was ambitious; he obtained the see of Cambrai, strange to say, through the influence of a Protestant king, George I. The regent, as well as the whole court, was present at the ceremony, to the great scandal of the people attached to religion. Dubois received all the orders on the same day; and, when he was joked about it, he brazen-facedly called to mind the precedent of St. Ambrose.

On the 21st of July, 1719, the duchess of Berry, eldest daughter of the regent, had died at the Palais-Royal, at barely twenty-four years of age; her health, her beauty, and her wit were not proof against the irregular life she had led. Ere long a more terrible cry arose from one of the chief cities of the kingdom: "The plague," they said, "is at Marseilles, brought, none knows how, on board a ship from the East." The bishop of Marseilles, Monseigneur de Belzunce, the sheriffs Esteile and Moustier, and a simple officer of health, Chevalier Roze, sufficed in the depopulated town for all duties and all acts of devotion. The example of the prelate animated with courageous emulation—not the clergy of lazy and emasculated dignitaries, for they fled at the first approach of danger, but—the parish-priests, the vicars, and the religious orders; not one deserted his colors, not one put any bound to his fatigues save with his life.

Marseilles had lost a third of its inhabitants; Aix, Toulon, Arles, the Cévennes, the Gévaudan were attacked by the contagion; fearful was the want in the decimated towns, long deprived of every resource. Scarcely, however, had they escaped from the dreadful scourge which had laid them waste, when they plunged into excesses of pleasure and debauchery, as if to fly from the memories that haunted them.

Dubois, meanwhile, was nearing the goal of all his efforts. In order to obtain the cardinal's hat, he had embraced the cause of the court of Rome, and was pushing forward the registration by parliament of the bull *Unigenitus*. The long opposition of the duke of Noailles at last yielded to the desire of restoring peace in the Church. In his wake the majority of the bishops and communities who had made *appeal* to the contemplated council renounced, in their turn, the protests so often renewed within the last few years. The parliament was divided, but exiled to Pontoise, as a punishment for its opposition to the system of Law; it found itself threatened with removal to Blois. D'Aguesseau gave in his resignation to the regent, the parliament did not leave for Blois; after sitting some weeks at Pontoise, it enregistered the formal declaration of the bull, and at last returned to Paris on the 20th of December, 1720.

On the 16th of July; 1721, Dubois was at last elected cardinal: it was stated that his elevation had cost eight millions of livres; he became premier

minister in name, after having long been so in fact. His reign was not long at this unparalleled pinnacle of his greatness; he had been summoned to preside at the assembly of the clergy, and had just been elected to the French Academy, where he was received by Fontenelle, when a sore from which he had long suffered reached all at once a serious crisis; an operation was indispensable, but he set himself obstinately against it; the duke of Orleans obliged him to submit to it, and it was his death-blow; the wretched cardinal expired, without having had time to receive the sacraments.

On the 2d of December, 1723, three months and a half after the death of Dubois, the duke of Orleans succumbed in his turn. Struck down by a sudden attack of apoplexy, while he was chatting with his favorite for the time, the duchess of Falarie, he expired without having recovered consciousness. Lethargized by the excesses of the table and debauchery of all kinds, more and more incapable of application and work, the prince did not preserve sufficient energy to give up the sort of life which had ruined him. All the vices thus imputed to the regent did not perish with him, when he succumbed at forty-nine years of age under their fatal effects. "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones;" the regency was the signal for an irregularity of morals which went on increasing like a filthy river, up to the end of the reign of Louis XV. From the court the evil soon spread to the nation; religious faith still struggled within the soul, but it had for a long while been tossed about between contrary and violent opinions, it found itself disturbed, attacked, by the new and daring ideas which were beginning to dawn in politics as well as in philosophy. The break-up was already becoming manifest, though nobody could account for it, though no fixed plan was conceived in men's minds. People devoured the memoirs of Cardinal Retz and Madame de Motteville, which had just appeared; people formed from them their judgments upon the great persons and great events which they had seen and depicted. The University of Paris, under the direction of Rollin, was developing the intelligence and lively powers of burgessdom; and Montesquieu, as yet full young, was shooting his missiles in the *Lettres persanes* at the men and the things of his country with an almost cynical freedom, which was as it were the alarum and prelude of all the liberties which he scarcely dared to claim, but of which he already let a glimpse be seen. Evil and good were growing up in confusion, like the tares and the wheat. For more than eighty years past France had been gathering the harvest of ages; she has not yet separated the good grain from the rubbish which too often conceals it.

The bishop of Fréjus, who had but lately been the modest preceptor of the king and was quietly ambitious and greedy of power, but without regard to his personal interests, was about to become Cardinal Fleury and to govern France for twenty years; in 1723, he was seventy years old. Whether from adroitness or prudence, Fleury did not all at once aspire to all-powerfulness. He kept the list of benefices, and he alone, it was said, knew how to unloosen the king's tongue; but he had not calculated upon the pernicious and all-pow-

erful influence of the marchioness of Prie, favorite "by appointment" (*attitrée*) to the duke. Clever, adroit, depraved, she aspired to govern, and chose for her minister Pâris-Duverney, one of the four Dauphinese brothers who had been engaged under the regency in the business of the *visa*, and the enemies as well as rivals of the Scotsman Law.

This new statesman, imbued with the maxims of order and regularity formerly impressed by Colbert upon the clerks of the Treasury, and not yet completely effaced by a long interregnum, he labored zealously to cut down expenses and useless posts, to resuscitate and regulate commerce. The commotion among the people was great; the workmen rioted, the tradesmen refused to accept the legal figure for their goods; several men were killed in the streets, and some shops put the shutters up. The misery, which the administration had meant to relieve, went on increasing; begging was prohibited; refuges and workshops were annexed to the poor-houses; attempts were made to collect there all the old, infirm and vagabond. All this rigor was ineffectual; the useful object of Pâris-Duverney's decrees was not attained.

Other outrages, not to be justified by any public advantage, were being at the same time committed against other poor creatures, for a long while accustomed to severities of all kinds. Without freedom, without right of worship, without assemblies, the Protestants had, nevertheless, enjoyed a sort of truce from their woes during the easy-going regency of the duke of Orleans. Among the number of his vices Dubois did not include hypocrisy: he had not persecuted the remnants of French Protestantism, enfeebled, dumb, but still living and breathing. Pâris-Duverney and Madame de Prie returned to the policy of Louis XIV.; they published in 1724 an edict which equaled in rigor the most severe proclamations of the previous reign; it placed the peace and often the life of reformers at the mercy not only of an enemy's denunciation, but of a priest's simple deposition; it destroyed all the bonds of family and substituted for the natural duties a barbarous and depraving law, but general sentiment and public opinion were no longer in accord with the royal proclamations. Throughout a persecution which lasted nearly forty years, with alternations of severity and clemency, the chiefs of French Protestantism, Paul Rabaut, Court, and others equally distinguished, managed to control the often recurring desperation of their flocks. The execution of the unhappy Calas, accused of having killed his son, and the generous indignation of Voltaire cast a momentary gleam of light within the somber region of prisons and gibbets. For the first time public opinion, at white heat, was brought to bear upon the decision of the persecutors. Calas was dead, but the decree of the parliament of Toulouse, which had sentenced him, was quashed by act of the council; his memory was cleared, and the day of toleration for French Protestants began to glimmer, pending the full dawn of justice and liberty.

The young king was growing up, still a stranger to affairs, solely occupied with the pleasures of the chase, handsome, elegant, with noble and regular features, a cold and listless expression. In the month of February, 1725, he fell ill; for two days there was great danger. The duke thought himself to

be threatened with the elevation of the house of Orleans to the throne. "I'll not be caught so again," he muttered between his teeth, when he came one night to inquire how the king was: "if he recovers, I'll have him married." The choice fell upon Mary Leckzinski, a good, gentle, simple creature, without wit or beauty, twenty-two years old and living upon the alms of France with her parents, exiles and refugees at an old commandery of the Templars at Weissenburg. Before this king Stanislaus had conceived the idea of marrying his daughter to Count d'Estreés; the marriage had failed through the regent's refusal to make the young lord a duke and peer.

Fleury had made no objection to the marriage. Louis XV. accepted it, just as he had allowed the breaking-off of his union with the infanta and that of France vith Spain. For awhile the duke had hopes of reaping all the fruit of the unequal marriage he had just concluded for the king of France; but the hour of his downfall had arrived; he was ordered to quit the court and retire provisionally to Chantilly. Madame de Prie was exiled to her estates in Normandy, where she soon died of spite and anger. The head of the house of Condé came forth no more from the political obscurity which befitted his talents. At length Fleury remained sole master.

He took possession of it without fuss or any external manifestation; caring only for real authority, he advised Louis XV. not to create any premier minister and to govern by himself, like his great-grandfather. The king took this advice, as every other, and left Fleury to govern. This was just what the bishop intended; a sleepy calm succeeded the commotions which had been caused by the inconsistent and spasmodic government of the duke; galas and silly expenses gave place to a wise economy, the real and important blessing of Fleury's administration. Commerce and industry recovered confidence; business was developed; the increase of the revenues justified a diminution of taxation; war, which was imminent at the moment of the duke's fall, seemed to be escaped; the bishop of Frejus became Cardinal Fleury; the court of Rome paid on the nail for the services rendered it by the new minister in freeing the clergy from the tax of the fiftieth (*impot du cinquantième*). The clergy responded to this pleasant exposition of principles by a gratuitous gift of five millions. Strife ceased in every quarter; France found herself at rest, without luster as well as without prospect.

The efforts made in common by Fleury and Robert Walpole, prime minister of the king of England, were for a long while successful in maintaining the general peace; the unforeseen death of Augustus of Saxony, king of Poland, suddenly came to trouble it. It was, thenceforth, the unhappy fate of Poland to be a constant source of commotion and discord in Europe. The elector of Saxony, son of Augustus II., was supported by Austria and Russia; the national party in Poland invited Stanislaus Leckzinski; he was elected at the diet by sixty thousand men of family, and set out to take possession of the throne, reckoning upon the promises of his son-in-law, and on the military spirit which was reviving in France. The young men burned to win their spurs; the old generals of Louis XIV. were tired of idleness.

Russia and Austria made an imposing display of force in favor of the elector of Saxony ; France sent, tardily, a body of fifteen hundred men ; this ridiculous re-enforcement had not yet arrived when Stanislaus, obliged to withdraw from Warsaw, had already shut himself up in Dantzic. The Austrian general had invested the place.

News of the bombardment of Dantzic greeted the little French corps as they approached the fort of Wechselmunde. Their commander saw his impotence ; instead of landing his troops, he made sail for Copenhagen. The French ambassador at that court, Count Plelo, was indignant to see his countrymen's retreat, and, hastily collecting a hundred volunteers, he summoned to him the chiefs of the expeditionary corps. The officer in command of the detachment, M. de la Peyrouse Lamotte, yields to his entreaties. They set out both of them, persuaded at the same time of the uselessness of their enterprise and of the necessity they were under, for the honor of France, to attempt it. Scarcely had the gallant little band touched land beneath the fort of Wechselmunde, when they marched up to the Russian lines, opening a way through the pikes and muskets in hopes of joining the besieged, who at the same time effected a sally. Already the enemy began to recoil at sight of such audacity, when M. de Plelo fell mortally wounded ; the enemy's battalions had hemmed in the French. La Peyrouse succeeded, however, in effecting his retreat, and brought away his little band into the camp they had established under shelter of the fort. For a month the French kept up a rivalry in courage with the defenders of Dantzic ; when at last they capitulated, on the 23d of June, General Munich had conceived such esteem for their courage that he granted them leave to embark with arms and baggage. A few days later King Stanislaus escaped alone from Dantzic, which was at length obliged to surrender on the 7th of July, and sought refuge in the dominions of the king of Prussia. The pope released the Polish gentry from the oath they had made never to entrust the crown to a foreigner. Augustus III., recognized by the mass of the nation, became the docile tool of Russia, while in Germany and in Italy the Austrians found themselves attacked simultaneously by France, Spain, and Sardinia.

Marshal Berwick had taken the fort of Kehl in the month of December, 1733; he had forced the lines of the Austrians at Erlingen at the commencement of the campaign of 1734, and he had just opened trenches against Philipsburg, when he pushed forward imprudently in a reconnoissance between the fires of the besiegers and besieged : a ball wounded him mortally, and he expired immediately, like Marshal Turenne ; he was sixty-three. The duke of Noailles, who at once received the marshal's bâton, succeeded him in the command of the army by agreement with Marshal d'Asfeldt. Philipsburg was taken after forty-eight days' open trenches, without Prince Eugene, all the while within hail, making any attempt to relieve the town. The campaign of 1735 hung fire in Germany. It was more splendid in Italy, where the outset of the war had been brilliant. And, indeed, within three months, nearly the whole of Milaness was reduced. Cremona and Pizzighi-

tone had surrendered; but already king Charles Emmanuel was relaxing his efforts with the prudent selfishness customary to his house. The Sardinian contingents did not arrive: the Austrians had seized a passage over the Po; Villars, however, was preparing to force it, when a large body of the enemy came down upon him. The king of Sardinia was urged to retire: "That is not the way to get out of this," cried the marshal, and, sword in hand, he charged at the head of the body-guard; Charles Emmanuel followed his example; the Austrians were driven in.

Death, in fact, had already seized his prey; the aged marshal had not time to return to France to yield up his last breath there; he was expiring at Turin, when he heard of Marshal Berwick's death before Philipsburg: "That fellow always was lucky," said he. On the 17th of June, 1734, Villars died, in his turn, by a strange coincidence, in the very room in which he had been born, when his father was French ambassador at the court of the duke of Savoy.

Some days later Marshals Broglie and Coigny defeated the Austrians before Parma; the general-in-chief, M. de Mercy, had been killed on the 19th of September; the prince of Wurtemberg in his turn succumbed at the battle of Guastalla, and yet these successes on the part of the French produced no serious result. Cardinal Fleury, weary of the war which he had entered upon with regret, disquieted too at the new complications which he foresaw in Europe, had already commenced negotiations; the preliminaries were signed at Vienna in the month of October, 1735.

The conditions of the treaty astonished Europe. The kingdom of Naples and the two Sicilies were secured to Don Carlos, who renounced Tuscany and the duchies of Parma and Piacenza. These three principalities were to form the appanage of Duke Francis of Lorraine, betrothed to the archduchess Maria Theresa. There it was that France was to find her share of the spoil; in exchange for the dominions formed for him in Italy, Duke Francis ceded the duchies of Lorraine and Bar to King Stanislaus; the latter formally renounced the throne of Poland, at the same time preserving the title of king and resuming possession of his property; after him, Lorraine and the Barrois were to be united to the crown of France, as dower and heritage of that queen who had been but lately raised to the throne by a base intrigue, and who thus secured to her new country a province so often taken and retaken, an object of so many treaties and negotiations, and thenceforth so tenderly cherished by France.

Peace reigned in Europe, and Cardinal Fleury governed France without rival and without opposition. He had but lately, like Richelieu—to whom, however, he did not care to be compared—triumphed over parliamentary revolt. Jealous of their ancient traditional rights, the parliament claimed to share with the government the care of watching over the conduct of the clergy. In vain had D'Aguesseau, reappointed to the chancellorship, exhorted the parliament to yield: he had fallen in public esteem. A hundred and thirty-nine members received letters under the kings seal (*lettres de*

*cachet*), exiling them to the four quarters of France. The grand chamber had been spared; the old councillors, alone remaining, enregistered purely and simply the declarations of the keeper of the seals. Once more the parliament was subdued; it had testified its complete political impotence; the iron hand of Richelieu, the perfect address of Mazarin, were no longer necessary to silence it; the prudent moderation, the reserved frigidity of Cardinal Fleury had sufficed for the purpose.

It was amid this state of things that the death of the emperor Charles VI., on the 20th of October, 1740, occurred to throw Europe into a new ferment of discord and war. Maria Theresa, the emperor's eldest daughter, was twenty-three years old, beautiful, virtuous, and of a lofty and resolute character; her rights to the paternal heritage had been guaranteed by all Europe. Europe, however, soon rose, almost in its entirety, to oppose them.

Kept for a long while by his father in cruel captivity, always carefully held aloof from affairs, and, to pass the time, obliged to engage in literature and science, Frederick II. had ascended the throne in August, 1740, with the reputation of a mind cultivated, liberal and accessible to noble ideas. Voltaire, with whom he had become connected, had trumpeted his praises everywhere: the first act of the new king revealed qualities of which Voltaire had no conception. On the 23d of December, after leaving a masked ball, he started post-haste for the frontier of Silesia, where he had collected thirty thousand men. Without preliminary notice, without declaration of war, he at once entered the Austrian territory, which was scantily defended by three thousand men and a few garrisons. Before the end of January, 1741, the Prussians were masters of Silesia.

Meanwhile France, as well as the majority of the other nations, had recognized the young queen of Hungary. She had been proclaimed at Vienna on the 7th of November, 1740; all her father's States had sworn alliance and homage to her. Cardinal Fleury's intentions remained as yet vague and secret. Naturally and stubbornly pacific, he felt himself bound by the confirmation of the Pragmatic-Sanction, lately renewed, at the time of the treaty of Vienna. He dreamed of revising the map of Europe, and of forming a zone of small States destined to protect France against the designs of Austria. Louis XV. pretended to nothing, demanded nothing for the price of his assistance; but France had been united from time immemorial to Bavaria; she was bound to raise the elector to the imperial throne. The French navy was ruined, the king had hardly twenty vessels to send to sea; that mattered little, as England and Holland took no part in the contest; Austria was not a maritime power; Spain joined with France to support the elector. A body of forty thousand men was put under the orders of that prince, who received the title of lieutenant-general of the armies of the king of France. Louis XV. acted only in the capacity of Bavaria's ally and auxiliary. Meanwhile Marshal Belle-Isle, the king's ambassador and plenipotentiary in Germany, had just signed a treaty with Frederick II., guaranteeing to that monarch Lower Silesia. At the same time, a second French army under the orders of Marshal

Maillebois entered Germany; Saxony and Poland came into the coalition. The king of England, George II., faithful to the Pragmatic-Sanction, hurrying over to Hanover to raise troops there, found himself threatened by Maillebois, and signed a treaty of neutrality. The elector had been proclaimed, at Lintz, archduke of Austria: nowhere did the Franco-Bavarian army encounter any obstacle. The king of Prussia was occupying Moravia; Upper and Lower Austria had been conquered without a blow, and by this time the forces of the enemy were threatening Vienna. The success of the invasion was like a dream, but the elector had not the wit to profit by the good fortune which was offered him.

A few weeks had sufficed to crown the success; less time sufficed to undo it. On flying from Vienna, Maria Theresa had sought refuge in Hungary; the assembly of the estates held a meeting at Presburg; there she appeared, dressed in mourning, holding in her arms her son, scarce six months old. Already she had known how to attach the magnates to her by the confidence she had shown them; she held out to them her child: "I am abandoned of my friends," said she in Latin, a language still in use in Hungary among the upper classes; "I am pursued by my enemies, attacked by my relatives; I have no hope but in your fidelity and courage; we—my son and I—look to you for our safety."

The palatines scarcely gave the queen time to finish; already the sabres were out of the sheaths and flashing above their heads. Count Bathyany was the first to shout: "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Mariâ Theresâ!*" The same shout was repeated everywhere; Maria Theresa, restraining her tears, thanked her defenders with gesture and voice; she was expecting a second child before long. "I know not," she wrote to her mother-in-law, the duchess of Lorraine, "if I shall have a town left to be confined in." Hungary rose, like one man, to protect her sovereign against the excess of her misfortunes; the same spirit spread before long through the Austrian provinces; bodies of irregulars, savage and cruel, formed at all points, attacking and massacring the French detachments they encountered, and giving to the war a character of ferocity which displayed itself with special excess against Bavaria. Count Ségur, besieged in Lintz, was obliged to capitulate on the 26th of January, and the day after the elector of Bavaria had received the imperial crown at Frankfurt under the name of Charles VII.—February 12th, 1742—the Austrians, under the orders of General Khevenhuller, obtained possession of Munich, which was given up to pillage.

Meanwhile England had renounced her neutrality: the general feeling of the nation prevailed over the prudent and far-sighted ability of Robert Walpole; he succumbed, after his long ministry, full of honors and riches; the government had passed into warlike hands. The women of society, headed by the duchess of Marlborough, raised a subscription of one hundred thousand pounds, which they offered unsuccessfully to the haughty Maria Theresa. Parliament voted more effectual aid, and English diplomacy adroitly detached the king of Sardinia from the allies, whom success appeared to be abandoning.

The king of Prussia had just gained at Czezlaw an important victory; next day, he was negotiating with the queen of Hungary. On the 11th of June the treaty which abandoned Silesia to Frederick II. was secretly concluded.

Chevert still occupied Prague with six thousand sick or wounded; the prince of Lorraine had invested the place, and summoned it to surrender at discretion. "Tell your general," replied Chevert to the Austrian sent to parley, "that, if he will not grant me the honors of war, I will fire the four corners of Prague, and bury myself under its ruins." He obtained what he asked for, and went to rejoin Marshal Belle-Isle at Egra. People compared the retreat from Prague to the retreat of the Ten Thousand; but the truth came out for all the fictions of flattery and national pride. A hundred thousand Frenchmen had entered Germany at the outset of the war; at the commencement of the year 1743 thirty-five thousand soldiers, mustered in Bavaria, were nearly all that remained to withstand the increasing efforts of the Austrians.

Marshal Belle-Isle was coldly received at Paris.

Almost at the very moment when the Austrians were occupying Prague and Bohemia, Cardinal Fleury was expiring at Versailles, at the age of ninety. He had lived too long: the trials of the last years of his life had been beyond the bodily and mental strength of an old man elevated for the first time to power at an age when it is generally seen slipping from the hands of the most energetic.

Both court and nation hurled the same reproach at Cardinal Fleury; he alone prevented the king from governing and turned his attention from affairs, partly from jealousy and partly from the old habit acquired as a preceptor, who can never see a man in one who has been his pupil. When the old man died *at last*, as M. d'Argenson cruelly puts it, France turned her eyes toward Louis XV.

The prudent hesitation and backwardness of Holland had at last yielded to the pressure of England. The States-general had sent twenty thousand men to join the army which George II. had just sent into Germany. It was only on the 15th of March, 1744, that Louis XV. formally declared war against the king of England and Maria Theresa, no longer as an auxiliary of the emperor, but in his own name and on behalf of France. Charles VII., a fugitive, driven from his hereditary dominions, which had been evacuated by Marshal Broglie, had transported to Frankfurt his ill fortune and his empty titles. France alone supported in Germany a quarrel the weight of which she had imprudently taken upon herself.

The effort was too much for the resources; the king's counselors felt that it was; the battle of Dettingen, skillfully commenced on the 27th of June, 1743, by Marshal Noailles, and lost by the imprudence of his nephew, the duke of Gramont, had completely shaken the confidence of the armies; the emperor had treated with the Austrians for an armistice, establishing the neutrality of his troops, as belonging to the emprire. It was necessary, at the same time, to look out elsewhere for more effectual support. The king of Prussia had been resting for the last two years, a curious and an interested

spectator of the contests which were bathing Europe in blood, and which answered his purpose by enfeebling his rivals. He frankly and coolly flaunted his selfishness. In turn the successes of the queen of Hungary were beginning to disquiet him; on the 5th of June, 1744, he signed a new treaty with France; for the first time Louis XV. was about to quit Versailles and place himself at the head of an army. "If my country is to be devoured," said the king, with a levity far different from the solemn tone of Louis XIV., "it will be very hard on me to see it swallowed without personally doing my best to prevent it."

Ypres and Menin had already surrendered after a few days' open trenches; siege had just been laid to Furnes. Marshal Noailles had proposed to move up the king's household troops in order to make an impression upon the enemy. "If they must needs be marched up," replied Louis XV., "I do not wish to separate from my household: *verbum sap.*"

The news which arrived from the army of Italy was equally encouraging; the prince of Condé, seconded by Chevert, had forced the passage of the Alps: "There will come some occasion when we shall do as well as the French have done," wrote Count Campo Santo, who, under Don Philip, commanded the Spanish detachment: "it is impossible to do better."

Just at that moment Louis XV. was taken suddenly ill, and a few days later all France was in consternation; reports flew about that his life was despaired of. Confronted with death, the king had once more felt the religious terrors which were constantly intermingled with the irregularity of his life: he had sent for the queen, and had dismissed the duchess of Châteauroux. On recovering his health, he found himself threatened by new perils, aggravated by his illness, and by the troubled state into which it had thrown the public mind. After having ravaged and wasted Alsace, without Marshals Coigny and Noailles having been able to prevent it, Prince Charles had, unopposed, struck again into the road toward Bohemia, which was being threatened by the king of Prussia.

Louis XV. went to the siege of Friburg, which was a long and a difficult one. He returned to Paris on the 13th of November, to the great joy of the people. A few days later, Marshal Belle-Isle, while passing through Hanover in the character of negotiator, was arrested by order of George II., and carried to England a prisoner of war, in defiance of the law of nations and the protests of France. The moment was not propitious for obtaining the release of a marshal of France and an able general. The emperor Charles VII., who had but lately returned to his hereditary dominions, and recovered possession of his capital after fifteen months of Austrian occupation, died suddenly on the 20th of January, 1745, at forty-seven years of age. The face of affairs changed all at once; the honor of France was no longer concerned in the struggle; the grand-duke of Tuscany had no longer any competitor for the empire; the eldest son of Charles VII. was only seventeen; the queen of Hungary was disposed for peace. "The English ministry, which laid down the law for all because it laid down the money, and which

had in its pay, all at one time, the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland and the king of Sardinia, considered that there was everything to lose by a treaty with France and everything to gain by arms. War continued, because it had commenced." [Voltaire.]

The king of France henceforth maintained it almost alone by himself. The young elector of Bavaria had already found himself driven out of Munich, and forced by his exhausted subjects to demand peace of Maria Theresa. The election to the empire was imminent; Maximilian-Joseph promised his votes to the grand-duke of Tuscany; at that price he was re-established in his hereditary dominions. The king of Poland had rejected the advances of France, who offered him the title of emperor, beneath which Charles VII. had succumbed. Marshal Saxe bore all the brunt of the war. A foreigner and a Protestant, for a long while under suspicion with Louis XV., and blackened in character by the French generals, Maurice of Saxony had won authority as well as glory by the splendor of his bravery and of his military genius. Order did not as yet reign in the army of Marshal Saxe. In 1745 the situation was grave ; the marshal was attacked with dropsy, his life appeared to be in danger. He nevertheless commanded his preparations to be made for the campaign, and when Voltaire, who was one of his friends, was astounded at it, "It is no question of living, but of setting out," was his reply.

The victory of Fontenoy, like that of Denain, restored the courage and changed the situation of France. When the king of Prussia heard of his ally's success, he exclaimed with a grin : "This is about as useful to us as a battle gained on the banks of the Scamander." His selfish absorption in his personal and direct interests obscured the judgment of Frederick the Great. He, however, did justice to Marshal Saxe : "There was a discussion the other day as to what battle had reflected most honor on the general commanding," he wrote a long while after the battle of Fontenoy : "some suggested that of Almanza, others that of Turin : but I suggested—and everybody finally agreed—that it was undoubtedly that in which the general had been at death's door when it was delivered."

The fortress of Tournai surrendered on the 22d of May ; the citadel capitulated on the 19th of June. In the month of February, 1746, Marshal Saxe terminated the campaign by taking Brussels. By the 1st of the previous September Louis XV. had returned in triumph to Paris.

Henceforth he remained alone confronting Germany, which was neutral or had rallied round the restored empire. On the 13th of September, the grand duke of Tuscany had been proclaimed emperor at Frankfurt under the name of Francis I. The indomitable resolution of the queen his wife had triumphed ; in spite of the checks she suffered in the Low Countries, Maria Theresa still withstood, at all points, the pacific advances of the belligerents.

On the 4th of June, the king of Prussia had gained a great victory at Freilberg. "I have honored the bill of exchange your Majesty drew on me at Fontenoy," he wrote to Louis XV. A series of successful fights had



Louis XV. receives the news from Marshal Saxe of the complete route of the enemy at Fontenoy.
A. de Neuville. Page 212.

opened the road to Saxony; Frederick headed thither rapidly; on the 18th of December he occupied Dresden.

While Berlin was in gala trim to celebrate the return of her monarch in triumph, Europe had her eyes fixed upon the unparalleled enterprise of a young man, winning, courageous and frivolous as he was, attempting to recover by himself alone the throne of his fathers. For nearly three years past, Charles Edward Stuart, son of the Chevalier de St. George, had been awaiting in France the fulfillment of the promises and hopes which had been flashed before his eyes. Weary of hope deferred, he had conceived the idea of a bold stroke. "Why not attempt to cross in a vessel to the north of Scotland?" had been the question put to him by Cardinal Tencin, who had sometime before owed his cardinal's hat to the dethroned king of Great Britain. "Your presence will be enough to get you a party and an army, and France will be obliged to give you aid."

Charles Edward followed this audacious counsel. (See English history.)

The anger and severity displayed by the English Government toward the Jacobites were aggravated by the checks encountered upon the Continent by the coalition. At the very moment when the duke of Cumberland was defeating Charles Edward at Culloden, Antwerp was surrendering to Louis XV. in person: Mons, Namur and Charleroi were not long before they fell. Prince Charles of Lorraine was advancing to the relief of the besieged places; Marshal Saxe left open to him the passage of the Meuse: the French camp seemed to be absorbed in pleasures; the most famous actors from Paris were ordered to amuse the general and the soldiers. On the 10th of October, in the evening, Madame Favart came forward on the stage: "To-morrow," said she, "there will be no performance, on account of the battle: the day after, we shall have the honor of giving you *Le Coq du Village*." At the same time, the marshal sent the following order to the columns, which were already forming on the road from St. Tron to Liége, near the village of Raucoux: "Whether the attacks succeed or not, the troops will remain in the position in which night finds them, in order to recommence the assault upon the enemy."

The battle of October 11th left the battle-field in the hands of the victors, the sole result of a bloody and obstinate engagement. Marshal Saxe went to rest himself at Paris; the people's enthusiasm rivaled and endorsed the favors shown to him by the king.

*So much luck and so much glory* in the Low Countries covered, in the eyes of France and Europe, the checks encountered by the king's armies in Italy. The campaign of 1745 had been very brilliant. Parma, Piacenza, Montferrat, nearly all Milaness, with the exception of a few fortresses, were in the hands of the Spanish and French forces. The king of Sardinia had recourse to negotiation; he amused the marquis of Argenson, at that time Louis XV.'s foreign minister, a man of honest, expansive, but chimerical views. At the moment when the king and

the marquis believed themselves to be remodeling the map of Europe at their pleasure, they heard that Charles Emmanuel had resumed the offensive. A French corps had been surprised at Asti, on the 5th of March; thirty thousand Austrians marched down from the Tyrol, and the Spaniards evacuated Milan. A series of checks forced Marshal Maillebois to effect a retreat; the enemy's armies crossed the Var and invaded French territory. Marshal Belle-Isle fell back to Puget, four leagues from Toulon.

The Austrians had occupied Genoa, the faithful ally of France: their vengefulness and their severe exactions caused them to lose the fruits of their victory. The resistance of Genoa was effectual; but it cost the life of the duke of Boufflers, who was wounded in an engagement and died three days before the retreat of the Austrians, on the 6th of July, 1747.

On the 19th of July, *Common Sense* Belle-Isle (*Bon-Sens* de Belle-Isle), as the chevalier was called at court to distinguish him from his brother the marshal, attacked with a considerable body of troops the Piedmontese intrenchments at the Assietta Pass, between the fortresses of Exilles and Fenestrelles; at the same time, Marshal Belle-Isle was seeking a passage over the Stura Pass, and the Spanish army was attacking Piedmont by way of the Apennines. The engagement at the heights of Assietta was obstinate; Chevalier Belle-Isle, wounded in both arms, threw himself bodily upon the palisades to tear them down with his teeth; he was killed, and the French sustained a terrible defeat; five thousand men were left on the battle-field. The campaign of Italy was stopped. The king of Spain, Philip V., enfeebled and exhausted almost in infancy, had died on the 9th of July, 1746. The fidelity of his successor, Ferdinand VI., married to a Portuguese princess, appeared doubtful; he had placed at the head of his forces in Italy the marquis of Las Minas, with orders to preserve to Spain her only army. "The Spanish soldiers are of no more use to us than if they were so much cardboard," said the French troops. Europe was tired of the war. England avenged herself for her reverses upon the continent by her successes at sea; the French navy, neglected systematically by Cardinal Fleury, did not even suffice for the protection of commerce. The Hollanders, who had for a long while been undecided and had at last engaged in the struggle against France without any declaration of war, bore, in 1747, the burden of the hostilities. Count Lowendahl, a friend of Marshal Saxe's, and, like him, in the service of France, had taken Sluys and Sas-de-Gand; Bergen-op-Zoom was besieged; on the 1st of July, Marshal Saxe had gained, under the king's own eye, the battle of Lawfeldt. As in 1672, the French invasion had been the signal for a political revolution in Holland; the aristocratical burgessdom, which had resumed power, succumbed once more beneath the efforts of the popular party, directed by the house of Nassau and supported by England.

Bergen-op-Zoom was taken and plundered on the 16th of September. Count Lowendahl was made a marshal of France. On the 9th of April, 1748, the place was invested, before the thirty-five thousand Russians promised to England by the czarina Elizabeth had found time to make their appearance on the Rhine. A congress was already assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle to treat for peace. The Hollanders, whom the marquis of Argenson before his disgrace used always to call "the Ambassadors of England," took fright at the spectacle of Maestricht besieged; from parleys they proceeded to the most vehement urgency; and England yielded. The preliminaries of peace were signed on the 30th of April; it was not long before Austria and Spain gave in their adhesion. On the 18th of October the definitive treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. France generously restored all her conquests, without claiming other advantages beyond the assurance of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza to the infante Don Philip, son-in-law of Louis XV. England surrendered to France the island of Cape Breton and the colony of Louisbourg, the only territory she had preserved from her numerous expeditions against the French colonies and from the immense losses inflicted upon French commerce. The Great Frederick kept Silesia; the king of Sardinia the territories already ceded by Austria. Only France had made great conquests; and only she retained no increment of territory. She recognized the Pragmatic Sanction in favor of Austria and the Protestant succession in favor of George II.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had a graver defect than that of fruitlessness; it was not and could not be durable. England was excited, ambitious of that complete empire of the sea which she had begun to build up upon the ruins of the French navy and the decay of Holland, and greedy of distant conquests over colonies which the French could not manage to defend. In proportion as the old influence of Richelieu and of Louis XIV. over European policy became weaker and weaker, English influence, founded upon the growing power of a free country and a free government, went on increasing in strength. Without any other ally but Spain, herself wavering in her fidelity, the French remained exposed to the attempts of England, henceforth delivered from the phantom of the Stuarts.

## XIV.

# LOUIS XV.—THE COLONIES.—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR. LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

WE must now review briefly the history of the French colonies. At the outset of Louis XIV.'s personal reign and through the persevering efforts of Colbert, marching in the footsteps of Cardinal Richelieu, an India Company had been founded for the purpose of developing French commerce in those distant regions, which had always been shrouded in a mysterious halo of fancied wealth and grandeur. Several times the company had all but perished; it had revived under the vigorous impulse communicated by Law and had not succumbed at the collapse of his system. It gave no money to its share-holders, who derived their benefits only from a partial concession of the tobacco revenues, granted by the king to the company, but its directors lived a life of magnificence in the East, where they were authorized to trade on their own account. Abler and bolder than all his colleagues, Joseph Dupleix, member of a Gascon family and son of the comptroller-general of Hainault, had dreamed of other destinies than the management of a counting-house; he aspired to endow France with the empire of India. Unfortunately a serious misunderstanding took place between him and the governor of Bourbon and of Ile de France, Bertrand Francis Mahé de la Bourdonnais, who, in September, 1746, at the head of a flotilla, had obliged the English garrison of Madras to surrender. A jealous love of power and absorption in political schemes induced Dupleix to violate a promise lightly given by La Bourdonnais in the name of France; he arbitrarily quashed a capitulation of which he had not discussed the conditions. The report of this unhappy conflict, and the color put upon it by the representations of Dupleix, ruined at Paris the governor of Ile de France.

On arriving at Ile de France, amid that colony which he had found exhausted, ruined, and had endowed with hospitals, arsenals, quays, and fortifications, La Bourdonnais learned that a new governor was already

installed there. His dissensions with Dupleix had borne their fruits; he had been accused of having exacted too paltry a ransom from Madras, and of having accepted enormous presents; the company had appointed a successor in his place. Driven to desperation, anxious to go and defend himself, La Bourdonnais set out for France with his wife and his four children; a prosecution had already been commenced against him. He was captured at sea by an English ship, and taken a prisoner to England. The good faith of the conqueror of Madras was known in London; one of the directors of the English company offered his fortune as security for M. de la Bourdonnais. Scarcely had he arrived in Paris when he was thrown into the Bastile, and for two years kept in solitary confinement. When his innocence was at last acknowledged and his liberty restored to him, his health was destroyed, his fortune exhausted by the expenses of the trial. La Bourdonnais died before long, employing the last remnants of his life and of his strength in pouring forth his anger against Dupleix, to whom he attributed all his woes.

France and England had made peace; the English and French companies in India had not laid down arms. Their power, as well as the importance of their establishments, was as yet in equipoise. At Surat both companies had places of business. On the coast of Malabar, the English had Bombay and the French Mahé; on the coast of Coromandel, the former held Madras and Fort St. George, the latter Pondicherry and Karikal. The principal factories, as well as the numerous little establishments which were dependencies of them, were defended by a certain number of European soldiers and by *Sepoys*, native soldiers in the pay of the companies.

Dupleix espied the possibility of a new organization, which should secure to the French in India the preponderance, and ere long the empire even, in the two peninsulas. He purposed to found manufactures, utilize native hand-labor and develop the coasting-trade, or *Ind to Ind* trade, as the expression then was; but he set his pretensions still higher and carried his views still further. He purposed to acquire for the company, and, under its name, for France, territories and subjects furnishing revenues and amply sufficing for the expenses of the commercial establishments. The moment was propitious; the ancient empire of the Great Mogul tottering to its base was distracted by revolutions; Dupleix reckoned without France, and without the incompetent or timid men who governed her. His successes scared King Louis XV. and his feeble ministers; they angered and discomfited England, which was as yet tottering in India, and whose affairs there had for a long while been ill managed, but which remained ever vigorous, active, animated by the indomitable ardor of a free people. In India England had at last found a man still young and unknown, but worthy of being opposed to Dupleix. Clive, who had almost in boyhood entered the company's offices, turned out, after the turbulence of his early years, a heaven-born general; he was destined to continue Dupleix's work, when abandoned by France, and to found to the advantage of the English that European dominion in India which had been the governor of Pondicherry's dream. Two French corps were destroyed by

Clive, and a third army soon shared the same fate. The report of Dupleix's reverses arrived in France in the month of September, 1752.

The dismay at Versailles was great, and prevailed over the astonishment. There had never been any confidence in Dupleix's projects, there had been scarcely any belief in his conquests.

The governor of Pondicherry had received no troops, but he had managed to reorganize an army, and had resumed the offensive in the Carnatic, powerfully helped by his military lieutenant, Bussy Castelnau, his future son-in-law, animated by the same zeal for the greatness of France. Clive was ill and had just set out for England: fortune had once more changed front. The open conferences held with Saunders, English governor of Madras, failed in the month of January, 1754; Dupleix wished to preserve the advantages he had won, Saunders refused to listen to that; the approach of a French squadron was signaled. The ships appeared to be numerous. Dupleix was already rejoicing at the arrival of unexpected aid, when, instead of an officer commanding the twelve hundred soldiers from France, he saw the apparition of M. Godeheu, one of the directors of the company, and but lately his friend and correspondent. "I come to supersede you, sir," said the new arrival without any circumstance; "I have full powers from the company to treat with the English." The cabinet of London had not been deceived as to the importance of Dupleix in India; his recall had been made the absolute condition of a cessation of hostilities. All the territories ceded by the Hindoo princes to Dupleix reverted to their former masters; the two companies interdicted one another from taking any part in the interior policy of India, and at the same time forbade their agents to accept from the Hindoo princes any charge, honor or dignity; the most perfect equality was re-established between the possessions and revenues of the two great European nations, rivals in the East as well as in Europe; England gave up some petty forts, some towns of no importance, France ceded the empire of India. When Godeheu signed the treaty, Trichinopoli was at last on the point of giving in. Dupleix embarked for France with his wife and daughter, leaving in India, together with his life's work destroyed in a few days by the poltroonery of his country's government, the fortune he had acquired during his great enterprises, entirely sunk as it was in the service of France; the revenues destined to cover his advances were seized by Godeheu.

France seemed to comprehend what her ministers had not even an idea of; Dupleix's arrival in France was a veritable triumph. It was by this time known that the reverses which had caused so much talk had been half repaired. It was by this time guessed how infinite were the resources of that empire of India, so lightly and mean-spiritedly abandoned to the English.

He was mistaken about the justice as he had been about the discernment and the boldness of the French government; not a promise was accomplished; not a hope was realized; after delay upon delay, excuse upon excuse, Dupleix saw his wife expire at the end of two years, worn out with suffering and

driven to despair; like her, his daughter, affianced for a long time past to Bussy, succumbed beneath the weight of sorrow; in vain did Duplex tire out the ministers with his views and his projects for India, he saw even the action he was about to bring against the company vetoed by order of the king. Persecuted by his creditors, overwhelmed with regret for the relatives and friends whom he had involved in his enterprises and in his ruin, Dupleix died at last on the 11th of November, 1763, the most striking, without being the last or the most tragical, victim of the great French enterprises in India.

Despite the treaty of peace, hostilities had never really ceased in India. Clive had returned from England; freed henceforth from the influence, the intrigues and the indomitable energy of Dupleix, he had soon made himself master of the whole of Bengal, he had even driven the French from Chandernugger; Bussy had been unable to check his successes, he avenged himself by wresting away from the English all their agencies on the coast of Orissa, and closing against them the road between the Coromandel coast and Bengal.

Meanwhile the Seven Years' War had broken out; the whole of Europe had joined in the contest; the French navy, still feeble in spite of the efforts that had been made to restore it, underwent serious reverses on every sea. Count Lally-Tolendal, descended from an Irish family which took refuge in France with James II., went to Count d'Argenson, still minister of war, with a proposition to go and humble in India that English power which had been imprudently left to grow up without hindrance. The directors of the India company went and asked M. d'Argenson to entrust to General Lally the king's troops promised for the expedition. "You are wrong," M. d'Argenson said to them: "I know M. de Lally, he is a friend of mine; but he is violent, passionate, inflexible as to discipline; he will not tolerate any disorder; you will be setting fire to your warehouses if you send him thither." The directors, however, insisted, and M. de Lally set out on the 2d of May, 1757, with four ships and a body of troops. Some young officers belonging to the greatest houses of France served on his staff.

The brilliant courage and heroic ardor of M. de Lally triumphed over the first obstacles; his recklessness, his severity, his passionateness were about to lose him the fruits of his victories. By his personal faults he aggravated his already critical position. The discord which reigned in the army as well as among the civil functionaries was nowhere more flagrant than between Lally and Bussy. The latter could not console himself for having been forced to leave the Deccan in the feeble hands of the marquis of Conflans. An expedition attempted against the fortress of Wandiwash, of which the English had obtained possession, was followed by a serious defeat; Colonel Coote was master of Karikal. Little by little the French army and French power in India found themselves cooped within the immediate territory of Pondicherry. The English marched against this town. Lally shut himself up there in the month of March, 1760. Bussy had been made prisoner, and Coote had sent him to Europe.

He held out for six weeks, in spite of famine, want of money and ever

increasing dissensions. At last it became necessary to surrender; the council of the company called upon the general to capitulate. Lally claimed the honors of war, but Coote would have the town at discretion; the distress was extreme as well as the irritation. Pondicherry was delivered up to the conquerors on the 16th of January, 1761; the fortifications and magazines were razed; French power in India, long supported by the courage or ability of a few men, was foundering, never to rise again.

Hatred bears bitterer fruits than is imagined even by those who provoke it. The animosity which M. de Lally had excited in India was everywhere an obstacle to the defense; and it was destined to cost him his life and imperil his honor. Scarcely had he arrived in England, ill, exhausted by sufferings and fatigue, followed even in his captivity by the reproaches and anger of his comrades in misfortune, when he heard of the outbreak of public opinion against him in France; he was accused of treason; and he obtained from the English cabinet permission to repair to Paris. After a delay of nineteen months, the trial commenced in December, 1764, and on the 9th of May, at the close of the day, the valiant general, whose heroic resistance had astounded all India, mounted the scaffold on the Place de Grève, nor was permission granted to the few friends who remained faithful to him to accompany him to the place of execution; there was only the parish-priest of St. Louis en l'Ile at his side; as apprehensions were felt of violence and insult on the part of the condemned, he was gagged like the lowest criminal when he resolutely mounted the fatal ladder; he knelt without assistance and calmly awaited his death-blow. Voltaire's judgment, after the subsidence of passion and after the light thrown by subsequent events upon the state of French affairs in India before Lally's campaigns, is just: "It was a murder committed with the sword of justice." King Louis XV. and his government had lost India; the rage and shame blindly excited among the nation by this disaster had been visited upon the head of the unhappy general who had been last vanquished in defending the remnants of French power.

For a long time past the French had directed toward America their ardent spirit of enterprise; in the fifteenth century, on the morrow of the discovery of the new world, when the indomitable genius and religious faith of Christopher Columbus had just opened a new path to inquiring minds and daring spirits, the Basques, the Bretons and the Normans were among the first to follow the road he had marked out; their light barks and their intrepid navigators were soon known among the fisheries of Newfoundland and the Canadian coast. (See American history.)

For a long while expeditions and attempts at French colonization had been directed toward Canada. James Cartier, in 1535, had taken possession of its coasts under the name of New France. M. de Roberval had taken thither colonists, agricultural and mechanical; but the hard climate, famine and disease had stifled the little colony in the bud; religious and political disturbances in the mother-country were absorbing all thoughts; it was only in the reign of Henry IV., when panting France, distracted by civil discord,

began to repose for the first time since more than a century, beneath a government just, able, and firm at the same time, that zeal for distant enterprises at last attracted to New France its real founder. Samuel de Champlain du Brouage, born in 1567, a faithful soldier of the king's so long as the war lasted, was unable to endure the indolence of peace. After long and perilous voyages he enlisted in the company which M. de Monts, gentleman of the bedchamber in ordinary to Henry IV., had just formed for the trade in furs on the northern coast of America; appointed viceroy of Acadia, a new territory, of which the imaginary limits would extend in our times from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal, and furnished with a commercial monopoly, M. de Monts set sail on the 7th of April, 1604, taking with him, Calvinist though he was, Catholic priests as well as Protestant pastors. After long and painful explorations in the forests and among the Indian tribes, after frequent voyages to France on the service of the colony, he became at last, in 1606, the first governor of the nascent town of Quebec.

Never was colony founded under more pious auspices; for some time past the Recollects had been zealously laboring for the conversion of unbelievers; seconded by the Jesuits, who were before long to remain sole masters of the soil, they found themselves sufficiently powerful to forbid the Protestant sailors certain favorite exercises of their worship.

In 1627, Richelieu put himself at the head of a company of a hundred associates, on which the king conferred the possession as well as the government of New France, together with the commercial monopoly and freedom from all taxes for fifteen years. The colonists were to be French and Catholics; Huguenots were excluded: they alone had till then manifested any tendency toward emigration; the attempts at colonization in America were due to their efforts. Less liberal in New France than he had lately been in Europe, the cardinal thus enlisted in the service of the foreigner all the adventurous spirits and the bold explorers among the French Protestants, at the very moment when the English Puritans, driven from their country by the narrow and meddlesome policy of James I., were dropping anchor at the foot of Plymouth Rock, and were founding, in the name of religious liberty, a new Protestant England, the rival ere long of that New France which was Catholic and Absolutist.

Champlain had died at Quebec on Christmas Day, 1635, after twenty-seven years' efforts and sufferings in the service of the nascent colony. Bold and enterprising, endowed with indomitable perseverance and rare practical faculties, an explorer of distant forests, an intrepid negotiator with the savage tribes, a wise and patient administrator, indulgent toward all in spite of his ardent devotion, Samuel de Champlain had presented the rare intermixture of the heroic qualities of past times with the zeal for science and the practical talents of modern ages. He was replaced in his government by a knight of Malta, M. de Montmagny. Quebec had a seminary, a hospital and a convent, before it possessed a population.

The foundation of Montreal was still more exclusively religious. The

accounts of the Jesuits had inflamed pious souls with a noble emulation; a Montreal association was formed, under the direction of M. Olier, founder of St. Sulpice. The first expedition was placed under the command of a valiant gentleman, Paul de Maisonneuve, and of a certain Mademoiselle Mance.

The affair of Montreal stood, like that of Quebec; New France was founded in spite of the sufferings of the early colonists, thanks to their courage, their fervent enthusiasm, and the support afforded them by the religious zeal of their friends in Europe. The Jesuit missionaries every day extended their explorations, sharing with M. de la Salle the glory of the great discoveries of the West. (See American history.) Everywhere, in the western regions of the American continent, the footsteps of the French, either travelers or missionaries, preceded the boldest adventurers. It is the glory and the misfortune of France to always lead the van in the march of civilization, without having the wit to profit by the discoveries and the sagacious boldness of her children. On the unknown roads which she has opened to the human mind and to human enterprise she has often left the fruits to be gathered by nations less inventive and less able than she, but more persevering and less perturbed by a confusion of desires and an incessant renewal of hopes.

The treaty of Utrecht had taken out of French hands the gates of Canada, Acadia and Newfoundland. Canada was prospering, however; during the long wars which the condition of Europe had kept up in America, the Canadians had supplied the king's armies with their best soldiers. Returning to their homes and resuming without an effort the peaceful habits which characterized them, they skillfully cultivated their fields and saw their population increasing naturally, without any help from the mother-country. The governors had succeeded in adroitly counterbalancing the influence of the English over the Indian tribes. The Iroquois, but lately implacable foes of France, had accepted a position of neutrality. The English were rich, free and bold; for them the transmission and the exchange of commodities were easy. The commercial rivalry which set in between the two nations was fatal to the French; when the hour of the final struggle came, the Canadians, though brave, resolute, passionately attached to France and ready for any sacrifice, were few in number compared with their enemies. Scattered over a vast territory, they possessed but poor pecuniary resources, and could expect from the mother-country only irregular assistance, subject to variations of government and fortune as well as to the chances of maritime warfare and engagements at sea, always perilous for the French ships, which were inferior in build and in number, whatever might be the courage and skill of their commanders.

The capture of Louisbourg and of the island of Cape Breton by the English colonists, in 1745, profoundly disquieted the Canadians; it was the first scene in a drama doomed to end fatally for the interests of France.

Regretfully, and as if compelled by a remnant of national honor, Louis XV. adopted the resolution of defending his colonies; he had, and the nation had as well, the feeling that the French were hopelessly weak at sea.

The English nation was not divided. The ministers and the parliament, as well as the American colonies, were for war. "There is no hope of repose for our thirteen colonies, as long as the French are masters of Canada," said Benjamin Franklin on his arrival in London in 1754. He was already laboring, without knowing it, at that great work of American independence which was to be his glory and that of his generation; the common efforts and the common interest of the thirteen American colonies in the war against France were the first step toward that great coalition which founded the United States of America.

The union with the mother country was as yet close and potent. At the instigation of Mr. Fox, soon afterward Lord Holland, and at the time Prime Minister of England, parliament voted twenty-five millions for the American war. The bounty given to the soldiers and marines who enlisted was doubled by private subscription; fifteen thousand men were thus raised to invade the French colonies.

Canada and Louisiana together did not number eighty thousand inhabitants, while the population of the English colonies already amounted to one million two hundred thousand souls; to the twenty-eight hundred regular troops sent from France the Canada militia added about four thousand men, less experienced but quite as determined as the most intrepid veterans of the campaigns in Europe. During more than twenty years the courage and devotion of the Canadians never faltered for a single day.

The wicked deportation of four hundred and eighteen heads of families from Acadia excited in France the greatest and most natural emotion; a few brilliant successes obtained by the marquis of Montcalm cheered up for a short space the hopes of the French government; but it was all in vain. Quebec, besieged by general Wolfe, capitulated on the 18th of September, 1759. Both the English and the French commanders had been killed; the capitulation of Montreal was signed on the 8th of September, 1760; on the 10th of February, 1763, the peace concluded between France, Spain, and England completed without hope of recovery the loss of all the French possessions in America. Louisiana had taken no part in the war; it was not conquered; France ceded it to Spain in exchange for Florida, which was abandoned to the English. Canada and all the islands of the St. Lawrence shared the same fate. Only the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were perserved for the French fisheries. One single stipulation guaranteed to the Canadians the free exercise of the Catholic religion. The principal inhabitants of the colony went into exile on purpose to remain French. The weak hands of King Louis XV. and of his government had let slip the fairest colonies of France. Canada and Louisiana had ceased to belong to her; yet attachment to France subsisted there a long while and her influence left numerous traces there.

The struggle was over. King Louis XV. had lost his American colonies, the nascent empire of India and the settlements of Senegal. He recovered Guadaloupe and Martinique, but lately conquered by the English, Chander-

nugger and the ruins of Pondicherry. The humiliation was deep and the losses were irreparable. All the fruits of the courage, of the ability and of the passionate devotion of the French in India and in America were falling into the hands of England. Her government had committed many faults; but the strong action of a free people had always managed to repair them. The day was coming when the haughty passions of the mother-country and the proud independence of her colonies would engage in that supreme struggle which has given to the world the United States of America.

It was not only in the colonies and on the seas that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had seemed merely a truce destined to be soon broken: hostilities had never ceased in India or Canada; English vessels scoured the world, capturing, in spite of treaties, French merchant-ships; in Europe and on the continent all the sovereigns were silently preparing for new efforts; only the government of King Louis XV., intrenched behind its disinterestedness in the negotiations and ignoring the fatal influences of weakness and vanity, believed itself henceforth beyond the reach of a fresh war. The state of the royal treasury, and the measures to which recourse was had to enable the State to make both ends meet, aggravated the dissension and disseminated discontent among all classes of society. Comptrollers-general came one after another, all armed with new expedients; MM. de Machault, Moreau de Séchelles, de Moras, excited, successively, the wrath and the hatred of the people, crushed by imposts in peace as well as war; the clergy refused to pay the twentieth, still claiming their right of giving only a free gift; the States-districts, Languedoc and Brittany at the head, resisted, in the name of their ancient privileges, the collection of taxes to which they had not consented; riots went on multiplying: they even extended to Paris, where the government was accused of kidnapping children for transportation to the colonies. The people rose, several police-agents were massacred; the king avoided passing through the capital on his way from Versailles to the camp at Campiègne: the path he took in the Bois de Boulogne received the name of Revolt Road.

Decadence went on swiftly, and no wonder. At forty years of age Louis XV., finding every pleasure pall, indifferent to or forgetful of business from indolence and disgust, bored by everything and on every occasion, had come to depend solely on those who could still manage to amuse him. Madame de Pompadour had accepted this ungrateful and sometimes shameful task. Vigilant in attaching the courtiers to herself, she sowed broadcast, all around her, favors, pensions, profitable offices, endowing the gentlemen to facilitate their marriage, turning a deaf ear to the complaints of the people as well as to the protests of the States or parliaments. The court still swarmed with brave officers, ready to march to death at the head of the troops; the command of armies henceforth depended on the favor of Madame the marchioness of Pompadour.

The day had come when the fortune of war was about to show itself fatal to France. Marshal Saxe had died at Chambord, still young and worn out by excesses rather than by fatigue. War, however, was inevitable; five

months of public or private negotiation, carried on by the ambassadors or personal agents of the king, could not obtain from England any reparation for her frequent violation of the law of nations: the maritime trade of France was destroyed; the vessels of the royal navy were themselves no longer safe at sea. On the 23d of January an embargo was laid on all English vessels in French ports, and war was officially proclaimed. It had existed in fact for two years past.

A striking incident signalized the commencement of hostilities. Rather a man of pleasure and a courtier than an able soldier, Marshal Richelieu had, nevertheless, the good fortune to connect his name with the only successful event of the Seven Years' War that was destined to remain impressed upon the mind of posterity, namely, the capture of Port Mahon in the island of Minorca.

At the same time the king's troops were occupying Corsica in the name of the city of Genoa, the time-honored ally of France. Mistress of half the Mediterranean and secure of the neutrality of Holland, France could have concentrated her efforts upon the sea and have maintained a glorious struggle with England, on the sole condition of keeping peace on the continent. The policy was simple and the national interest palpable; King Louis XV. and some of his ministers understood this; but they allowed themselves to drift into forgetfulness of it.

A proposal was made to Maria Theresa for a treaty of guarantee between France, Austria and Prussia; the existing war between England and France was excepted from the defensive pact; France reserved to herself the right of invading Hanover. The same conditions had been offered to the king of Prussia; he was not contented with them. While Maria Theresa was insisting at Paris upon obtaining an offensive as well as defensive alliance, Frederick II. was signing with England an engagement not to permit the entrance into Germany of any foreign troops. "I only wish to preserve Germany from war," wrote the king of Prussia to Louis XV. On the 1st of May, 1756, at Versailles, Louis XV. replied to the Anglo-Prussian treaty by his alliance with the empress Maria Theresa. The house of Bourbon was holding out the hand to the house of Austria; the work of Henry IV. and of Richelieu, already weakened by an inconsistent and capricious policy, was completely crumbling to pieces, involving in its ruin the military fortunes of France.

The prudent moderation of Abbé de Bernis, then in great favor with Madame de Pompadour and managing the negotiations with Austria, had removed from the treaty of Versailles the most alarming clauses. The empress and the king of France mutually guaranteed to one another their possessions in Europe, "each of the contracting parties promising the other, in case of need, the assistance of twenty-four thousand men." Russia and Saxony were soon enlisted in the same alliance; the king of Prussia's pleasantries, at one time coarse and at another biting, had offended the czarina Elizabeth and the elector of Saxony as well as Louis XV. and Madame de Pompadour. The weakest of the allies was the first to experience the

miseries of that war so frivolously and gratuitously entered upon, from covetousness, rancour or weakness, those fertile sources of the bitterest sorrows to humanity.

While hostilities were thus beginning throughout Europe, while negotiations were still going on with Vienna touching the second treaty of Versailles, King Louis XV., as he was descending the staircase of the marble court at Versailles on the 5th of January, 1757, received a stab in the side from a knife. Withdrawing full of blood the hand he had clapped to his wound, the king exclaimed: "There is the man that wounded me, with his hat on; arrest him, but let no harm be done him!" The guards were already upon the murderer and were torturing him pending the legal question. The king had been carried away, slightly wounded by a deep puncture from a penknife. In the soul of Louis XV. apprehension had succeeded to the first instinctive and kingly impulse of courage: he feared the weapon might be poisoned, and hastily sent for a confessor. The crowd of courtiers was already thronging to the dauphin's. To him the king had at once given up the direction of affairs.

Justice, meanwhile, had taken the wretched murderer in hand. Robert Damiens was a lackey out of place, a native of Artois, of weak mind and sometimes appearing to be deranged. In his vague and frequently incoherent depositions, he appeared animated by a desire to avenge the wrongs of the parliament; he burst out against the archbishop of Paris, Christopher de Beaumont, a virtuous prelate of narrow mind and austere character. No investigation could discover any conspiracy or accomplices: with less coolness and fanatical resolution than Ravaillac, Damiens, like the assassin of Henry IV., was an isolated criminal, prompted to murder by the derangement of his own mind; he died, like Ravaillac, amid fearful tortures which were no longer in accord with public sentiment, and caused more horror than awe. France had ceased to tremble for the life of King Louis XV.

For one instant the power of Madame de Pompadour had appeared to be shaken: the king, in his terror, would not see her; M. de Machault, but lately her protégé, had even brought her orders to quit the palace. Together with the salutary terrors of death, Louis XV.'s repentance soon disappeared; the queen and the dauphin went back again to the modest and pious retirement in which they passed their life; the marchioness returned in triumph to Versailles. MM. de Machault and D'Argenson were exiled: the latter, who had always been hostile to the favorite, was dismissed with extreme harshness. Madame de Pompadour was avenged.

The war, meanwhile, continued: the king of Prussia, who had at first won a splendid victory over the Austrians in front of Prague, had been beaten at Kolin and forced to fall back on Saxony. Marshal d'Estrées, slowly occupying Westphalia, got the duke of Cumberland into a corner on the Weser, and defeated him at Hastenbeck. He was then superseded by Richelieu, who, in Germany, reaped the fruits of Marshal d'Estrées' successes; the electorate of Hanover was entirely occupied; all the towns opened their

gates; Hesse Cassel, Brunswick, the duchies of Verden and of Bremen met with the same fate. The marshal levied on all the conquered countries heavy contributions, of which he pocketed a considerable portion. Meanwhile, the duke of Cumberland, who had taken refuge in the marshes at the mouth of the Elbe, under the protection of English vessels, was demanding to capitulate; his offers were lightly accepted. On the 8th of September, through the agency of Count Lynar, minister of the king of Denmark, the duke of Cumberland and the marshal signed at the advanced posts of the French army the famous convention of Closter-Severn. The king's troops kept all the conquered country; those of Hesse, Brunswick and Saxe-Gotha returned to their homes; the Hanoverians were to be cantoned in the neighborhood of Stade. The marshal had not taken the precaution of disarming them.

Incomplete as the convention was, it nevertheless excited great emotion in Europe. The duke of Cumberland had lost the military reputation acquired at Fontenoy; the king of Prussia remained alone on the continent, exposed to all the efforts of the allies; every day fresh reverses came down upon him: the Russian army had invaded the Prussian provinces and beaten Marshal Schwald near Memel; twenty-five thousand Swedes had just landed in Pomerania. Desertion prevailed among the troops of Frederick, recruited as they often were from among the vanquished.

For a moment, indeed, Frederick had conceived the idea of deserting simultaneously from the field of battle and from life. A letter in verse to the marquis of Argens pointed clearly to the notion of suicide. A firmer purpose, before long, animated that soul, that strange mixture of heroism and corruption.

Fortune, moreover, seemed to be relaxing her severities. Under the influence of the hereditary grand duke, a passionate admirer of Frederick II., the Russians had omitted to profit by their victories; they were by this time wintering in Poland, which was abandoned to all their exactions. The Swedes had been repulsed in the island of Rugen, Marshal Richelieu received from Versailles orders to remain at Halberstadt, and to send re-enforcements to the army of the prince of Soubise; it was for this latter that Madame de Pompadour was reserving the honor of crushing the Great Frederick.

While the plunder of Hanover was serving the purpose of feeding the insensate extravagance of Richelieu and of the army, Frederick II. had entered Saxony, hurling back into Thuringia the troops of Soubise and of the prince of Hildburghausen. By this time the allies had endured several reverses; the boldness of the king of Prussia's movements bewildered and disquieted officers as well as soldiers. On the 3d of November the Prussian army was all in order of battle on the left bank of the Saale, near Rosbach.

Soubise hesitated to attack: being a man of honesty and sense, he took into account the disposition of his army, as well as the bad composition of the allied forces, very superior in number to the French contingent. The command belonged to the duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen, who had no doubt of

success. Orders were given to turn the little Prussian army, so as to cut off its retreat. All at once, as the allied troops were effecting their movement to scale the heights, the king of Prussia, suddenly changing front by one of those rapid evolutions to which he had accustomed his men, unexpectedly attacked the French in flank, without giving them time to form in order of battle. The batteries placed on the hills were at the same time unmasked and mowed down the infantry. The German troops at once broke up. Soubise sought to restore the battle by cavalry charges, but he was crushed in his turn. The rout became general; the French did not rally till they reached Erfurt; they had left eight thousand prisoners and three thousand dead on the field.

The news of the defeat at Rosbach came bursting on France like a clap of thunder; Frederick II. had renovated affairs and spirits in Germany; the day after Rosbach, he led his troops into Silesia against Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had just beaten the duke of Bevern; the king of Prussia's lieutenants were displeased and disquieted at such audacity. He assembled a council of war, and then, when he had expounded his plans, "Farewell, gentlemen," said he, "we shall soon have beaten the enemy or we shall have looked on one another for the last time." On the 3d of December the Austrians were beaten at Lissa as the French had been at Rosbach, and Frederick II. became the national hero of Germany; the Protestant powers, but lately engaged, to their sorrow, against him, made up to the conqueror: admiration for him permeated even the French army.

The counsels of Abbé de Bernis had for some time past been pacific; from a court-abbé, elegant and glib, he had become, on the 25th of June, minister of foreign affairs. But Madame de Pompadour remained faithful to the empress. In the month of January, 1758, Count Clermont was appointed general-in-chief of the army of Germany. In disregard of the convention of Closter-Severn, the Hanoverian troops had just taken the field again under the orders of the grand duke Ferdinand of Brunswick: he had already recovered possession of the districts of Luneberg, Zell, a part of Brunswick and of Bremen. In England, Mr. Pitt, afterward Lord Chatham, had again come into office; the king of Prussia could henceforth rely upon the firmest support from Great Britain.

He had need of it. A fresh invasion of Russians, aided by the savage hordes of the Zaporoguian Cossacks, was devastating Prussia; the sanguinary battle of Zorndorf, forcing them to fall back on Poland, permitted Frederick to hurry into Saxony, which was attacked by the Austrians. General Daun surprised and defeated him at Hochkirch; in spite of his inflexible resolution, the king of Prussia was obliged to abandon Saxony. His ally and rival, Ferdinand of Brunswick, had just beaten Count Clermont at Crevelt.

The new commander-in-chief of the king's armies, prince of the blood, brother of the late *Monsieur le Duc*, abbot commendatory of St. Germain-des-Prés, "general of the Benedictines," as the soldiers said, had brought into Germany, together with the favor of Madame de Pompadour, upright inten-



Defeat of the Austrians in the battle of Lissa, December 3d, 1757, by Frederick the Great.
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tions, a sincere desire to restore discipline, and some great allusions about himself. Defeated at Crevelt, he was superseded by the marquis of Contades. The army murmured; they had no confidence in their leaders. At Versailles, Abbé de Bernis, who had lately become a cardinal, paid by his disgrace for the persistency he had shown in advising peace.

Madame de Pompadour had just procured for herself a support in her obstinate bellicosity: Bernis was superseded in the ministry of foreign affairs by Count Stainville, who was created duke of Choiseul. After the death of Marshal Belle-Isle he exchanged the office for that of minister of war; with it he combined the ministry of the marine. The foreign affairs were entrusted to the duke of Praslin, his cousin. The power rested almost entirely in the hands of the duke of Choiseul. Of high birth, clever, bold, ambitious, he had but lately aspired to couple the splendor of successes in the fashionable world with the serious preoccupations of politics: his marriage with Mdlle. Crozat, a wealthy heiress, amiable and very much smitten with him, had strengthened his position.

A new and secret treaty had just riveted the alliance between France and Austria. M. de Choiseul was at the same time dreaming of attacking England in her own very home, thus dealing her the most formidable of blows. The preparations were considerable: M. de Soubise was recalled from Germany to direct the army of invasion. He was to be seconded in his command by the duke of Aiguillon, to whom, rightly or wrongly, was attributed the honor of having repulsed in the preceding year an attempt of the English at a descent upon the coasts of Brittany. The expedition was ready, there was nothing to wait for save the moment to go out of port, but Admiral Hawke was cruising before Brest; it was only in the month of November, 1759, that the marquis of Conflans, who commanded the fleet, could put to sea with twenty-one vessels. Finding himself at once pursued by the English squadron, he sought shelter in the difficult channels at the mouth of the Vilaine. The English dashed in after him. A partial engagement, which ensued, was unfavorable; and the commander of the French rear guard, M. St. André du Verger, allowed himself to be knocked to pieces by the enemy's guns in order to cover the retreat. The admiral ran ashore in the bay of Le Croisic and burnt his own vessel; seven ships remained blockaded in the Vilaine.

The commencement of the campaign of 1759 had been brilliant in Germany: the duke of Broglie had successfully repulsed the attack made by Ferdinand of Brunswick on his positions at Bergen; the prince had been obliged to retire. The two armies, united under M. de Contades, invaded Hesse and moved upon the Weser; they were occupying Minden when Duke Ferdinand threw himself upon them on the 1st of August. The action of the two French generals was badly combined and the rout was complete.

Maria Theresa, however, was in no hurry to enter into negotiations; her enemy seemed to be bending at last beneath the weight of the double Austrian and Russian attack. At one time Frederick had thought that he

saw all Germany rallying round him; now beaten and cantoned in Saxony, with the Austrians in front of him, during the winter of 1760, he was everywhere seeking alliances and finding himself everywhere rejected: "I have but two allies left," he would say, "valor and preseverance." Repeated victories, gained at the sword's point, by dint of boldness and in the extremity of peril, could not even protect Berlin. The capital of Prussia found itself constrained to open its gates to the enemy, on the sole condition that the regiments of Cossacks should not pass the line of enclosure. When the regular troops withdrew, the generals had not been able to prevent the city from being pillaged. The heroic efforts of the king of Prussia ended merely in preserving to him a foothold in Saxony. The Russians occupied Poland.

Marshal Broglie, on becoming general-in-chief of the French army, had succeeded in holding his own in Hesse; he frequently made Hanover anxious. To turn his attention elsewhere and in hopes of deciding the French to quit Germany, the hereditary prince of Brunswick attempted a diversion on the Lower Rhine; he laid siege to Wesel while the English were preparing for a descent at Antwerp. Marshal Broglie detached M. de Castries to protect the city. The French corps had just arrived; it was bivouacking. On the night between the 15th and 16th of October, Chevalier d'Assas, captain in the regiment of Auvergne, was sent to reconnoiter. He had advanced some distance from his men and happened to stumble upon a large force of the enemy. The prince of Brunswick was preparing to attack. All the muskets covered the young captain: "Stir, and thou'rt a dead man," muttered threatening voices. Without replying, M. d'Assas collected all his strength and shouted: "Auvergne! Here are the foe!" At the same instant he fell pierced by twenty balls. [Accounts differ: but this is the tradition of the Assas family.] The action thus begun was a glorious one. The hereditary prince was obliged to abandon the siege of Wesel and to re-cross the Rhine. The French divisions maintained their positions.

The war went on as bloodily as monotonously and fruitlessly, but the face of Europe had lately altered. The old king George II., who died on the 25th of September, 1760, had been succeeded on the throne of England by his grandson, George III., aged twenty-two, the first really native sovereign who had been called to reign over England since the fall of the Stuarts. Pitt still reigned over parliament and over England, governing a free country sovereign-masterlike. His haughty prejudice against France still ruled all the decisions of the English government, but Lord Bute, the young monarch's adviser, was already whispering pacific counsels destined ere long to bear fruit. Pitt's dominion was tottering when the first overtures of peace arrived in London. The duke of Choiseul proposed a congress. He at the same time negotiated directly with England, and seemed to be resigned to the most humiliating concessions, when a new actor came upon the scene of negotiation; France no longer stood isolated face to face with triumphant England. The younger branch of the house of Bourbon cast into the scale

the weight of its two crowns and the resources of its navy; and at the moment when Mr. Pitt was haughtily rejecting the modest ultimatum of the French minister, the treaty, known by the name of *Family Pact*, was signed at Paris (August 15th, 1761), between France and the young king of Spain, Charles III.

Never had closer alliance been concluded between the two courts, even at the time when Louis XIV. placed his grandson upon the throne of Spain. It was that intimate union between all the branches of the house of Bourbon which had but lately been the great king's conception, and which had cost him so many efforts and so much blood; for the first time it was becoming favorable to France; the noble and patriotic idea of M. de Choiseul found an echo in the soul of the king of Spain; the French navy, ruined and humiliated, the French colonies, threatened and all but lost, found faithful support in the forces of Spain, recruited as they were by a long peace. The king of the two Sicilies and the infant duke of Parma entered into the offensive and defensive alliance, but it was not open to any other power in Europe to be admitted to this family union, cemented by common interests more potent and more durable than the transitory combinations of policy. In all the ports of Spain ships were preparing to put to sea. Charles III. had undertaken to declare war against the English if peace were not concluded before the 1st of May, 1762. France promised in that case to cede to him the island of Minorca.

Such efforts, however, were not destined to be attended with success; before the year had rolled by, Cuba was in the hands of the English, the Philippines were ravaged and the galleons laden with Spanish gold captured by British ships. The unhappy fate of France had involved her generous ally. The campaign attempted against Portugal, always hand-in-hand with England, had not been attended with any result. Martinique had shared the lot of Guadaloupe, lately conquered by the English after a heroic resistance. Canada and India had at last succumbed. War dragged its slow length along in Germany. The brief elevation of the young czar Peter III., a passionate admirer of the Great Frederick, had delivered the king of Prussia from a dangerous enemy, and promised to give him an ally equally trusty and potent. France was exhausted, Spain discontented and angry; negotiations recommenced, on what disastrous conditions for the French colonies in both hemispheres has already been remarked: in Germany the places and districts occupied by France were to be restored; Lord Bute, like his great rival, required the destruction of the port of Dunkerque.

The preliminaries of peace had been already signed at Fontainebleau on the 3d of November, 1762; it was received, not without ill-humor on the part of England, but with a secret feeling of relief; the burdens which weighed upon the country had been increasing every year.

M. de Choiseul submitted in despair to the consequences of the long-continued errors committed by the government of Louis XV. The king was a better judge of his weakness and of the general exhaustion. "The

peace we have just made is neither a good one, nor a glorious one; nobody sees that better than I," he said in his private correspondence; "but under such unhappy circumstances, it could not be better, and I answer for it that if we had continued the war, we should have made a still worse one next year." All the patriotic courage and zeal of the duke of Choiseul, all the tardy impulse springing from the nation's anxieties could not suffice even to palliate the consequences of so many years' ignorance, feebleness and incapacity in succession.

Prussia and Austria henceforth were left to confront one another, the only actors really interested in the original struggle, the last to quit the battle-field on to which they had dragged their allies. By an unexpected turn of luck, Frederick II. had for a moment seen Russia becoming his ally; a fresh blow came to wrest from him this powerful support. The czarina Catherine II., princess of Anhalt-Zerbst and wife of the czar Peter III., having been proclaimed empress, inaugurated a new policy, equally bold and astute, having for its sole aim unscrupulously and shamelessly pursued the aggrandisement and consolidation of the imperial power: Russia became neutral in the strife between Prussia and Austria. The two sovereigns, left without allies and with their dominions drained of men and money, agreed to a mutual exchange of their conquests; the boundaries of their territories once more became as they had been before the Seven Years' War. England alone came triumphant out of the strife. She had won India forever; and for some years at least, civilized America, almost in its entirety, obeyed her laws.

The position of France abroad, at the end of the Seven Years' War, was as painful as it was humiliating; her position at home was still more serious and the deep-lying source of all the reverses which had come to overwhelm the French. Slowly lessened by the faults and misfortunes of King Louis XIV.'s later years, the kingly authority, which had fallen, under Louis XV., into hands as feeble as they were corrupt, was ceasing to inspire the nation with the respect necessary for the working of personal power; public opinion was no longer content to accuse the favorite and the ministers; it was beginning to make the king responsible for the evils suffered and apprehended. In default of good government the people are often satisfied with glory. This consolation, to which the French nation had but lately been accustomed, failed it all at once; mental irritation, for a long time silently brooding, cantoned in the writings of philosophers and in the quatrains of rhymesters, was beginning to spread and show itself among the nation; it sought throughout the State an object for its wrath: the powerful society of the Jesuits was the first to bear all the brunt of it.

A French Jesuit, Father Lavalette, had founded a commercial house at Martinique. Ruined by the war, he had become bankrupt to the extent of three millions; the order having refused to pay, it was condemned by the parliament to do so. The responsibility was declared to extend

to all the members of the Institute, and public opinion triumphed over the condemnation with a "quasi-indecent" joy, says the advocate Barbier. Nor was it content with this legitimate satisfaction. One of the courts which had until lately been most devoted to the Society of Jesus had just set an example of severity. In 1759, the Jesuits had been driven from Portugal by the marquis of Pombal, King Joseph I.'s all-powerful minister; their goods had been confiscated, and their principal, Malagrida, handed over to the Inquisition, had just been burnt as a heretic (September 20th, 1761).

In 1767, the king of Spain, Charles III., less moderate than the government of Louis XV., expelled with violence all the members of the Society of Jesus from his territory, thus exciting the parliament of Paris to fresh severities against the French Jesuits, and, on the 20th of July, 1773, the court of Rome itself, yielding at last to pressure from nearly all the sovereigns of Europe, solemnly pronounced the dissolution of the order. The last houses still offering shelter to the Jesuits were closed; the general, Ricci, was imprisoned at the castle of St. Angelo, and the Society of Jesus, which had been so powerful for nearly three centuries, took refuge in certain distant lands, seeking in oblivion and silence fresh strength for the struggle which it was one day to renew.

The financial embarrassments of the State were growing more serious every day: to the debts left by the Seven Years' War were added the new wants developed by the necessities of commerce and by the progress of civilization. The refusal of several of the provincial parliaments to register the edicts promulgated by the crown ended in the arrest of five of the members of the Parliament of Rennes; at their head was the attorney-general, M. de la Chalotais, author of a very remarkable paper against the Jesuits. It was necessary to form at St. Malo a *King's Chamber* to try the accused. M. de Calonne, an ambitious young man, the declared foe of M. de la Chalotais, was appointed attorney-general on the commission. He pretended to have discovered grave facts against the accused; he was suspected of having invented them. Public feeling was at its height; the magistrates loudly proclaimed the theory of *Classes*, according to which all the parliaments of France, responsible one for another, formed in reality but one body, distributed by delegation throughout the principal towns of the realm.

Under the administration of the duke of Duras, the agitation subsided in Brittany; the magistrates who had resigned resumed their seats; M. de la Chalotais and his son, M. de Caradeuc, alone remained excluded by order of the king. The restored parliament immediately made a claim on their behalf, accompanying the request with a formal accusation against the duke of Aiguillon. The States supported the parliament. A royal ordinance forbade any proceedings against the duke of Aiguillon, and enjoined silence on the parties. Parliament having persisted, and declaring that the accusations against the duke of Aiguillon *attached* (*entachaient*) his honor, Louis XV.,

egged on by the chancellor, M. de Maupeou, an ambitious, bold, bad man, repaired in person to the office and had all the papers relating to the procedure removed before his eyes.

King Louis XV. had taken a fresh step in the shameful irregularity of his life; on the 15th of April, 1764, Madame de Pompadour had died, at the age of forty-two, of heart-disease. Less clever, less ambitious, but more potent than Madame de Pompadour over the faded passions of a monarch aged before his time, the new favorite, Madame Dubarry, made the least scrupulous blush at the lowness of her origin and the irregularity of her life. It was, nevertheless, in her circle that the plot was formed against the duke of Choiseul. Bold, ambitious, restless, presumptuous sometimes in his views and his hopes, the minister had his heart too nearly in the right place and too proper a spirit to submit to either the yoke of Madame Dubarry or that of the shameless courtiers who made use of her influence. He was dismissed on the 24th of December, 1770, and the power passed into the hands of Chancellor Maupeou, the new comptroller-general, Abbé Terray, and the duke of Aiguillon.

With M. de Choiseul disappeared the sturdiest prop of the parliaments. In vain had the king ordered the magistrates to resume their functions and administer justice. Madame Dubarry, on a hint from her able advisers, had caused to be placed in her apartments a fine portrait of Charles I., by Van Dyck. "*France*," she was always reiterating to the king with vulgar familiarity, "France, thy parliament will cut off *thy* head too!"

The ferment caused by this measure subsided without having reached the mass of the nation; the majority of the princes made it up with the court, the dispossessed magistrates returned one after another to Paris, astonished and mortified to see justice administered without them and advocates pleading before the *Maupeou* parliament. The chancellor had triumphed and remained master: all the old jurisdictions were broken up, public opinion was already forgetting them; it was occupied with a question more important still than the administration of justice. The ever increasing disorder in the finances was no longer checked by the enregistering of edicts; the comptroller-general, Abbé Terray, had recourse shamelessly to every expedient of a bold imagination to fill the royal treasury; it was necessary to satisfy the ruinous demands of Madame Dubarry and of the depraved courtiers who thronged about her. Successive bad harvests and the high price of bread still further aggravated the position. It was known that the king had a taste for private speculation; he was accused of trading in grain and of buying up the stores required for feeding the people. The odious rumor of this *famine-pact*, as the bitter saying was, soon spread among the mob. Before its fall, the parliament of Rouen had audaciously given expression to these dark accusations; it had ordered proceedings to be taken against the *monopolists*. A royal injunction put a veto upon the prosecutions. Contempt grew more and more profound; the king and Madame Dubarry, by their shameful lives, Maupeou and Abbé Terray, by destroying the last bulwarks of the public liber-

ties, were digging with their own hands the abyss in which the old French monarchy was about to be soon engulfed.

In the mean while, the dauphin died at the age of thirty-six, on the 20th of December, 1765, profoundly regretted by the bulk of the nation, who knew his virtues without troubling themselves, like the court and the philosophers, about the stiffness of his manners and his complete devotion to the cause of the clergy. The new dauphin, who would one day be Louis XVI., was still a child: the king had him brought into his closet. "Poor France!" he said sadly, "a king of fifty-five and a dauphin of eleven!" The dauphiness and Queen Mary Leczinska soon followed the dauphin to the tomb (1767, 1768). The king, thus left alone, and scared by the repeated deaths around him, appeared for awhile to be drawn closer to his daughters, for whom he had always retained some sort of affection, a mixture of weakness and habit. One of them, Madame Louise, who was deeply pious, left him to enter the convent of the Carmelites; he often went to see her, and granted her all the favors she asked. But by this time Madame Dubarry had become all powerful; to secure to her the honors of presentation at court the king personally solicited the ladies with whom he was intimate in order to get them to support his favorite on this new stage; when the youthful Marie Antoinette, archduchess of Austria and daughter of Maria Theresa, whose marriage the duke of Choiseul had negotiated, arrived in France, in 1770, to espouse the dauphin, Madame Dubarry appeared alone with the royal family at the banquet given at La Muette on the occasion of the marriage. Madame Dubarry was to reign as much as Louis XV.

Before his fall the duke of Choiseul had made a last effort to revive abroad that fortune of France which he saw sinking at home without his being able to apply any effective remedy. He had vainly attempted to give colonies once more to France by founding in French Guiana settlements which had been unsuccessfully attempted by a Rouennese company as early as 1634. The enterprise was badly managed; the numerous colonists, of very diverse origin and worth, were cast without resources upon a territory as unhealthy as fertile. No preparations had been made to receive them; the majority died of disease and want. An attempt made about the same epoch at St. Lucie was attended with the same result. The great ardor and the rare aptitude for distant enterprises which had so often manifested themselves in France from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century seemed to be henceforth extinguished. Only the colonies of the Antilles, which had escaped from the misfortunes of war, and were by this time recovered from their disasters, offered any encouragement to the patriotic efforst of the duke of Choiseul. He had been more fortunate in Europe than in the colonies.

Corsica, whose independence had been gloriously but fruitlessly defended by Pascal Paoli, was to be the last conquest of the old French monarchy. Great or little, magnificent or insignificant, from Richelieu to the duke of Choiseul, France had managed to preserve her territorial acquisitions; in America and in Asia, Louis XV. had shamefully lost Canada and the Indies;

in Europe, the diplomacy of his ministers had given to the kingdom Lorraine and Corsica. The political annihilation of Louis XV. in Europe had been completed by the dismissal of the duke of Choiseul.

France did not do anything and could not do anything; the king's secret negotiators, as well as the minister of foreign affairs, had been tricked by the allied powers. "Ah! if Choiseul had been here!" exclaimed King Louis XV., it is said, when he heard of the partition of Poland. The duke of Choiseul would no doubt have been more clear-sighted and better informed than the duke of Aiguillon, but his policy could have done no good. Frederick II. knew that.

The partition of Poland was barely accomplished, and already King Louis XV., for a moment roused by the audacious aggression of the German courts, had sunk back into the shameful lethargy of his life. When Madame Louise, the pious Carmelite of St. Denis, succeeded in awakening in her father's soul a gleam of religious terror, the courtiers in charge of the royal pleasures redoubled their efforts to distract the king from thoughts so perilous for their own fortunes. Louis XV., fluctuating between remorse and depravity, ruled by Madame Dubarry, bound hand and foot to the triumvirate of Chancellor Maupeou, Abbé Terray and the duke of Aiguillon, who were consuming between them in his name the last remnants of absolute power, fell suddenly ill of small-pox. The princesses, his daughters, had never had that terrible disease, the scourge and terror of all classes of society, yet they bravely shut themselves up with the king, lavishing their attentions upon him to the last gasp. Death, triumphant, had vanquished the favorite: Madame Dubarry was sent away as soon as the nature of the malady had declared itself. The king charged his grand almoner to ask pardon of the courtiers for the scandal he had caused them.

Louis XV. died on the 10th of May, 1774, in his sixty-fourth year, after reigning fifty-nine years, despised by the people who had not so long ago given him the name of Well-beloved, and whose attachment he had worn out by his cold indifference about affairs and the national interests as much as by the irregularities of his life. With him died the old French monarchy, that proud power which had sometimes ruled Europe while always holding a great position therein. Henceforth France was marching toward the unknown, tossed about as she was by divers movements, which were mostly hostile to the old state of things, blindly and confusedly as yet, but, under the direction of masters as inexperienced as they were daring, full of frequently noble though nearly always extravagant and reckless hopes, all founded on a thorough reconstruction of the bases of society and of its ancient props.

Nowhere and at no epoch had literature shone with so vivid a luster as in the reign of Louis XIV.; never has it been in a greater degree the occupation and charm of mankind, never has it left nobler and rarer models behind it for the admiration and imitation of the coming race: the writers of Louis XV.'s age, for all their brilliancy and all their fertility, themselves felt their inferiority in respect of their predecessors. Voltaire confessed as

much with a modesty which was by no means familiar to him. Inimitable in their genius, Corneille, Bossuet, Pascal, Molière, left their imprint upon the generation that came after them; it had judgment enough to set them by acclamation in the ranks of the classics; in their case, greatness displaced time. Voltaire took Racine for model; La Motte imagined that he could imitate La Fontaine. The illustrious company of great minds which surrounded the throne of Louis XIV. and had so much to do with the lasting splendor of his reign had no reason to complain of ingratitude on the part of its successors; but, from the pedestal to which they raised it, it exercised no potent influence upon new thought and new passions.

Grandeur is the distinctive characteristic of Montesquieu's ideas as it is of the seventeenth century altogether. In 1721, when he still had his seat on the fleurs-de-lis, he had published his *Lettres persanes*, an imaginary trip of two exiled Parsees, freely criticizing Paris and France. The book appeared under the regency, and bears the imprint of it in the licentiousness of the descriptions and the witty irreverence of the criticisms. Sometimes, however, the future gravity of Montesquieu's genius reveals itself amid the shrewd or biting judgments.

The success of the *Lettres persanes* was great; Montesquieu had said what many people thought without daring to express it; the doubt which was nascent in his mind, and which he could only withstand by an effort of will, the excessive freedom of the tone and of the style scared the authorities, however; when he wanted to get into the French Academy, in the place of M. de Sacy, Cardinal Fleury opposed it formally. It was only on the 24th of January, 1728, that Montesquieu, recently elected, delivered his reception speech.

Montesquieu thus performed the prelude to the great work of his life: he had been working for twenty years at the *Esprit des lois*, when he published it in 1748. "In the course of twenty years," he says, "I saw my work begin, grow, progress and end." He had placed as the motto to his book this Latin phrase, which at first excited the curiosity of readers: *Prolem sine matre creatam* (*Offspring begotten without a mother*). "Young man," said Montesquieu, by this time advanced in years, to M. Suard (afterward perpetual secretary to the French Academy), "young man, when a notable book is written, genius is its father and liberty its mother; that is why I wrote upon the title-page of my work: *Prolem sine matre creatam.*

It was liberty at the same time as justice that Montesquieu sought and claimed in his profound researches into the laws which have from time immemorial governed mankind; that new instinctive idea of natural rights, those new yearnings which were beginning to dawn in all hearts, remained as yet, for the most part, upon the surface of their minds and of their lives; what was demanded at that time in France was liberty to speak and write rather than to act and govern. Montesquieu, on the contrary, went to the bottom of things, and, despite the natural moderation of his mind, he propounded theories so perilous for absolute power that he dared not have his book

printed at Paris, and brought it out in Geneva; its success was immense: before his death, Montesquieu saw twenty-one French editions published and translations in all the languages of Europe. "Mankind had lost its title-deeds," says Voltaire: "Montesquieu recovered and restored them."

The intense labor, the immense courses of reading, to which Montesquieu had devoted himself, had exhausted his strength; he died on the 10th of February, 1755, at the age of sixty-six, at the beginning of the reign of the philosophers, whose way he had prepared before them without having ever belonged to their number. Diderot alone followed his bier. Fontenelle, nearly a hundred years old, was soon to follow him to the tomb.

Born at Rouen in February, 1657, and nephew of Corneille on the mother's side, Fontenelle did not receive from nature any of the unequal and sublime endowments which have fixed the dramatic crown forever upon the forehead of Corneille; but he inherited the wit and *bel esprit* which the great tragedian hid beneath the splendors of his genius. When, at forty years of age, he became perpetual secretary to the Academy of Sciences, he had already written his book on the *Pluralité des Mondes*, the first attempt at that popularization of science which has spread so since then. He wrote for society and not for scholars, of whose labors and discoveries he gave an account to society. His extracts from the labors of the Academy of Science, and his eulogies of the Academicians are models of lucidness under an ingenious and subtle form, rendered simple and strong by dint of wit.

So much cool serenity and so much taste for noble intellectual works prolonged the existence of Fontenelle beyond the ordinary limits; he was ninety-nine and not yet weary of life: "If I might but reach the strawberry-season once more!" he had said. He died at Paris on the 9th of January, 1759; with him disappeared what remained of the spirit and traditions of Louis XIV.'s reign. Montesquieu and Fontenelle were the last links which united the seventeenth century to the new era. The flood of free-thinking had spared Montesquieu and Fontenelle; it was about to carry away Voltaire almost as far as Diderot.

Born at Paris on the 21st of November, 1694, François Marie Arouet de Voltaire was sent to the college of Louis-le-Grand, which at that time belonged to the Jesuits. As early as then little Arouet, who was weak and in delicate health, but withal of a very lively intelligence, displayed a freedom of thought and a tendency to irreverence which already disquieted and angered his masters. Father Lejay jumped from his chair and took the boy by the collar, exclaiming, "Wretch, thou wilt one of these days raise the standard of Deism in France!" Father Pallou, his confessor, accustomed to read the heart, said as he shook his head, "This child is devoured with a thirst for celebrity." Under a despotic government, this awkward disposition must necessarily lead to painful consequences; it was within the precincts of the Bastile that young Arouet wrote the first part of the poem called *La Henriade*, under the title of *La Ligue;* when he at last obtained his release in April, 1718, he at the same time received orders to reside at Châtenay, where

his father had a country house. It was on coming out of the Bastile that the poet took, from a small family-estate, that name of Voltaire which he was to render so famous.

The players were at that time rehearsing the tragedy of *Œdipe*, which was performed on the 18th of November, 1718, with great success. The daring flights of philosophy introduced by the poet into this profoundly and terribly religious subject excited the enthusiasm of the *roués;* Voltaire was well received by the regent, who granted him an honorarium. "Monseigneur," said Voltaire, "I should consider it very kind if his Majesty would be pleased to provide henceforth for my board, but I beseech your Highness to provide no more for my lodging." Voltaire's acts of imprudence were destined more than once to force him into leaving Paris; he all his life preserved such a horror of prison that it made him commit more than one platitude. "I have a mortal aversion for prison," he wrote in 1734; once more, however, he was to be an inmate of the Bastile.

After another visit to the Bastile, he passed three years in England, engaged in learning English and finishing *La Henriade*, which he published by subscription in 1727. Touched by the favor shown by English society to the author and the poem, he dedicated to the queen of England his new work, which was entirely consecrated to the glory of France; three successive editions were disposed of in less than three weeks. Lord Bolingbroke, having returned to England and been restored to favor, did potent service to his old friend, who lived in the midst of that literary society in which Pope and Swift held sway. When, in the month of March, 1729, Voltaire at last obtained permission to revisit France, he had worked much without bringing out anything.

Voltaire had just inaugurated the great national tragedy of his country, as he had likewise given it the only national epic attempted in France since the *Chansons de geste;* by one of those equally sudden and imprudent reactions to which he was always subject, it was not long before he himself damaged his own success by the publication of his *Lettres philosophiques sur les Anglais.*

The light and mocking tone of these letters, the constant comparison between the two peoples, with many a gibe at the English, but always turning to their advantage, the preference given to the philosophical system of Newton over that of Descartes, lastly the attacks upon religion concealed beneath the cloak of banter—all this was more than enough to ruffle the tranquillity of Cardinal Fleury. The book was brought before parliament: Voltaire was disquieted. He ran, first, for refuge to Bâle, then to the castle of Cirey, to the Marchioness du Châtelet's, a woman as learned as she was impassioned, devoted to literature, physics and mathematics, and tenderly attached to Voltaire, whom she enticed along with her into the paths of science. For fifteen years Madame du Châtelet and Cirey ruled supreme over the poet's life. Every now and then, terrified in consequence of some

bit of anti-religious rashness, he took flight, going into hiding at one time to the court of Lorraine beneath the wing of King Stanislaus, at another time in Holland, at a palace belonging to the king of Prussia, the Great Frederick.

Madame du Châtelet died on the 4th of September, 1749, at Lunéville, where she then happened to be with Voltaire. Their intimacy had experienced many storms, yet the blow was a cruel one for the poet; in losing Madame du Châtelet he was losing the center and the guidance of his life.

Despite the luster of that fame which was attested by the frequent attacks of his enemies as much as by the admiration of his friends, Voltaire was displeased with his sojourn at Paris, and weary of the court and the men of letters. The king had always exhibited toward him a coldness which the poet's adulation had not been able to overcome; he had offended Madame de Pompadour, who had but lately been well disposed toward him; the religious circle, ranged around the queen and the dauphin, was of course hostile to him.

In tracing the tragic episodes of the war, Voltaire, set as his mind was on the royal favor, had wanted in the first place to pay homage to the friends he had lost. It was in the "eulogium of the officers who fell in the campaign of 1741" that he touchingly called attention to the memory of Vauvenargues. He, born at Aix on the 6th of August, 1715, died of his wounds, at Paris, in 1747. His friends had constrained him to publish a little book, one only, the *Introduction à la connaissance de l'esprit humain, suivie de réflexions et de maximes.* Its success justified their affectionate hopes: delicate minds took keen delight in the first essays of Vauvenargues. Hesitating between religion and philosophy, with a palpable leaning toward the latter, ill and yet bravely bearing the disappointments and sufferings of his life, Vauvenargues was already expiring at thirty years of age, when Provence was invaded by the enemy. The dying man remained in his chimney-corner, where he soon expired, leaving among the public and still more among those who had known him personally the impression of great promise sadly extinguished. "It was his fate," says his faithful biographer, M. Gilbert, "to be always opening his wings and to be unable to take flight."

Voltaire, quite on the contrary, was about to take a fresh flight. After several rebuffs and long opposition on the part of the eighteen ecclesiastics who at that time had seats in the French Academy, he had been elected to it in 1746. In 1750, he offered himself at one and the same time for the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Inscriptions: he failed in both candidatures. This mishap filled the cup of his ill-humor. For a long time past Frederick II. had been offering the poet favors which he had long refused. The disgust he experienced at Paris through his insatiable vanity made him determine upon seeking another arena; after having accepted a pension and a place from the king of Prussia, Voltaire set out for Berlin. He was received there with enthusiasm and as sovereign of the little court of

philosophers; but his intimacy with Frederick II. did not last long; it had for awhile done honor to both of them, it had ended by betraying the pettinesses and the meannesses natural to the king as well as to the poet. Frederick did not remain without anxiety on the score of Voltaire's rancour: Voltaire dreaded nasty diplomatic proceedings on the part of the king; he had been threatened with as much by Lord Keith, *Milord Maréchal*, as he was called on the continent from the hereditary title he had lost in his own country through his attachment to the cause of the Stuarts.

Voltaire was already in France, but he dared not venture to Paris. Mutilated, clumsy or treacherous issues of the *Abrégé de l'Histoire universelle* had already stirred the bile of the clergy; there were to be seen in circulation copies of *La Pucelle*, a disgusting poem which the author had been keeping back and bringing out alternately for several years past. Voltaire fled from Colmar, where the Jesuits held sway, to Lyons, where he found Marshal Richelieu, but lately his protector and always his friend, who was repairing to his government of Languedoc. Cardinal Tencin refused to receive the poet, who regarded this sudden severity as a sign of the feelings of the court toward him. He took fright and sought refuge in Switzerland, where he soon settled on the lake of Geneva, pending his purchase of the estate of Ferney in the district of Gex and that of Tourney in Burgundy. He was henceforth fixed, free to pass from France to Switzerland and from Switzerland to France; in the comparative security which he thought he possessed, he gave scope to all his free-thinking, which had but lately been often cloaked according to circumstances. In the great campaign against Christianity undertaken by philosophers, Voltaire, so long a wavering ally, will henceforth fight in the foremost ranks; it is he who shouts to Diderot, "Squelch the thing (*Écrasez l'infâme*)!" The masks are off, and the fight is bare-faced; the Encyclopedists march out to the conquest of the world in the name of reason, humanity and free-thinking; even when he has ceased to work at the *Encyclopedia* Voltaire marches with them.

Innate love of justice and horror of fanaticism had inspired Voltaire with his zeal on behalf of the Calas family and other persecuted Protestants; a more personal feeling, a more profound sympathy caused his grief and his dread when Chevalier de la Barre, accused of having mutilated a crucifix, was condemned, in 1766, to capital punishment; the skepticism of the eighteenth century had sudden and terrible reactions toward fanatical violence, as a protest and a pitiable struggle againt the doubt which was invading it on all sides: the chevalier was executed; he was not twenty years old. He was an infidel and a libertine, like the majority of the young men of his day and of his age: the crime he expiated so cruelly was attributed to reading bad books, which had corrupted him.

Voltaire reigned peacefully, however, over his little empire at Ferney, courted from afar by all the sovereigns of Europe who made any profession of philosophy. "I have a sequence of four kings," he would say with a laugh when he counted his letters from royal personages. The empress of

Russia, Catherine II., had dethroned, in his mind, the Great Frederick. He was destined to die at Paris; there he found the last joys of his life, and there he shed the last rays of his glory.

Voltaire's incessant activity bore many fruits which survived him; he contributed powerfully to the triumph of those notions of humanity, justice and freedom, which, superior to his own ideal, did honor to the eighteenth century; he became the model of a style, clear, neat, brilliant, the natural exponent of his own mind, far more than of the as yet confused hopes and aspirations of his age; he defended the rights of common sense and sometimes withstood the anti-religious passion of his friends, but he blasted both minds and souls with his skeptical gibes; his bitter and at the same time temperate banter disturbed consciences which would have been revolted by the materialistic doctrines of the Encyclopedists; the circle of infidelity widened under his hands; his disciples were able to go beyond him on the fatal path he had opened to them. Voltaire has remained the true representative of the mocking and the stone-flinging phase of free-thinking, knowing nothing of the deep yearnings any more than of the supreme wretchlessness of the human soul, which it kept imprisoned within the narrow limits of earth and time. At the outcome from the bloody slough of the French revolution and from the chaos it caused in men's souls, it was the infidelity of Voltaire which remained at the bottom of the skepticism and moral disorder of the France of our day. The demon which torments her is even more Voltairian than materialistic.

Other influences, more sincere and at the same time more dangerous, were simultaneously undermining men's minds. The group of Encyclopedists, less prudent and less temperate than Voltaire, flaunted openly the flag of revolt. At the head marched Denis Diderot, born in 1715, the most daring of all, the most genuinely affected by his own ardor, without perhaps being the most sure of his ground in his negations. He was an original and exuberant nature, expansively open to all new impressions; it was in conjunction with his friends and in community of ideas that Diderot undertook the immense labor of the *Encyclopedia*. Having, in the first instance, received a commission from a publisher to translate the English collection of [Ephraim] Chambers, Diderot was impressed with a desire to unite in one and the same collection all the efforts and all the talents of his epoch, so as to render joint homage to the rapid progress of science. Won over by his enthusiasm, D'Alembert consented to share the task; and he wrote the beautiful exposition in the introduction. Voltaire sent his articles from *Les Délices*. The Jesuits had proposed to take upon themselves a certain number of questions, but their co-operation was declined: it was a monument to philosophy that the Encyclopedists aspired to raise: the clergy were in commotion at seeing the hostile army, till then uncertain and unbanded, rally organized and disciplined around this vast enterprise. New severities on the part of the parliament and the grand council dealt a blow to the philosophers before long: the editors' privilege was revoked. Orders were given to seize

Diderot's papers. Lamoignon de Malesherbes, who was at that time director of the press, and favorable to freedom without ever having abused it in thought or action, sent him secret warning. Diderot ran home in consternation.

The severities ordered against the *Encyclopedia* did not stop its publication; D'Alembert, however, weary of the struggle, had ceased to take part in the editorship. An infidel and almost a materialist by the geometer's rule, who knows no power but the laws of mathematics, he did not carry into anti-religious strife the bitterness of Voltaire, or the violence of Diderot. More and more absorbed by pure science, which he never neglected save for the French Academy, whose perpetual secretary he had become, D'Alembert left to Diderot alone the care of continuing the *Encyclopedia*. When he died, in 1783, at fifty-six years of age, the work had been finished nearly twenty years. In spite of the bad faith of publishers, who mutilated articles to render them acceptable, in spite of the condemnation of the clergy and the severities of the council, the last volumes of the *Encyclopedia* had appeared in 1765.

This immense work, unequal and confused as it was, a medley of various and often ill-assorted elements, undertaken for and directed to the fixed end of an aggressive emancipation of thought, had not sufficed to absorb the energy and powers of Diderot. Diderot died on the 29th of July, 1784, still poor, an invalid for some time past, surrounded to the end by his friends, who rendered back to him that sincere and devoted affection which he made the pride of his life. The charm of his character had often caused people to forget his violence, which he himself no longer remembered the next day.

The magistrate's mind understood and appreciated the great naturalist's genius. Diderot felt in his own fashion the charm of nature, but, as was said by Chevalier Chastellux, "his ideas got drunk and set to work chasing one another." The ideas of Buffon, on the other hand, came out in the majesti corder of a system under powerful organization and informed as it were with the very secrets of the Creator.

It was in his dignified and studious retirement at Montbard that Buffon, after having transformed and almost created the Paris Jardin du Roi, quietly passed his long life. Born in 1707, he died on the 14th of April, 1788. "I dedicated," he says, "twelve, nay, fourteen, hours to study; it was my whole pleasure. In truth, I devoted myself to it far more than I troubled myself about fame; fame comes afterward, if it may, and it nearly always does."

Buffon did not lack fame; on the appearance of the first three volumes of his *Histoire naturelle*, published in 1749, the breadth of his views, the beauty of his language and the strength of his mind excited general curiosity and admiration. The Sorbonne was in a flutter at certain bold propositions; Buffon, without being disconcerted, took pains to avoid condemnation. Despite certain boldnesses which had caused anxiety, the Sorbonne had reason to compliment the great naturalist. The unity of the human race as well as its superior dignity were already vindicated in these first efforts of Buffon's genius, and his mind never lost sight of this great verity. He continued

his work, adroitly availing himself of the talent and researches of the numerous co-operators whom he had managed to gather about him, directing them all with indefatigable vigilance in their labors and their observations. "Genius is but a greater aptitude for perseverance," he used to say, himself justifying his definition by the assiduity of his studies.

Some of Buffon's theories have been disputed by his successors' science; as D'Alembert said of Descartes: "If he was mistaken about the laws of motion, he was the first to divine that there must be some." Buffon divined the epochs of nature, and by the intuition of his genius, absolutely unshackled by any religious prejudice, he involuntarily reverted to the account given in Genesis: "We are persuaded," he says, "independently of the authority of the sacred books, that man was created last, and that he only came to wield the scepter of the earth when that earth was found worthy of his sway."

Buffon was still working at eighty years of age; he had undertaken a dissertation on style, a development of his splendid reception-speech at the French Academy. Great sorrows had crossed his life; married late to a young wife whom he loved, he lost her early; she left him a son, brought up under his wing and the object of his constant solicitude.

When the young Count de Buffon, an officer in the artillery and at first warmly favorable to the noble professions of the French Revolution, had, like his peers, to mount the scaffold of the Terror, he damned with one word the judges who profaned in his person his father's glory. "Citizens," he exclaimed from the fatal car, "my name is Buffon." With less respect for the rights of genius than was shown by the Algerian pirates who let pass, without opening them, the chests directed to the great naturalist, the executioner of the committee of public safety cut off his son's head.

"How many great men do you reckon?" Buffon was asked one day. "Five," answered he at once: "Newton, Bacon, Leibnitz, Montesquieu and myself."

This self-appreciation, fostered by the hornage of his contemporaries, which showed itself in Buffon undisguisedly with an air of ingenuous satisfaction, had poisoned a life already extinguished ten years before amid the bitterest agonies. Taking up arms against a society in which he had not found his proper place, Jean Jacques Rousseau (born at Geneva, 28th of June, 1712) had attacked the present as well as the past, the Encyclopedists as well as the old social organization. It was from the first his distinctive trait to voluntarily create a desert around him. The eighteenth century was in its nature easily seduced; liberal, generous and open to allurements, it delighted in intellectual contentions, even the most dangerous and the most daring; it welcomed with alacrity all those who thus contributed to its pleasures. The charming drawing-rooms of Madame Geoffrin, of Madame du Deffand, of Mdlle. Lespinasse, belonged of right to philosophy. Rousseau never took his place in this circle; in this society he marched in front like a pioneer of new times, attacking tentatively all that he encountered on his way. "Nobody

was ever at one and the same time more factious and more dictatorial," is the clever dictum of M. St. Marc Girardin.

In his *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts*, Rousseau showed the characteristic which invariably distinguished him from the philosophers, and which ended by establishing deep enmity between them and him; the eighteenth century espied certain evils, certain sores in the social and political condition, believed in a cure and blindly relied on the power of its own theories. Rousseau, more earnest, often more sincere, made a better diagnosis of the complaint, he described its horrible character and the dangerousness of it, he saw no remedy and he pointed none out. Profound and grievous impotence, whose utmost hope is an impossible recurrence to the primitive state of savagery!

Before Rousseau, and better than he, Christianity had recognized and proclaimed the evil; but it had, at the same time, announced to the world a remedy and a Saviour.

Henceforth Rousseau had chosen his own road: giving up the drawing-rooms and the habits of that elegant society for which he was not born and the admiration of which had developed his pride, he made up his mind to live independent, copying music to get his bread, now and then smitten with the women of the world who sought him out in his retirement, in love with Madame d'Épinay and Madame d'Houdetot, anon returning to the coarse servant-wench whom he had but lately made his wife and whose children he had put in the foundling-hospital. Music at that time absorbed all minds: Rousseau brought out a little opera entitled *Le Devin de village* (*The Village Wizard*), which had a great success. It was played at Fontainebleau before the king. The emotions of the eighteenth century were vivid and easily roused; fastening upon everything without any earnest purpose and without any great sense of responsibility it grew as hot over a musical dispute as over the gravest questions of morality or philosophy.

The singularity of his paradox had worn off; Rousseau no longer astounded, he shocked the good sense as well as the aspirations, superficial or generous, of the eighteenth century: the *Discours sur l'Inégalité des conditions* was not a success. It was at the Hermitage, under Madame d'Epinay's roof, that he began the tale of *La Nouvelle Héloise*, which was finished at Marshal de Montmorency's, when the susceptible and cranky temper of the philosopher had justified the malevolent predictions of Grimm.

Rousseau quarreled with Madame d'Épinay, and shortly afterward with all the philosophical circle: Grimm, Helvétius, D'Holbach, Diderot; his quarrels with the last were already of old date, they had made some noise. The rupture was at last complete, it extended to Grimm as well as to Diderot. "Nobody can put himself in my place," wrote Rousseau, "and nobody will see that I am a being apart, who has not the

character, the maxims, the resources of the rest of them, and who must not be judged by their rules."

Rousseau was right: he was a being apart; and the philosophers could not forgive him for his independence. His merits as well as his defects annoyed them equally: his *Lettre contre les Spectacles* had exasperated Voltaire; isolated henceforth by the good as well as by the evil tendencies of his nature, Jean Jacques stood alone against the philosophical circle as well as against the Protestant or Catholic clergy whose creed he often offended. He had just published *Le Contrat Social;* "The Gospel," says M. Saint-Marc Girardin, "of the theory as to the sovereignty of the State representing the sovereignty of the people." The book had barely begun to appear, when, on the 8th of June, 1762, Rousseau was awakened by a message from La Maréchale de Luxembourg: the parliament had ordered *Émile* to be burned and its author arrested. Rousseau took flight, reckoning upon finding refuge at Geneva. The influence of the French government pursued him thither; the grand council condemned *Emile.* One single copy had arrived at Geneva: it was this which was burned by the hand of the common hangman, nine days after the burning at Paris in the Place de Grève. "The *Contrat Social* has received its whipping on the back of *Emile,*" was the saying at Geneva. "At the instigation of M. de Voltaire they have avenged upon me the cause of God," Jean Jacques declared.

Rousseau rashly put his name to his books; Voltaire was more prudent. One day, having been imprisoned for some verses which were not his, he had taken the resolution to imprudently repudiate the paternity of his own works: "You must never publish anything under your own name," he wrote to Helvetius; "*La Pucelle* was none of my doing, of course. Master Joly de Fleury will make a fine thing of his requisition; I shall tell him that he is a calumniator, that *La Pucelle* is his own doing, which he wants to put down to me out of spite."

Rousseau died at the pavilion of Ermenonville, which had been offered to him by M. de Girardin; he died there at the age of sixty-six, sinking even more beneath imaginary woes than under the real sorrows and bitter deceptions of his life. The disproportion between his intellect and his character, between the boundless pride and the impassioned weakness of his spirit, had little by little estranged his friends and worn out the admiration of his contemporaries. By his writings Rousseau acted more powerfully upon posterity than upon his own times: his personality had ceased to do his genius injustice.

He belonged moreover and by anticipation to a new era; from the restless working of his mind, as well as from his moral and political tendencies, he was no longer of the eighteenth century properly speaking, though the majority of the philosophers out-lived him; his work was not their work, their world was never his. He had attempted a noble reaction, but one which was fundamentally and in reality impossible.

The impress of his early education had never been thoroughly effaced: he believed in God, he had been nurtured upon the Gospel in childhood, he admired the morality and the life of Jesus Christ; but he stopped at the boundaries of adoration and submission. Against the systematic infidelity which was more and more creeping over the eighteenth century, the Christian faith alone, with all its forces, could fight and triumph. But the Christian faith was obscured and enfeebled, it clung to the vessel's rigging instead of defending its powerful hull; the flood was rising meanwhile, and the dikes were breaking one after another. The religious belief of the Savoyard vicar, imperfect and inconsistent, such as it is set forth in *Emile*, and that sincere love of nature which was recovered by Rousseau in his solitude, remained powerless to guide the soul and regulate life.

"The eighteenth century" [M. Guizot, *Mélanges biographiques: (Madame la Comtesse de Rumford)*], was far superior to all its skeptics, to all its cynics. What do I say? Superior? Nay, it was essentially opposed to them and continually gave them the lie. Despite the weakness of its morals, the frivolity of its forms, the mere dry bones of such and such of its doctrines, despite its critical and destructive tendency, it was an ardent and a sincere century, a century of faith and disinterestedness. It had faith in the truth, for it claimed the right thereof to reign in this world. It had faith in humanity, for it recognized the right thereof to perfect itself, and would have had that right exercised without obstruction. It erred, it lost itself amid this twofold confidence; it attempted what was far beyond its right and power; it misjudged the moral nature of man and the conditions of the social state. Its ideas as well as its works contracted the blemish of its views. But, granted so much, the original idea, dominant in the eighteenth century, the belief that man, truth and society are made for one another, worthy of one another and called upon to form a union, this correct and salutary belief rises up and overtops all its history. That belief it was the first to proclaim and would fain have realized. Hence its power and its popularity over the whole face of the earth. Hence, also, to descend from great things to small, and from the destiny of man to that of the drawing-room, hence the seductiveness of that epoch and the charm it scattered over social life. Never before were seen all the conditions, all the classes that form the flower of a great people, however diverse they might have been in their history and still were in their interests, thus forgetting their past, their personality, in order to draw near to one another, to unite in a communion of the sweetest manners and solely occupied in pleasing one another, in rejoicing and hoping together during fifty years which were to end in the most terrible conflicts between them."

At the death of King Louis XV., in 1774, the easy-mannered joyance, the peaceful and brilliant charm of fashionable and philosophical society were reaching their end: the time of stern realities was approaching with long strides.

# XV.

# LOUIS XVI.—INTERNAL POLICY—FRANCE AND AMERICA.

(1775—1789.)

AT the news that Louis XV. had just heaved his last sigh in the arms of his pious daughters, Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette both flung themselves upon their knees, exclaiming, "O God, protect us, direct us, we are too young."

The monarch's youth did not scare the country, itself everywhere animated and excited by a breath of youth. There were congratulations on escaping from the well-known troubles of a regency; the king's ingenuous inexperience, moreover, opened a vast field for the most contradictory hopes. The philosophers counted upon taking possession of the mind of a good young sovereign, who was said to have his heart set upon his people's happiness; the clergy and the Jesuits themselves expected everything from the young prince's pious education; the old parliaments, mutilated, crushed down, began to raise up their heads again, while the economists were already preparing their most daring projects. The painters, the sculptors and the architects of France were sufficient for her glory; only Grétry and Monsigny upheld the honor of that French music which was attacked by Grimm and by Jean Jacques Rousseau; but it was at Paris that the great quarrel went on between the Italians and the Germans. Piccini and Glûck divided society, wherein their rivalry excited violent passions. Everywhere and on all questions, intellectual movement was becoming animated with fresh ardor; France was marching toward the region of storms, in the blindness of her confidence and joyance; the atmosphere seemed purer since Madame Dubarry had been sent to a convent by one of the first orders of young Louis XVI.

Already, however, farseeing spirits were disquieted: scarcely had he mounted the throne, when the king summoned to his side, as his minister, M. de Maurepas, but lately banished by Louis XV., in 1749, on a charge of having tolerated, if not himself written, songs disrespectful toward Madame de Pompadour; in the place of the duke of Aiguillon, who had the ministry of war and that of foreign affairs both together, the count of Muy and the count of Vergennes were called to power. Some weeks later, the obscure minister of marine, M. de Boynes, made way for the superintendent of the district (*généralité*) of Limoges, M. Turgot.

Intimately connected with the most esteemed magistrates and economists, such as MM. Trudaine, Quesnay, and Gournay, at the same time that he was writing in the *Encyclopedia*, and constantly occupied in useful work, Turgot was not yet five-and-thirty when he was appointed superintendent of the district of Limoges. There, the rare faculties of his mind and his sincere love of good found their natural field; the country was poor, crushed under imposts, badly intersected by roads badly kept, inhabited by an ignorant populace, violently hostile to the recruitment of the militia. He encouraged agriculture, distributed the talliages more equitably, amended the old roads and constructed new ones, abolished forced labor (*corvées*), provided for the wants of the poor and wretched during the dearth of 1770 and 1771, and declined, successively, the superintendentship of Rouen, of Lyons, and of Bordeaux, in order that he might be able to complete the useful tasks he had begun at Limoges. It was from that district that he was called to a seat in the new cabinet. Scarcely had he been installed in the department of marine, and begun to conceive vast plans, when the late ministers of Louis XV. succumbed at last beneath the popular hatred; in the place of Abbé Terray, M. Turgot became comptroller-general.

The old parliamentarians were triumphant; at the same time as Abbé Terray, Chancellor Maupeou was disgraced, and the judicial system he had founded fell with him. Unpopular from the first, the Maupeou parliament had remained in the nation's eyes the image of absolute power corrupted and corrupting. The suit between Beaumarchais and Councillor Goëzman had contributed to decry it, thanks to the uproar the able pamphleteer had managed to cause; the families of the former magistrates were powerful, numerous, esteemed, and they put pressure upon public opinion. Imperturbable and haughty as ever, Maupeou retired to his estate at Thuit, near the Andelys, where he drew up a justificatory memorandum of his ministry, which he had put into the king's hands, without ever attempting to enter the court or Paris again; he died in the country, at the outset of the revolutionary storms, on the 29th of July, 1792, just as he had made the State a patriotic present of eight hundred thousand livres. At the moment when the populace were burning him in effigy in the streets of Paris together with Abbé Terray, when he saw the recall of the parliamentarians, and the work of his whole life destroyed, he repeated with his usual coolness: "If the king is pleased to lose his kingdom—well, he is master."

Abbé Terray had been less proud, and was more harshly treated. It was in vain that he sought to dazzle the young king with ably prepared memorials; he had to refund nearly nine hundred thousand livres to the public treasury. Being recognized by the mob as he was passing over the Seine in a ferry boat, he had some difficulty in escaping from the hands of those who would have hurled him into the river.

After his first interview with the king, at Compiègne, M. Turgot wrote to Louis XVI.:—"Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to permit me to place before your eyes the engagement you took upon yourself, to support

me in the execution of plans of economy which are at all times, and now more than ever, indispensable. I confine myself for the moment, sir, to reminding you of these three expressions :—First degree, No bankruptcies ; Second degree, No augmentation of imposts ; Third degree, No loans." M. Turgot set to work at once. While governing his district of Limoges, he had matured numerous plans and shaped extensive theories. He belonged to his times and to the school of the philosophers as regarded his contempt for tradition and history ; it was to natural rights alone, to the innate and primitive requirements of mankind that he traced back his principles and referred as the basis for all his attempts.

Two fundamental principles regulated the financial system of M. Turgot, economy in expenditure and freedom in trade ; everywhere he ferreted out abuses, abolishing useless offices and payments, exacting from the entire administration that strict probity of which he set the example. Louis XVI. supported him conscientiously at that time in all his reforms : the public made fun of it. It was on account of his financial innovations that the comptroller-general particularly dreaded the return of the old parliament with which he saw himself threatened every day. On the 12th of November, 1774, the old parliament was formally restored, subjected, however, to the same jurisdiction which had controlled the Maupeou parliament. The latter had been sent to Versailles to form a grand council there. The restored magistrates grumbled at the narrow limits imposed upon their authority ; the duke of Orleans, the duke of Chartres, the prince of Conti supported their complaints ; it was in vain that the king for some time met them with refusals ; threats soon gave place to concessions ; and the parliaments everywhere reconstituted, enfeebled in the eyes of public opinion, but more than ever obstinate and Fronde-like, found themselves free to harass, without doing any good, the march of an administration becoming every day more difficult.

M. Turgot, meanwhile, was continuing his labors, preparing a project for equitable redistribution of the talliage and his grand system of a graduated scale (*hiérarchie*) of municipal assemblies, commencing with the parish, to culminate in a general meeting of delegates from each province ; he threatened, in the course of his reforms, the privileges of the noblesse and of the clergy, and gave his mind anxiously to the instruction of the people, whose condition and welfare he wanted to simultaneously elevate and augment ; already there was a buzz of murmurs against him, confined as yet to the courtiers, when the dearness of bread and the distress which ensued in the spring of 1775 furnished his adversaries with a convenient pretext. Up to that time the attacks had been cautious and purely theoretical. M. Necker, an able banker from Geneva, for a long while settled in Paris, hand and glove with the philosophers, and keeping up, moreover, a great establishment, had brought to the comptroller-general a work which he had just finished on the trade in grain ; on many points he did not share M. Turgot's opinions. "Be kind enough to ascertain for yourself," said the banker to the minister,

"whether the book can be published without inconvenience to the government." M. Turgot was proud and sometimes rude: "Publish, sir, publish," said he, without offering his hand to take the manuscript, "the public shall decide." M. Necker, out of pique, published his book; it had an immense sale; other pamphlets, more violent and less solid, had already appeared; at the same moment a riot, which seemed to have been planned and to be under certain guidance, broke out in several parts of France. Drunken men shouted about the public thoroughfares, "Bread! cheap bread!"

Serious damage was done throughout France to property, and even to provisions; barns were burnt, farm-houses plundered, wheat thrown into the river, and sacks of flour ripped to pieces before the king's eyes at Versailles. At last the troubles began to subside, and the merchants recovered their spirits; M. Turgot had at once sent fifty thousand francs to a trader whom the rioters had robbed of a boat full of wheat which they had flung into the river; two of the insurgents were at the same time hanged at Paris on a gallows forty feet high, and a notice was sent to the parish-priests, which they were to read from the pulpit in order to enlighten the people as to the folly of such outbreaks, and as to the conditions of the trade in grain.

Severities were hateful to the king; he had misjudged his own character, when, at the outset of his reign, he had desired the appellation of *Louis le Sévère*. "Have we nothing to reproach ourselves with in these measures?" he was incessantly asking M. Turgot, who was as conscientious, but more resolute, than his master. An amnesty preceded the coronation, which was to take place at Reims on the 11th of June, 1775.

A grave question presented itself as regarded the king's oath: should he swear, as the majority of his predecessors had sworn, to exterminate heretics? M. Turgot had aroused Louis XVI.'s scruples upon this subject: "Tolerance ought to appear expedient in point of policy for even an infidel prince," he said; "but it ought to be regarded as a sacred duty for a religious prince." The clergy, scared by the minister's liberal tendencies, reiterated their appeals to the king against the liberties tacitly accorded to Protestants. "Finish," they said to Louis XVI., "the work which Louis the Great began, and which Louis the Well-beloved continued." The king answered with vague assurances; already MM. Turgot and de Malesherbes were entertaining him with a project which conceded to Protestants the civil status.

M. de Malesherbes, indeed, had been for some months past seconding his friend in the weighty task which the latter had undertaken. Called to the ministry in the place of the duke of La Vrillière, his first care was to protest against the sealed letters (*lettres de cachet*—summary arrest), the application whereof he was for putting in the hands of a special tribunal; he visited the Bastile, releasing the prisoners confined on simple suspicion. He had already dared to advise the king to a convocation of the States-general.

Almost the whole ministry was in the hands of reformers; a sincere desire to do good impelled the king toward those who promised him the happiness of his people. The Count de St. Germain, who succeeded M. de

Muy at the war-office, had conceived a thousand projects of reform; he wanted to apply them all at once. He made no sort of case of the picked corps, and suppressed the majority of them, thus irritating, likewise, all the privileged. The enthusiasm which had been excited by the new minister of war had disappeared from among the officers; he lost the hearts of the soldiers by wanting to establish in the army the corporal punishments in use among the German armies in which he had served. The feeling was so strong that the attempt was abandoned. Violent and weak both together, in spite of his real merit and his genuine worth, often giving up wise resolutions out of sheer embarrassment, he nearly always failed in what he undertook; the outcries against the reformers were increased thereby; the faults of M. de St. Germain were put down to M. Turgot.

He had proposed to the king six edicts; two were extremely important; the first abolished jurorships (*jurandes*) and masterships (*maîtrises*) among the workmen: "The king," said the preamble, "wishes to secure to all his subjects, and especially to the humblest, to those who have no property but their labor and their industry, the full and entire enjoyment of their rights, and to reform, consequently, the institutions which strike at those rights, and which, in spite of their antiquity, have failed to be legalized by time, opinion and even the acts of authority." The second substituted for forced labor on roads and highways an impost to which all proprietors were equally liable.

This was the first step toward equal redistribution of taxes; great was the explosion of disquietude and wrath on the part of the privileged; it showed itself first in the council, by the mouth of M. de Miromesnil; Turgot sprang up with animation. "The keeper of the seals," he said, "seems to adopt the principle that, by the constitution of the State, the noblesse ought to be exempt from all taxation. This idea will appear a paradox to the majority of the nation. The commoners (*roturiers*) are certainly the greatest number, and we are no longer in the days when their voices did not count." The king listened to the discussion in silence. "Come," he exclaimed abruptly, "I see that there are only M. Turgot and I here who love the people," and he signed the edicts.

The comptroller-general was triumphant; but his victory was but the prelude to his fall. Too many enemies were leagued against him, irritated both by the noblest qualities of his character, and at the same time by the natural defects of his manners. He fought single-handed. M. de Malesherbes, firm as a rock at the head of the Court of Aids, supported as he was by the traditions and corporate feeling of the magistracy, had shown weakness as a minister. The two friends fell together. M. Turgot had espied the danger and sounded some of the chasms just yawning beneath the feet of the nation as well as of the king; he committed the noble error of believing in the instant and supreme influence of justice and reason. Had he been longer in power, M. Turgot would still have failed in his designs. The life of one man was too short, and the hand of one man too weak, to modify the course of events; fruit slowly ripened during so many centuries. It was

to the honor of M. Turgot that he discerned the mischief and would fain have applied the proper remedy. He was often mistaken about the means, oftener still about the strength he had at disposal. He had the good fortune to die early, still sad and anxious about the fate of his country, without having been a witness of the catastrophes he had foreseen and of the sufferings as well as wreckage through which France must pass before touching at the haven he would fain have opened to her.

The joy of the courtiers was great, at Versailles, when the news arrived of M. Turgot's fall; the public regretted it but little; the inflexible severity of his principles, which he never veiled by grace of manners, a certain disquietude occasioned by the chimerical views which were attributed to him, had alienated many people from him. His real friends were in consternation.

A few months later M. de St. Germain retired in his turn, not to Alsace again, but to the Arsenal with forty thousand livres for pension. The first, the great attempt at reform, had failed; a vain attempt had been made to establish the government on the soundest as well as the most moderate principles of pure philosophy; at home a new attempt, bolder and at the same time more practical, was soon about to resuscitate for awhile the hopes of liberal minds; abroad and in a new world there was already a commencement of events which were about to bring to France a revival of glory and to shed on the reign of Louis XVI. a moment's legitimate and brilliant luster.

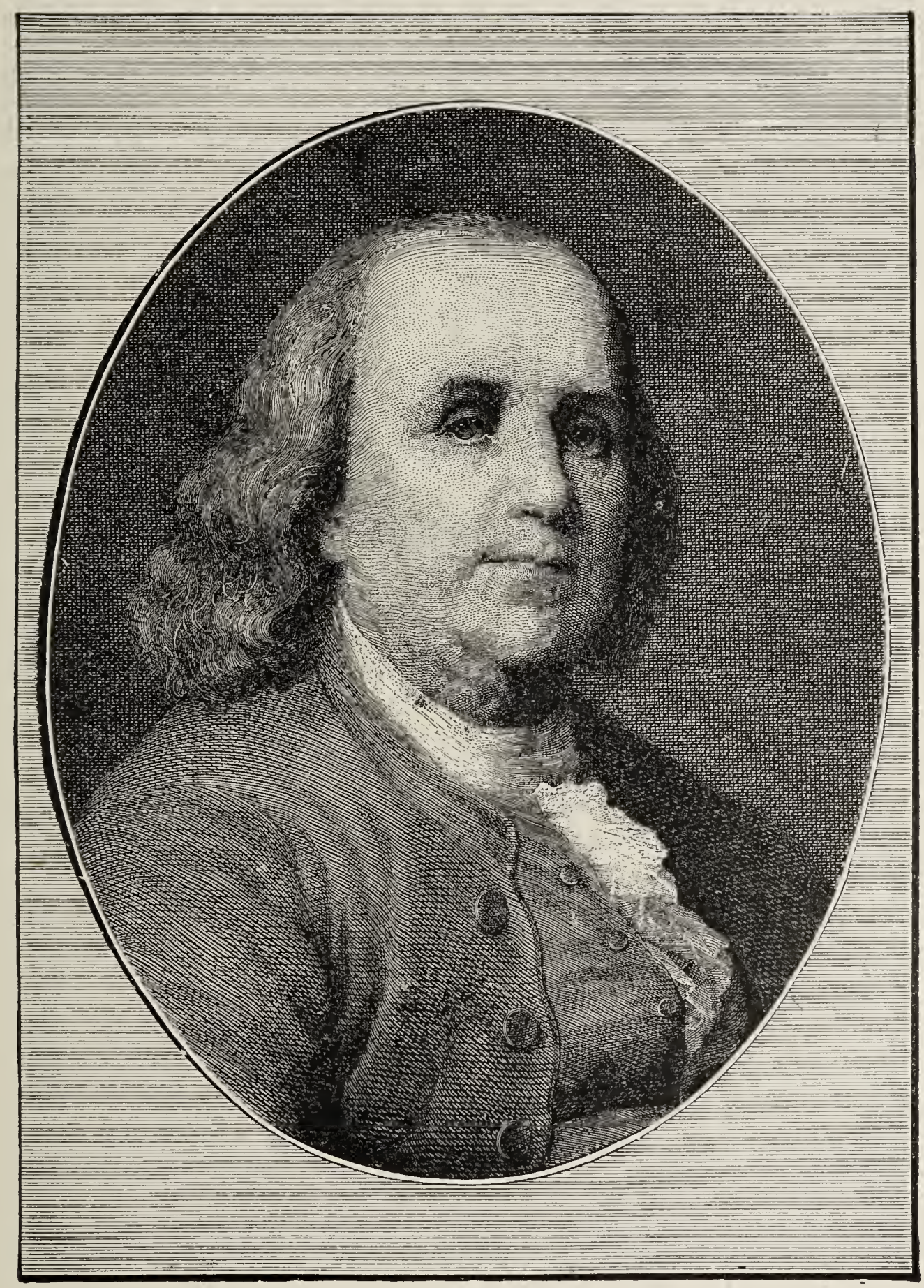
The Seven Years' War was ended, shamefully and sadly for France; M. de Choiseul, who had concluded peace with regret and a bitter pang, was ardently pursuing every means of taking his revenge. To foment disturbances between England and her colonies appeared to him an efficacious and a natural way of gratifying his feelings. "There is great difficulty in governing States in the days in which we live," he wrote to M. Durand, at that time French minister in London; "still greater difficulty in governing those of America; and the difficulty approaches impossibility as regards those of Asia. I am very much astonished that England, which is but a very small spot in Europe, should hold dominion over more than a third of America, and that her dominion should have no other object but that of trade. . . . As long as the vast American possessions contribute no subsidies for the support of the mother-country, private persons in England will still grow rich for some time on the trade with America, but the State will be undone for want of means to keep together a too extended power; if, on the contrary, England proposes to establish imposts in her American domains, when they are more extensive and perhaps more populous than the mother-country, when they have fishing, woods, navigation, corn, iron, they will easily part asunder from her, without any fear of chastisement, for England could not undertake a war against them to chastise them." He encouraged his agents to keep him informed as to the state of feeling in America, welcoming

and studying all projects, even the most fantastic, that might be hostile to England. (See American history.)

On the 10th of January, 1776, three weeks before the declaration of independence, M. de Vergennes secretly remitted a million to M. de Beaumarchais; two months later the same sum was entrusted to him in the name of the king of Spain. Beaumarchais alone was to appear in the affair and to supply the insurgent Americans with arms and ammunition. "You will found," he had been told, "a great commercial house, and you will try to draw into it the money of private individuals; the first outlay being now provided, we shall have no further hand in it; the affair would compromise the government too much in the eyes of the English." It was under the style and title of *Rodrigo Hortalez and Co.* that the first installment of supplies, to the extent of more than three millions, was forwarded to the Americans; and, notwithstanding the hesitation of the ministry and the rage of the English, other installments soon followed. Beaumarchais was henceforth personally interested in the enterprise; he had commenced it from zeal for the American cause and from that yearning for activity and initiative which characterized him even in old age. "I should never have succeeded in fulfilling my mission here without the indefatigable, intelligent and generous efforts of M. de Beaumarchais," wrote Silas Deane to the secret committee of Congress: "the United States are more indebted to him, on every account, than to any other person on this side of the ocean."

The hereditary sentiments of Louis XVI. and his monarchical principles, as well as the prudent moderation of M. Turgot, retarded at Paris the negotiations which caused so much ill-humor among the English, and which Silas Deane and Franklin were endeavoring to bring to a satisfactory issue; M. de Vergennes still preserved, in all diplomatic relations, an apparent neutrality. "It is *my* line (*métier*), you see, to be a royalist," the emperor Joseph II. had said during a visit he had just paid to Paris, when he was pressed to declare in favor of the American insurgents; at the bottom of his heart the king of France was of the same opinion; he had refused the permission to serve in America which he had been asked for by many gentlemen: some had set off without waiting for it; the most important as well as the most illustrious of them all, the marquis of La Fayette, was not twenty years old when he slipped away from Paris, leaving behind his young wife close to her confinement, to go and embark upon a vessel which he had bought, and which, laden with arms, awaited him in a Spanish port; arrested by order of the court, he evaded the vigilance of his guards; in the month of July, 1777, he disembarked in America.

Washington did not like France, he did not share the hopes which some of his fellow-countrymen founded upon her aid; he made no case of the young volunteers who came to enroll themselves among the defenders of independence and whom Congress loaded with favors. "No bond but interest attaches these men to America," he would say, "and, as for France, she only lets us get our munitions from her because of the benefit her commerce derives from



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it." Prudent, reserved and proud, Washington looked for America's salvation to only America herself; neither had he foreseen, nor did he understand that enthusiasm, as generous as it is unreflecting, which easily takes possession of the French nation, and of which the United States were just then the object. M. de La Fayette was the first who managed to win the general's affection and esteem. A great yearning for excitement and renown, a great zeal for new ideas and a certain political perspicacity had impelled M. de La Fayette to America; he showed himself courageous, devoted, more judicious and more able than had been expected from his youth and character. Washington came to love him as a son. The great and strong common sense of the American general had enlightened him as to the conditions of the contest he had entered upon. He knew it was a desperate one, he foresaw that it would be a long one; better than anybody he knew the weaknesses as well as the merits of the instruments which he had at disposal, he had learned to desire the alliance and the aid of France. She did not belie his hopes; at the very moment when Congress was refusing to enter into negotiations with Great Britain as long as a single English soldier remained on American soil, rejoicings and thanksgivings were everywhere throughout the thirteen colonies greeting the news of the recognition by France of the independence of the United States; the treaties of alliance, a triumph of diplomatic ability on the part of Franklin had been signed at Paris on the 6th of February, 1778.

"Assure the English government of the king's pacific intentions," M. de Vergennes had written to the marquis of Noailles, then French ambassador in England. George III, replied to these mocking assurances by recalling his ambassador.

"Anticipate your enemies," Franklin had said to the ministers of Louis XVI., "act toward them as they did to you in 1755; let your ships put to sea before any declaration of war; it will be time to speak when a French squadron bars the passage of Admiral Howe, who has ventured to ascend the Delaware." The king's natural straightforwardness and timidity were equally opposed to this bold project; he hesitated a long while; when Count d'Estaing at last, on the 13th of April, went out of Toulon harbor to sail for America with his squadron, it was too late, the English were on their guard.

When the French admiral arrived in America, hostilities had commenced between France and England, without declaration of war, by the natural pressure of circumstances and the state of feeling in the two countries. England fired the first shot on the 17th of June, 1778.

From the day when the duke of Choiseul had been forced to sign the humiliating treaty of 1763, he had never relaxed in his efforts to improve the French navy. In the course of ministerial alternations, frequently unfortunate for the work in hand, it had nevertheless been continued by his successors. Counts d'Estaing and d'Orvilliers nobly maintained the honor of the fleur-de-lys against such men as Admiral Howe and Lord Keppel; in England the commotion was great at the news that France and America in arms against her had just been joined by Spain. Charles III. felt no sort of sym-

pathy for a nascent republic; he feared the contagion of the example it showed to the Spanish colonies; he hesitated to plunge into the expenses of a war. His hereditary hatred against England prevailed at last over the dictates of prudence. He was promised, moreover, the assistance of France to reconquer Gibraltar and Minorca. The king of Spain consented to take part in the war, without however recognizing the independence of the United States or entering into alliance with them.

The situation of England was becoming serious, she believed herself to be threatened with a terrible invasion. As in the days of the Great Armada, "orders were given to all functionaries, civil and military, in case of a descent of the enemy, to see to the transportation into the interior and into a place of safety of all horses, cattle and flocks that might happen to be on the coasts." "Sixty-six allied ships of the line plowed the Channel, fifty thousand men, mustered in Normandy, were preparing to burst upon the southern counties. A simple American corsair, Paul Jones, ravaged with impunity the coasts of Scotland. The powers of the North, united with Russia and Holland, threatened to maintain, with arms in hand, the rights of neutrals, ignored by the English admiralty-courts. Ireland awaited only the signal to revolt; religious quarrels were distracting Scotland and England; the authority of Lord North's cabinet was shaken in Parliament as well as throughout the country, the passions of the mob held sway in London, and among the sights that might have been witnessed was that of this great city given up for nearly a week to the populace, without anything that could stay its excesses save its own lassitude and its own feeling of shame." [M. Cornélis de Witt, *Histoire de Washington.*]

Misfortune and disappointments are great destroyers of some barriers, prudent tact can overthrow others; Washington and the American army would but lately have seen with suspicion the arrival of foreign auxiliaries; in 1780, transports of joy greeted the news of their approach; M. de La Fayette, moreover, had been careful to spare the American general all painful friction. Count de Rochambeau and the French officers were placed under the orders of Washington, and the auxiliary corps entirely at his disposal. The delicate generosity and the disinterestedness of the French government had sometimes had the effect of making it neglect the national interests in its relations with the revolted colonies; but it had derived therefrom a spirit of conduct invariably calculated to triumph over the prejudices, as well as the jealous pride of the Americans.

"The history of the War of Independence is a history of hopes deceived," said Washington. He had conceived the idea of making himself master of New York with the aid of the French. The transport of the troops had been badly calculated; Rochambeau brought to Rhode Island only the first division of his army, five thousand men about, and Count de Guichen, whose squadron had been relied upon, had just been recalled to France. Washington was condemned to inaction. "Our position is not sufficiently brilliant," he wrote to M. de La Fayette, "to justify our putting pressure upon Count de Ro-





chambeau ; I shall continue our arrangements, however, in the hope of more fortunate circumstances." The American army was slow in getting organized, obliged as it had been to fight incessantly and make head against constantly recurring difficulties ; it was getting organized, however ; the example of the French, the discipline which prevailed in the auxiliary corps, the good understanding thenceforth established among the officers, helped Washington in his difficult task. From the first the superiority of the general was admitted by the French as well as by the Americans ; naturally and by the mere fact of the gifts he had received from God, Washington was always and everywhere chief of the men placed within his range and under his influence.

While the United States were celebrating their victory with thanksgivings and public festivities, their allies were triumphing at all the different points, simultaneously, at which hostilities had been entered upon. Becoming embroiled with Holland, where the republican party had prevailed against the stadtholder, who was devoted to them, the English had waged war upon the Dutch colonies. Admiral Rodney had taken St. Eustache, the center of an immense trade ; he had pillaged the warehouses and laden his vessels with an enormous mass of merchandise ; the convoy which was conveying a part of the spoil to England was captured by Admiral La Motte-Piquet ; M. de Bouillé surprised the English garrison remaining at St. Eustache and recovered possession of the island, which was restored to the Dutch. They had just maintained gloriously, at Dogger Bank, their old maritime renown : "Officers and men all fought like lions," said Admiral Zouttman. The firing had not commenced until the two fleets were within pistol-shot. The ships on both sides were dismasted, scarcely in a condition to keep afloat ; the glory and the losses were equal, but the English admiral, Hyde Parker, was irritated and displeased ; George III. went to see him on board his vessel : "I wish your Majesty younger seamen and better ships," said the old sailor, and he insisted on resigning. This was the only action fought by the Dutch during the war ; they left to Admiral de Kersaint the job of recovering from the English their colonies of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice on the coasts of Guiana. A small Franco-Spanish army was at the same time besieging Minorca ; the fleet was considerable, the English were ill-prepared ; they were soon obliged to shut themselves up in Fort St. Philip, and, finally, to surrender (February 4th, 1782).

As early as 1778, even before the maritime war had burst out in Europe, France had lost all that remained of her possessions on the Coromandel coast. Pondicherry, scarcely risen from its ruins, was besieged by the English, and had capitulated on the 17th of October, after a heroic resistance of forty days' open trenches. Since that day a Mussulman, Hyder Ali, conqueror of the Carnatic, had struggled alone in India against the power of England ; it was around him that a group had been formed by the old soldiers of Bussy, and by the French who had escaped from the disaster of Pondicherry. It was with their aid that the able robber-chief, the crafty politician, had defended and consolidated the empire he had founded against that foreign dominion

which threatened the independence of his country. He had just suffered a series of reverses, and he was on the point of being forced to evacuate the Carnatic, and take refuge in his kingdom of Mysore when he heard, in the month of July, 1782, of the arrival of a French fleet commanded by M. de Suffren. Hyder Ali had already been many times disappointed. The preceding year Admiral d'Orves had appeared on the Coromandel coast with a squadron; the sultan had sent to meet him, urging him to land and attack Madras, left defenseless; the admiral refused to risk a single vessel or land a single man, and he returned, without striking a blow, to Ile-de-France. Ever indomitable and enterprising, Hyder Ali hoped better things of the newcomers: he was not deceived. Six months, however, had scarcely elapsed when he died, leaving to his son Tippoo Sahib affairs embroiled and allies enfeebled. At this news the Mahrattas, in revolt against England, hastened to make peace, and Tippoo Sahib, who had just seized Tanjore, was obliged to abandon his conquest, and go to the protection of Malabar. Ten thousand men only remained in the Carnatic to back the little corps of French; these had resumed the offensive and were preparing to make fresh sallies, when it was known at Calcutta that the preliminaries of peace had been signed at Paris on the 9th of February. The English immediately proposed an armistice. The *Surveillante* shortly afterward brought the same news, with orders for Suffren to return to France. India was definitively given up to the English, who restored to the French Pondicherry, Chandernugger, Mahé and Karikal, the last strips remaining of that French dominion which had for a while been triumphant throughout the Peninsula. The feebleness and the vices of Louis XV.'s government weighed heavily upon the government of Louis XVI. in India as well as in France, and at Paris itself.

It is to the honor of mankind and their consolation under great reverses that political checks and the inutility of their efforts do not obscure the glory of great men. M. de Suffren had just arrived at Paris; he was in low spirits; M. de Castries took him to Versailles. There was a numerous and brilliant court. On entering the guards' hall, "Gentlemen," said the minister to the officers on duty, "this is M. de Suffren." Everybody rose, and the body-guards, forming an escort for the admiral, accompanied him to the king's chamber. His career was over; the last of the great sailors of the *ancien régime* died on the 8th of December, 1788.

While Hyder Ali and M. de Suffren were still disputing India with England, that power had just gained in Europe an important advantage in the eyes of public opinion as well as in respect of her supremacy at sea; we allude to the town and fortress of Gibraltar which, after being invested by the Franco-Spanish army for a considerable time, was relieved and revictualled by Lord Howe in 1782.

Peace was at hand, however; all the belligerents were tired of the strife, the marquis of Rockingham was dead; his ministry, after being broken up, had re-formed with less luster under the leadership of Lord Shelburne; William Pitt, Lord Chatham's second son, at that time twenty-two years of age,

had a seat in the cabinet. Already negotiations for a general peace had begun at Paris, but Washington, who eagerly desired the end of the war, did not yet feel any confidence. On the 5th of December, at the opening of parliament, George III. announced in the speech from the throne that he had offered to recognize the independence of the American colonies. "In thus admitting their separation from the crown of this kingdom, I have sacrificed all my desires to the wishes and opinion of my people," said the king. "I humbly pray Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which may flow from so important a dismemberment of its empire, and that America may be a stranger to the calamities which have before now proved to the mother-country that monarchy is inseparable from the benefits of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interests, affections may still form a bond of union between the two countries, and I will spare no pains or attention to promote it."

To the exchange of conquests between France and England was added the cession to France of the island of Tobago and of the Senegal river with its dependencies. The territory of Pondicherry and Karikal received some augmentation. For the first time for more than a hundred years the English renounced the humiliating conditions so often demanded on the subject of the harbor of Dunkerque. Spain saw herself confirmed in her conquest of the Floridas and of the island of Minorca. Holland recovered all her possessions, except Negapatam.

France came out exhausted from the struggle, but relieved in her own eyes as well as those of Europe from the humiliation inflicted upon her by the disastrous Seven Years' War, and by the treaty of 1763. She saw triumphant the cause she had upheld, and her enemies sorrow-stricken at the dismemberment they had suffered. It was a triumph for her arms and for the generous impulse which had prompted her to support a legitimate but for a long while doubtful enterprise. A fresh element, however, had come to add itself to the germs of disturbance, already so fruitful, which were hatching within her. She had prompted the foundation of a republic based upon principles of absolute right, the government had given way to the ardent sympathy of the nation for a people emancipated from a long yoke by its deliberate will and its indomitable energy. France felt her heart still palpitating from the efforts she had witnessed and shared on behalf of American freedom; the unreflecting hopes of a blind emulation were already agitating many a mind. "In all states," said Washington, "there are inflammable materials which a single spark may kindle." In 1783, on the morrow of the American war, the inflammable materials everywhere accumulated in France were already providing means for that immense conflagration in the midst of which the country well-nigh perished,

After a few inefficient and useless ministers, Necker had been called to the important post so ably filled by Turgot. Public opinion was favorable to him, his promotion was well received; it presented, however,

great difficulties: he had been a banker, and hitherto the comptrollers-general had all belonged to the class of magistrates or superintendents; he was a Protestant, and, as such, could not hold any office. The clergy were in commotion; they tried certain remonstrances. The opposition of the Church, however, closed to the new minister an important opening; at first director of the treasury, then director-general of finance, M. Necker never received the title of comptroller-general, and was not admitted to the council. From the outset, with a disinterestedness not devoid of ostentation, he had declined the salary attached to his functions. The courtiers looked at one another in astonishment.

This was for awhile the feeling throughout France. "No bankruptcies, no new imposts, no loans," M. Turgot had said, and had looked to economy alone for the resources necessary to restore the finances. Bolder and less scrupulous, M. Necker, who had no idea of having recourse to either bankruptcy or imposts, made unreserved use of the system of loans. During the five years that his ministry lasted, the successive loans he contracted amounted to nearly five hundred million livres. There was no security given to insure its repayment to the lenders. The mere confidence felt in the minister's ability and honesty had caused the money to flow into the treasury.

M. Necker did not stop there: a foreigner by birth, he felt no respect for the great tradition of French administration; practised in the handling of funds, he had conceived as to the internal government of the finances theories opposed to the old system; the superintendents established awhile ago by Richelieu had become powerful in the central administration as well as in the provinces, and the comptroller-general was in the habit of accounting with them; they nearly all belonged to old and notable families; some of them had won the public regard and esteem. The posts at court likewise underwent reform: the courtiers saw at one blow the improper sources of their revenues in the financial administration cut off, and obsolete and ridiculous appointments, to which numerous pensions were attached, reduced. Their discontent was becoming every day more noisy, without as yet shaking the credit of M. Necker. He thought the moment had come for giving public opinion the summons of which he recognized the necessity; he felt himself shaken at court, weakened in the regard of M. de Maurepas, who was still powerful in spite of his great age and jealous of him as he had been of M. Turgot; he had made up his mind, he said, to let the nation know how its affairs had been managed, and in the early days of the year 1781 he published his *Compte rendu au roi.*

It was a bold innovation; hitherto the administration of the finances had been carefully concealed from the eyes of the public as the greatest secret in the affairs of State; for the first time the nation was called upon to take cognizance of the position of the public estate and, consequently, pass judgment upon its administration. The very reforms brought

about by the minister rendered his fall more imminent every day. He had driven into coalition against him the powerful influences of the courtiers, of the old families whose hereditary destination was office in the administration, and of the parliament everywhere irritated and anxious. He had lessened the fortunes and position of the two former classes, and his measures tended to strip the magistracy of the authority where of they were so jealous; obliged finally to send in his resignation (1781), he was replaced by M. de Calonne.

It was court-influence that carried the day and, in the court, that of the queen, prompted by her favorite, Madame de Polignac. Tenderly attached to his wife, who had at last given him a son, Louis XVI., delivered from the predominant influence of M. de Maurepas, was yielding, almost unconsciously, to a new power. Marie Antoinette, who had long held aloof from politics, henceforth changed her part; at the instigation of the friends whom she honored with a perhaps excessive intimacy, she began to take an important share in affairs, a share which was often exaggerated by public opinion, more and more hard upon her every day.

In the home-circle of the royal family, the queen had not found any intimate friend: the king's aunts had never taken to her; the crafty ability of the count of Provence and the giddiness of the count of Artois seemed in the prudent eye of Maria Theresa to be equally dangerous; Madame Elizabeth, the heroic and pious companion of the evil days, was still a mere child; already the duke of Chartres, irreligious and debauched, displayed toward the queen who kept him at a distance symptoms of a bitter rancor which was destined to bear fruit; Marie Antoinette, accustomed to a numerous family, affectionately united, sought friends who could "love her for herself," as she used to say. An illusive hope, in one of her rank, for which she was destined to pay dearly. She formed an attachment to the young princess of Lamballe, daughter-in-law of the duke of Penthièvre, a widow at twenty years of age, affectionate and gentle, for whom she revived the post of lady-superintendent, abolished by Mary Leczinska. The court was in commotion, and the public murmured; the queen paid no heed, absorbed as she was in the new delights of friendship; the intimacy, in which there was scarcely any inequality, with the princess of Lamballe, was soon followed by a more perilous affection; the countess Jules de Polignac, who was generally detained in the country by the narrowness of her means, appeared at court on the occasion of a festival; the queen was pleased with her, made her remain and loaded her and her family, not only with favors but with unbounded and excessive familiarity. Finding the court-circles a constraint and an annoyance, Marie Antoinette became accustomed to seek in the drawing-room of Madame de Polignac amusements and a freedom which led before long to sinister gossip. Those who were admitted to this royal intimacy were not always prudent or discreet, they abused the confidence as well as the general kindness of

the queen; their ambition and their cupidity were equally concerned in urging Marie Antoinette to take in the government a part for which she was not naturally inclined. M. de Calonne was intimate with Madame de Polignac; she, created a duchess and appointed governess to the children of France (the royal children), was all-powerful with her friend the queen; she dwelt upon the talents of M. de Calonne, the extent and fertility of his resources; M. de Vergennes was won over, and the office of comptroller-general, which had but lately been still discharged with luster by M. Turgot and M. Necker, fell on the 30th of October, 1784, into the hands of M. de Calonne.

Discredited from the very first by a dishonorable action, he had invariably managed to get his vices forgotten, thanks to the charms of a brilliant and fertile wit. Prodigal and irregular as superintendent of Lille, he imported into the comptroller-generalship habits and ideas opposed to all the principles of Louis XVI. "The reputation of M. de Calonne," says M. Necker in his mémoires, "was a contrast to the morality of Louis XVI., and I know not by what argumentation, by what ascendancy such a prince was induced to give a place in his council to a magistrate who was certainly found agreeable in the most elegant society of Paris, but whose levity and principles were dreaded by the whole of France. Money was lavished, largesses were multiplied, there was no declining to be good-natured or complaisant, economy was made the object of ridicule, it was daringly asserted that immensity of expenditure, animating circulation, was the true principle of credit."

If the first steps of M. de Calonne dismayed men of foresight and of experience in affairs, the public was charmed with them, no less than the courtiers. The *bail des fermes* was re-established, the *Caisse d'escompte* had resumed payment, the stock-holders (*rentiers*) received their quarters' arrears, the loan whereby the comptroller-general met all expenses had reached eleven per cent.

The captivation was general, the blindness seemed to be so likewise; a feverish impulse carried people away into all new-fangled ways, serious or frivolous. Mesmer brought from Germany his mysterious revelations in respect of problems as yet unsolved by science, and pretended to cure all diseases around the magnetic battery; the adventurer Cagliostro, embellished with the title of count and lavishing gold by handfuls, bewitched court and city. At the same time splendid works in the most diverse directions maintained at the topmost place in the world that scientific genius of France which the great minds of the seventeenth century had revealed to Europe. The ladies of fashion crowded to the brilliant lectures of Fourcroy. The princes of pure science, M. de Lagrange, M. de Laplace, M. Monge, did not disdain to wrench themselves from their learned calculations in order to second the useful labors of Lavoisier. Bold voyagers were scouring the world, pioneers of those enterprises of discovery which had appeared for a while abandoned during the seventeenth century. M. de Bougainville had just completed the round of the world, and the English captain, Cook, during

the war which covered all seas with hostile ships, had been protected by generous sympathy. The name of another distinguished sailor, M. de La Peyrouse, must not be forgotten; nor should we leave unnoticed the first attempts in aerial locomotion made by MM. de Montgolfier and Pilâtre de Rozier.

So many scientific explorations, so many new discoveries of nature's secrets were seconded and celebrated by an analogous movement in literature. Rousseau had led the way to impassioned admiration of the beauties of nature; Bernardin de St. Pierre had just published his *Études de la Nature;* he had in the press his *Paul et Virginie;* the Abbé Delille was reading his *Jardin,* and M. de St. Lambert his *Saisons.* In their different phases and according to their special instincts, all minds, scholarly or political, literary or philosophical, were tending to the same end and pursuing the same attempt. It was nature which men wanted to discover or recover: scientific laws and natural rights divided men's souls between them. Buffon was still alive, and the great sailors were every day enriching with their discoveries the Jardin du Roi; the physicists and the chemists, in the wake of Lavoisier, were giving to science a language intelligible to common folks; the juris-consults were attempting to reform the rigors of criminal legislation at the same time with the abuses they had entailed, and Beaumarchais was bringing on the boards his *Mariage de Figaro.*

Figaro ridiculed everything with a dangerously pungent vigor; the days were coming when the pleasantry was to change into insults. Already public opinion was becoming hostile to the queen: she was accused of having remained devoted to the interests of her German family; the people were beginning to call her *the Austrian.* This direful malevolence on the part of public opinion, springing from a few acts of imprudence, and fomented by a long series of calumnies, burst forth on the occasion of a scandalous and grievous occurrence; we mean the affair of the diamond necklace, which led to the arrest of the cardinal De Rohan.

M. de Calonne had taken little part in the excitement which the trial of Cardinal Rohan caused in court and city; he was absorbed by the incessantly recurring difficulties presented by the condition of the Treasury; speculation had extended to all classes of society; loans succeeded loans, everywhere there were formed financial companies, without any resources to speak of, speculating on credit. Parliament began to be alarmed, and enregistered no more credits save with repugnance. In view of the stress at the Treasury, of growing discontent, of vanished 'illusions, the comptroller-general meditated convoking the Assembly of Notables, the feeble resource of the old French kingship before the days of pure monarchy, an expedient more insufficient and more dangerous than the most far-seeing divined after the lessons of the philosophers and the continuous abasement of the kingly majesty.

The convocation of the notables brought about the views of the minister, who had staked his popularity upon it (1787); he was succeeded by Loménie de Brienne, a minister who "had nothing but bad moves to make," says M.

Mignet. Three edicts touching the trade in grain, forced labor and the provincial assemblies were first sent up to the parliament and enregistered without any difficulty; the two edicts touching the stamp-tax and equal assessment of the impost were to meet with more hinderance; the latter at any rate united the sympathies of all the partisans of genuine reforms; the edict touching the stamp-tax was by itself and first submitted for the approval of the magistrates: they rejected it, asking, like the notables, for a communication as to the state of finance. At the same time the parliament demanded the impeachment of M. de Calonne; he took fright and sought refuge in England. The mob rose in Paris, imputing to the court the prodigalities with which the parliament reproached the late comptroller-general. Sad symptom of the fatal progress of public opinion! The cries heretofore raised against the queen under the name of *Austrian* were now uttered against *Madame Deficit*, pending the time when the fearful title of *Madame Veto* would give place in its turn to the sad name of *the woman Capet* given to the victim of October 16th, 1793.

The king summoned the parliament to Versailles, and on the 6th of August, 1787, the edicts touching the stamp-tax and territorial subvention were enregistered in bed of justice. The parliament had protested in advance against this act of royal authority, which it called "a phantom of deliberation." On the 13th of August, the court declared "the registration of the edicts null and without effect, incompetent to authorize the collection of imposts opposed to all principles;" this resolution was sent to all the seneschalties and bailiwicks in the district. It was in the name of the privilege of the two upper orders that the parliament of Paris contested the royal edicts and made appeal to the supreme jurisdiction of the States-general; the people did not see it, they took out the horses of M. d'Esprémesnil, whose fiery eloquence had won over a great number of his colleagues, and he was carried in triumph. On the 15th of August, the parliament was sent away to Troyes, to be, however, recalled a little more than a month later. M. de Brienne hoped thus to obtain a loan of 420,000,000, which was to be raised in the course of five years. The king held a bed of justice at Versailles, and insisted upon the registration of the necessary edicts; notwithstanding the efforts of M. de Malesherbes and the duke of Nivernais, the parliament inscribed on the registers that it was not to be understood to take any part in the transcription here ordered of gradual and progressive loans for the years 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791 and 1792. In reply, the duke of Orleans was banished to Villers-Cotterets, while councillors Fréteau and Sabatier, who had made themselves conspicuous by their opposition, were arrested and taken to a state-prison.

The contest extended as it grew hotter; everywhere the parliaments took up the quarrel of the court of Paris; the formation of the provincial assemblies furnished new centers of opposition; the petty noblesse made alliance with the magistracy, the antagonism of principles became every day

more evident; after the five months elapsed since the royal session, the parliament was still protesting against the violence done to it.

The indiscretion of a printer made M. d'Esprémesnil acquainted with the great designs which were in preparation; at his instigation the parliament issued a declaration as to the reciprocal rights and duties of the monarch and the nation. "France," said the resolution, "is a monarchy hereditary from male to male, governed by the king following the laws; it has for fundamental laws the nation's right to freely grant subsidies by means of the States-general, convoked and composed according to regulation, the customs and capitulations of the provinces, the irremovability of the magistrates, the right of the courts to enregister edicts, and that of each citizen to be judged only by his natural judges, without liability ever to be arrested arbitrarily." "The magistrates must cease to exist before the nation ceases to be free," said a second protest.

Bold and defiant in its grotesque mixture of the ancient principles of the magistracy with the novel theories of philosophy, the resolution of the parliament was quashed by the king. Orders were given to arrest M. d'Esprémesnil and a young councillor, Goislard de Montsabert, who had played also an active part in the spirited resistance to the orders of the court. The former was taken to the island of St. Marguerite, and the latter imprisoned at Pierre Encise.

Notwithstanding his promise to convoke the States-general for the 1st of May, 1789, M. de Brienne became more and more unpopular, and disturbances broke out in several points of the kingdom. Legal in Normandy, violent in Brittany, tumultuous in Béarn, the parliamentary protests took a politic and methodical form in Dauphiny. An insurrection among the populace of Grenoble, soon supported by the villagers from the mountains, had at first flown to arms at the sound of the tocsin. The members of the parliament, on the point of leaving the city, had been detained by force, and their carriages had been smashed. The troops offered little resistance; an entry was effected into the house of the governor, the duke of Clermont-Tonnerre, and, with an axe above his head, the insurgents threatened to hang him to the chandelier in his drawing-room if he did not convoke the parliament. Ragged ruffians ran to the magistrates, and compelled them to meet in the sessions-hall. The members of parliament succeeded with great difficulty in pacifying the mob. As soon as they found themselves free, they hastened away into exile. Other hands had taken up their quarrel. A certain number of members of the three orders met at the town hall, and, on their private authority, convoked for the 21st of July the special States of Dauphiny, suppressed awhile before by Cardinal Richelieu.

The duke of Clermont-Tonnerre had been superseded by old Marshal Vaux, rough and ready. He had at his disposal twenty thousand men. Scarcely had he arrived at Grenoble when he wrote to Versailles, "It is too late," he said. The prerogatives of royal authority were maintained, however. The marshal granted a meeting of the States-provincial, but he

required permission to be asked of him. He forbade the assembly to be held at Grenoble. It was in the castle of Vizille, a former residence of the dauphins, that the three orders of Dauphiny met, closely united together in wise and patriotic accord. The archbishop of Vienne, Lefranc de Pompignan, brother of the poet, lately the inveterate foe of Voltaire, an ardently and sincerely pious man, led his clergy along the most liberal path; the noblesse of the sword, mingled with the noblesse of the robe, voted blindly all the resolutions of the third estate; these were suggested by the real head of the assembly, M. Mounier, judge-royal of Grenoble, a friend of M. Necker's, an enlightened, loyal, honorable man, destined ere long to make his name known over the whole of France by his courageous resistance to the outbursts of the National Assembly. Unanimously the three orders presented to the king their claims to the olden liberties of the province; they loudly declared, however, that they were prepared for all sacrifices and aspired to nothing but the common rights of all Frenchmen. The double representation of the third in the estates of Dauphiny was voted without contest, as well as equal assessment of the impost intended to replace forced labor. Throughout the whole province the most perfect order had succeeded the first manifestations of popular irritation.

Meanwhile the Treasury was found to be empty; all the resources were exhausted, disgraceful tricks had despoiled the hospitals and the poor; credit was used up, the payments of the State were backward; the discount-bank (*caisse d'escompte*) was authorized to refuse to give coin. A decree of August 8th, 1788, announced that the States-general would be convoked May 1st, 1789; the re-establishment of the plenary court was suspended to that date.

On the 25th of August, 1788, the king sent for M. Necker. For an instant his return to power had the effect of restoring some hope to the most far-sighted. On his coming into office the treasury was empty, there was no scraping together as much as five thousand livres. The need was pressing, the harvests were bad; the credit and the able resources of the great financier sufficed for all; the funds went up thirty per cent. in one day; certain capitalists made advances, the chamber of the notaries of Paris paid six millions into the treasury, M. Necker lent two millions out of his private fortune. The great financial talents of the minister, his probity, his courage, had caused illusions as to his political talents; useful in his day and in his degree, the new minister was no longer equal to the task. The distresses of the treasury had powerfully contributed to bring about, to develop the political crisis; the public cry for the States-general had arisen in a great degree from the deficit; but henceforth financial resources did not suffice to conjure away the danger; the discount-bank had resumed payment, the State honored its engagements, the phantom of bankruptcy disappeared from before the frightened eyes of stockholders; nevertheless the agitation did not subside, minds were full of higher and more tenacious concernments. Every gaze was turned toward the States-general. Scarcely was M. Necker in power, when a royal proclamation, sent to the parliament returning to

Paris, announced the convocation of the Assembly for the month of January, 1789.

The States-general themselves had become a topic of the most lively discussion. Amid the embarrassment of his government, and in order to throw a sop to the activity of the opposition, Brienne had declared his doubts and his deficiency of enlightenment as to the form to be given to the deliberations of that ancient assembly, always convoked at the most critical junctures of the national history, and abandoned for one hundred and seventy-five years past. In the wake of the king's appeal, a flood of tracts and pamphlets had inundated Páris and the provinces: some devoted to the defense of ancient usages; the most part intended to prove that the constitution of the olden monarchy of France contained in principle all the political liberties which were but asking permission to soar; some finally, bolder and the most applauded of all, like that of Count d'Entraigues', *Note on the States-general, their rights and the manner of convoking them*, and that of the Abbé Siéyes, *What is the third estate?* Siéyes' pamphlet had already sold to the extent of thirty thousand copies; the development of his ideas was an audacious commentary upon his modest title. "What is the third estate?" said the able revolutionist: "Nothing. What ought it to be? Everything." It was hoisting the flag against the two upper orders.

The whole of France was fever-stricken. The agitation was contradictory and confused, a medley of confidence and fear, joy and rage, everywhere violent and contagious. This time again Dauphiny showed an example of politic and wise behavior. The preparatory assemblies were tumultuous in many spots: in Provence as well as in Brittany they became violent. In his province, Mirabeau was the cause or pretext for the troubles. Born at Bignon, near Nemours, on the 9th of March, 1749, well known already for his talent as a writer and orator as well as for the startling irregularities of his life, he was passionately desirous of being elected to the States-general. "I don't think I shall be useless there," he wrote to his friend Cerruti. Nowhere, however, was his character worse than in Provence: there people had witnessed his dissensions with his father as well as with his wife. Public contempt, a just punishment, for his vices, caused his admission into the States-provincial to be unjustly opposed. The assembly was composed exclusively of nobles in possession of fiefs, of ecclesiastical dignitaries and of a small number of municipal officers. It claimed to elect the deputies to the States-general according to the ancient usages. Mirabeau's common sense, as well as his great and powerful genius, revolted against the absurd theories of the privileged; he overwhelmed them with his terrible eloquence, while adjuring them to renounce their abuseful and obsolete rights; he scared them by his forceful and striking hideousness.

Mirabeau was shut out from the States-provincial, and soon adopted eagerly by the third estate. Elected at Marseilles as well as at Aix for the States-general, he quieted, in these two cities successively, riots occasioned by the dearness of bread. The people, in their enthusiasm, thronged upon him,

accepting his will without a murmur when he restored to their proper figure provisions lowered in price through the terror of the authorities. The petty noblesse and the lower provincial clergy had everywhere taken the side of the third estate. Mirabeau was triumphant: "I have been, am, and shall be to the last," he exclaimed, "the man for public liberty, the man for the constitution."

The day of meeting of the States-general was at hand. Almost everywhere the elections had been quiet, and the electors less numerous than had been anticipated. We know what indifference and lassitude may attach to the exercise of rights which would not be willingly renounced; ignorance and inexperience kept away from the primary assemblies many working men and peasants; the middle class alone proceeded in mass to the elections. The irregular slowness of the preparatory operations had retarded the convocations; for three months the agitation attendant upon successive assemblies kept France in suspense. Paris was still voting on the 28th of April, 1789; the mob thronged the streets; all at once the rumor ran that an attack was being made on the house of an ornamental-paper maker in the faubourg St. Antoine, named Réveillon. Starting as a simple journeyman, this man had honestly made his fortune; he was kind to those who worked in his shops: he was accused, nevertheless, among the populace, of having declared that a journeyman could live on fifteen sous a day. The day before threats had been leveled at him; he had asked for protection from the police; thirty men had been sent to him. The madmen who were swarming around his house and stores soon got the better of so weak a guard, everything was destroyed; the rioters rushed to the archbishop's, there was voting going on there; they expected to find Réveillon, whom they wanted to murder. They were repulsed by the battalions of the French and Swiss guards. More than two hundred were killed. Money was found in their pockets. The parliament suspended its prosecutions against the ringleaders of so many crimes. The government, impotent and disarmed, as timid in presence of this riot as in presence of opposing parties, at last came before the States-general, but blown about by the contrary winds of excited passions, without any guide and without fixed resolves, without any firm and compact nucleus in the midst of a new and unknown Assembly, without confidence in the troops, who were looked upon, however, as a possible and last resort.

The States-general were presented to the king on the 2d of May, 1789. It seemed as if the two upper orders, by a prophetic instinct of their ruin, wanted, for the last time, to make a parade of their privileges. Introduced without delay to the king, they left, in front of the palace, the deputies of the third estate to wait in the rain. The latter were getting angry, and already beginning to clamor, when the gates were opened to them. In the magnificent procession on the 4th, when the three orders accompanied the king to the church of St. Louis at Versailles, the laced coats and decorations of the nobles, the superb vestments of the prelates easily eclipsed the modest cassocks of the country priests as well as the somber costume imposed by ceremonial




Louis XVI. taking leave of his family, January 20th, 1793, on the road to execution.
F. Lix. See page 276.

upon the deputies of the third estate; the bishop of Nancy, M. de la Fare, maintained the traditional distinctions even in the sermon he delivered before the king. The untimely applause which greeted the bishop's words was excited by the picture he drew of the misery in the country places exhausted by the rapacity of the fiscal agents. At this striking solemnity, set off with all the pomp of the past, animated with all the hopes of the future, the eyes of the public sought out, amid the somber mass of deputies of the third (estate) those whom their deeds, good or evil, had already made celebrated: Malouet, Mounier, Mirabeau, the last greeted with a murmur which was for a long while yet to accompany his name.

The opening of the session took place on the 5th of May. The royal procession had been saluted by the crowd with repeated and organized shouts of "Hurrah! for the duke of Orleans!" which had disturbed and agitated the queen. "The king," says Marmontel, "appeared with simple dignity, without pride, without timidity, wearing on his features the impress of the goodness which he had in his heart, a little affected by the spectacle and by the feelings which the deputies of a faithful nation ought to inspire in its king." His speech was short, dignified, affectionate, and without political purport. With more of pomp and detail, the minister confined himself within the same limits. The mode of action corresponded with this insufficient language. Crushed beneath the burden of past defaults and errors, the government tendered its abdication, in advance, into the hands of that mightily bewildered Assembly it had just convoked. The king had left the verification of powers to the States-general themselves. M. Necker confined himself to pointing out the possibility of common action between the three orders, recommending the deputies to examine those questions discreetly.

It was amid a chaos of passions, wills and desires, legitimate or culpable, patriotic or selfish, that there was, first of all, propounded the question of verification of powers. Prompt and peremptory on the part of the noblesse, hesitating and cautious on the part of the clergy, the opposition of the two upper orders to any common action irritated the third estate; its appeals had ended in nothing but conferences broken off, then resumed at the king's desire, and evidently and painfully to no purpose. "By an inconceivable oversight on the part of M. Necker in the local apportionment of the building appointed for the assembly of the States-general, there was the throne-room, or room of the three orders, a room for the noblesse, one for the clergy, and none for the commons, who remained, quite naturally, established in the States-room, the largest, the most ornate, and all fitted up with tribunes for the spectators who took possession of the public boxes (*loges communes*) in the room. When it was perceived that this crowd of strangers and their plaudits only excited the audacity of the more violent speakers, all the consequences of this installation were felt. The want of foresight and the nervous hesitation of the ministers had placed the third estate in a novel and a strong situation. Installed officially in the States-room, it seemed to be at once master of the position, waiting for the two upper orders to come to it. Mirabeau

saw this with that rapid insight into effects and consequences which constitutes, to a considerable extent, the orator's genius. The third estate had taken possession, none could henceforth dispute with it its privileges, and it was the defense of a right that had been won which was to inspire the fiery orator with his mighty audacity, when on the 23d of June, toward evening, after the miserable affair of the royal session, the marquis of Dreux-Brézé came back into the room to beg the deputies of the third estate to withdraw. The king's order was express, but already certain nobles and a large number of ecclesiastics had joined the deputies of the commons; their definitive victory on the 27th of June and the fusion of the three orders were foreshadowed; Mirabeau rose at the entrance of the grand-master of the ceremonies: "Go," he shouted, "and tell those who send you, that we are here by the will of the people, and that we shall not budge save at the point of the bayonet." This was the beginning of revolutionary violence.

On the 12th of June the battle began; the calling over of the bailiwicks took place in the States-room. The third estate sat alone. At each province. each chief place, each roll (*procès-verbal*), the secretaries repeated in a loud voice, "Gentlemen of the clergy? None present. Gentlemen of the noblesse? None present." Certain parish priests alone had the courage to separate from their order and submit their powers for verification. All the deputies of the third (estate) at once gave them precedence. The day of persecution was not yet come.

Legality still stood, the third estate maintained a proud moderation, the border was easily passed, a name was sufficient.

The title of States-general was oppressive to the new Assembly, it recalled the distinction between the orders as well as the humble posture of the third estate heretofore. "This is the only true name," exclaimed Abbé Siéyes: "Assembly of acknowledged and verified representatives of the nation." This was a contemptuous repudiation of the two upper orders. Mounier replied with another definition: "Legitimate assembly of the majority among the deputies of the nation, deliberating in the absence of the duly invited minority." The subtleties of metaphysics and politics are powerless to take the popular fancy. Mirabeau felt it: "Let us call ourselves *representatives of the people!*" he shouted. For this ever fatal name he claimed the kingly sanction: "I hold the king's *veto* so necessary," said the great orator, "that, if he had it not, I would rather live at Constantinople than in France. Yes, I protest, I know of nothing more terrible than a sovereign aristocracy of six hundred persons who, having the power to declare themselves to-morrow irremovable and the next day hereditary, would end, like the aristocracies of all countries in the world, by swooping down upon everything."

An obscure deputy here suggested during the discussion the name of *National Assembly*, often heretofore employed to designate the States-general; Siéyes took it up, rejecting the subtle and carefully prepared definitions: "I am for the amendment of M. Legrand," said he, "and I propose the title of



Girondists on the road to the Guillotine.
D. Maillard. See page 275.

*National Assembly.*" Four hundred and ninety-one voices against ninety adopted this simple and superb title. In contempt of the two upper orders of the State, the national assembly was constituted. The decisive step was taken toward the French revolution.

During the early days, in the heat of a violent discussion, Barrère had exclaimed, "You are summoned to recommence history." It was an arrogant mistake. For more than eighty years modern France has been prosecuting laboriously and in open day the work which had been slowly forming within the dark womb of olden France. In the almighty hands of eternal God a people's history is interrupted and recommenced never.

NOTE: The history of M. Guizot ends at this point, and the succeeding chapters form a continuation of the line of history to the present time, prepared with much care from the most reliable sources.

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## NOTE ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY KALENDAR.

IN reading the French historians of the period from the declaration of the Republic in 1792 to the end of 1805 we find the dates of events not given according to the common kalendar, but according to the most puzzling of all systems of chronology, the Republican kalendar adopted by the Convention. In our own history we give the dates, thus found in French writers, according to the Gregorian Kalendar; but it may be useful here to present a complete view of the Revolutionary Kalendar which view we adopt, with some abridgment, from "The English Cyclopedia of Arts and Sciences."

The Convention decreed, on the 24th of November, 1793, that the common era should be abolished in all civil affairs: that the new French era should commence from the foundation of the Republic, namely, on the 22d of September, 1792, on the day of the true autumnal equinox, when the sun entered Libra at 9h 18m 30s in the morning, according to the meridian of Paris; that each year should begin at the midnight of the day on which the true autumnal equinox falls; and that the first year of the French Republic had begun on the midnight of the 22d of September and terminated on the midnight between the 21st and 22d of September, 1793. To produce a correspondence between the seasons and the civil year it was decreed, that the fourth year of the Republic should be the first sextile, or leap year; that a sixth complementary day should be added to it, and that it should terminate the first Franciade; that the sextile or leap-year, which they called an Olympic year, should take place every four years, and should mark the close of each Franciade: that the first, second and third centurial years, namely, 100, 200, and 300 of the Republic should be common, and that the fourth centurial year, namely, 400, should be sextile; and that this should be the case every fourth century until the 40th, which should terminate with a common year. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five additional days at the end, which were celebrated as festivals, and which obtained the name of "Sansculottides." Instead of the months being divided into weeks, they consisted of three parts, called decades, of ten days each. It is, however, to be observed that the French Republicans rarely adopted the decades in, dating their letters, or in conversation, but used the number of the day of each month of their kalendar. The Republican kalendar was first used on the 26th of November, 1793, and was discontinued on the 31st of December, 1805, when the Gregorian was resumed.

The decrees of the National Convention, which fixed the new mode of reckoning, were both vague and insufficient. A French work, "Concordance des Calendriers Républicain et Gregorien," par L. Rondonneau, puts every day of every year opposite to its day of the Gregorian kalendar. It is to actual usage that we must appeal to know what the decrees do not prescribe—namely, the position of the leap-years. The following list, made from the work above mentioned, must be used as a correction of the usual accounts, in which the position of the leap-years is not sufficiently regarded.

| | | Sept. | | | Sept. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| An I. | begins | 22, 1792 | Sext. IX. | begins | 23, 1800 |
| II. | " | 22, 1793 | X. | " | 23, 1801 |
| Sext. III. | " | 22, 1794 | Sext. XI. | " | 23, 1802 |
| IV. | " | 23, 1795 | An XII. | " | 24, 1803 |
| V. | " | 22, 1796 | XIII. | " | 23, 1804 |
| VI. | " | 22, 1797 | XIV. | " | 23, 1805 |
| Sext. VII. | " | 22, 1798 | | ended 31st December, 1805 | |
| VIII. | " | 23, 1799 | | | |

## XVI.

# THE REVOLUTION;—THE REIGN OF TERROR.—FALL OF ROBESPIERRE.

THE excitement was at its height when the National Assembly proceeded to repeal law after law, and reorganize the government of France. The bold declaration of the inviolability of its members by the Assembly led to measures of retaliation by the king. A large body of troops were ordered in readiness and stationed in various parts of the city of Paris. The ministry was dissolved and Necker was banished. The hesitation of the king at the outset and the firm stand which he afterward took, changing again at the immense pressure brought to bear upon him, were all disastrous to the Royalists. The clamors of the National Assembly, urged on by the shouts of the infuriated mob, compelled Louis to recall his banished minister, Necker, but still the troops were under arms. The first blood shed was on the 12th of July. The insurrection now assumed the proportions of a revolution, and the eve of that fearful Reign of Terror which swept over France had come. Life and property were insecure for a moment. The rabble could not bear to wait.

The National Guards were convoked on the 13th of July. All Paris was in the tumult of excitement. Whenever any one who was suspected of being unfavorable to the change made his appearance on the street the shout at once arose, "Away to the lamp," and willing hands were ready to execute the sentence by hanging the poor victim to the nearest lamp-post.

On the 14th the multitude, headed by the National Guard, rushed to the Bastile and completely demolished its walls. But few State prisoners were found there, for Louis XVI. had released nearly all the prisoners held by his grandfather. The ranks of the National Guard were quickly filled with recruits from every grade of the third estate. The excitement rapidly spread to all the provinces, and very soon National Guards and revolutionary councils were convoked in them.

The National Assembly began with a high hand, and on the 4th of August the members passed an edict abrogating forever all feudal and



Capture of the disguised king and queen (Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette) by the citizens of Varennes. F. Lix. See page 275.

manorial rights, and they at the same time gave solemn expression of their declaration of equal rights. Whereupon the royal princes and all the nobles who could effect their escape did so. The royal family made an attempt to follow their example, but did not succeed, and then they tried to conciliate the people by a feigned assumption of republican principles. On the 5th of October the excited rabble, accompanied by numbers of the National Guard, surged up to the very gates of the palace at Versailles, that most splendid of palaces, upon which Louis XIV. had spent so much, and whose iron gates looked down the long avenue of trees leading from Paris, a memorial how little pity for their people the two last kings had had. It was the less wonder that the mob of Paris believed that Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette had the same hard hearts, and were willingly letting them starve. They came and filled the courts of the palace, shouting and yelling for the queen to show herself. She came out on the balcony, with her daughter of twelve years old and her son of six. "No children!" they cried; and she sent them back, and stood, fully believing that they would shoot her, and hoping that her death might content them. But no hand was raised, and night came on. In the night they were seized with another fit of fury, and broke into the queen's room, from which she had but just escaped, while a brave lady and two of her guards were barring the outer door.

The next day the whole family were taken back into Paris, while the fishwomen shouted before them, "Here come the baker, his wife, and the little baker's boy!"

The king and his family were compelled to reside in Paris, whither the Assembly also came. Then followed two years of vacillation and hesitation, in which Louis XVI. alternately made concession to the National Assembly and cherished hopes of escaping from its surveillance; but month by month witnessed increased humiliation for himself, and arrogance on the part of those who surrounded him. In the mean time the Assembly were repeating the most solemn enactments and retraction of various constitutional schemes.

Mirabeau had been active in the formation of the National Guard, but in some of the conflicts which followed he sacrificed his popularity in his efforts to maintain the throne. The more that the revolutionary frenzy seized the people the more decided was his progress of extreme measures, but he found it difficult to maintain constitutional liberty at the same time against the friends of the old régime and the extreme revolutionists. But Mirabeau was in a position which demanded recognition from the king. Louis was for a long time unwilling to enter upon negotiations with one so disreputable, but finally he was compelled to invite Mirabeau to enter his ministry. No sooner did this become known than a most violent opposition arose, and a combination of the most opposite parties united in passing a decree through the National Assembly, November 7th, 1789, forbidding a deputy from receiving an appointment as minister. From this time Mirabeau vainly strove to preserve the essential prerogatives of the crown. He continued to struggle against the revolution and endeavored to reconcile the king and his revolu-

tionary subjects. He was nevertheless elected president of the club of the Jacobins in December, 1790, and in February, 1791, he was made president of the National Assembly. In both of these positions he displayed unusual activity and unceasing energy. But his boldness and personal exertions began to tell upon his strength, and he soon fell into a condition of physical and mental weakness from which he never rallied. He died April 2d, 1791, and his body was interred with great pomp in the church of St. Genevieve, the *Pantheon*, but it was afterward removed to make room for that of Marat.

JACOBINS:—This was a club composed originally of members of the States-general who were of revolutionary tendency, although holding very different shades of opinion. The Jacobins began to acquire importance at the time the National Assembly was removed from Versailles. After this they met in a hall of the former Jacobin convent from which it took its name, which was at first a term of reproach given by its enemies. The name which it had adopted for itself was that of *Society of Friends of the Constitution.* Persons not connected with the National Assembly were now admitted to the club. It came to exercise a great amount of influence in the agitation which had its head and life in the capital, and this was extended over the provinces by the aid of affiliated societies. Its power developed rapidly, until it grew to be greater than that of the Assembly. It had at one time twelve hundred branch societies in all parts of France. The National Assembly dissolved itself in September, 1791, and the Jacobins had great influence in the election of the Legislative Assembly, which succeeded the National. The great events which followed each other in such rapid succession were in a remarkable degree determined by the voice of this club. The people came at last to watch its proceedings with more interest than those of the Assembly. But in September, 1792, the Jacobins reached the zenith of their power. The agitation for the death of the king; the downfall of the Girondists; the excitement of the lower classes against the *bourgeoisie*, or middle classes, and the entire reign of terror over the whole of France were the work of this club. The fall of Robespierre on the 28th of July, 1794, gave the death-blow to the Jacobins: after this they sought in vain to regain their former prestige. The magic of the name was destroyed forever, but the law of October 16th forbade the affiliation of clubs, and November 9th of the same year saw the doors of the club closed for the last time. Soon after this their place of meeting was entirely demolished.

GIRONDISTS:—This was the name given to the moderate republican party during this time. The Legislative Assembly met in October, 1791, and then the Girondists had chosen as their representatives the advocates Vergniaud, Gaudet, Gensonnè, Grangeuve, and a young merchant named Ducos, all of whom made their influence felt upon the Assembly by their historical power and political principles, which were based upon a hazy notion of Grecian republicanism. They were joined by the Brissot party and some members of the Center, so that they numbered a majority. Their first efforts were directed against the policy of the court, and such was their power that Louis was compelled to




Attempted suicide of Robespierre in the hall of the Assembly.
F. Lix. Page 274.

invite the more moderate of the party, Roland, Dumouriez, Clavière and Servan to the ministry. But he afterward dismissed them, and this act led to the insurrection of June 20th, 1792. When the Jacobins came to power the Girondists were forced to take a conservative position, but their eloquence could not avail out of the Assembly to stay the fearful storm which culminated in the massacres of September. All their efforts failed, and at last they tried to impeach Marat, who induced the various sections of Paris to demand the expulsion of the Girondists; and the demand, backed up by one hundred and seventy pieces of artillery, could not be resisted. Thirty of them were arrested, but a majority had escaped to the provinces. There was an uprising of the people of Eure, Calvados and Brittany in their defense, and a *federal army*, under command of General Wimpfen, was raised to rescue Paris from the hands of the mob. Movements in their behalf were commenced in other provinces. The progress of this was, however, stopped by the activity and energy of the convention. July 20th, 1782, the revolutionary army took possession of Caen, the chief station of the insurgents, and forced the way into other towns. Then commenced an awful retribution; Amar, the mouthpiece of the committee of public safety, accused them, before the convention on October 1st, 1793, of conspiring with Louis XVI., the Royalists, the duke of Orleans, Lafayette and Pitt, and it was ordered that they be brought before the revolutionary tribunes. They were put on trial October 24th. The Girondists defended themselves so ably at the trial that the convention decreed the closing of the investigation on the 30th. Twenty-one of them were sentenced to death, and all except one—Valazè, who stabbed himself—perished by the guillotine. Nine others were afterward guillotined; five others ascended the scaffold at Bordeaux; two at Brives; one each at Pèriguerex and Rochelle; four committed suicide, viz., Rebecqui drowned himself, Pètion and Buyot stabbed themselves, and Condorcet took poison. Sixteen months later, after the overthrow of Robespierre, the outlawed Girondists still living presented themselves in the convention.

To return after this digression to the line of our narrative. The attempted flight of Louis XVI. and his queen, Marie Antoinette, ended in their capture June 21st, 1791, after which time all the acts of the king were done under compulsion of the National Assembly. He sanctions a national constitution September 15th, while a prisoner. The coalition against France was commenced in 1792, and in June the war began and, as might be expected in the condition of the nation, the Prussians and their allies were everywhere victorious. Their army under the command of the duke of Brunswick had captured Longroy and Verdun from the French and were advancing upon Paris, driving the army of Dumouriez before them. When Kellermann, who commanded the army of the Rhine, heard of the critical condition of this army he hastened to the relief of his comrade, and with a force of twenty-two thousand men arrested the attack of the Prussians at Valmy. The latter took possession of the heights of La Lune and at once opened a vigorous cannonade upon the French. There was not much gained on either side, but the moral effect

of the battle, or skirmish, was of more effect in arousing the spirits of the republicans than the immediate effects of the battle would seem to warrant. It was the first success of the republican forces with a foreign foe. General Kellermann was on allegation of treason against the republic; he was imprisoned for ten months and only released by the fall of Robespierre. The repeated defeats of the French arms was visited upon poor Louis, who was at once confined with his family in the Temple. But in September the Convention, fearing the approach of the Prussians, who had advanced as far as Campagne, dissolved itself. All Paris was in a terrible state of excitement. In December, the king was brought to trial and called to answer for repeated acts of treason against the republic. On the 20th of January, 1793, Louis XVI. was condemned to death and was beheaded the next day. At ten o'clock in the morning he was conducted to the guillotine, accompanied by an Irish clergyman, the Abbé Edgeworth, whom he charged to take care, if his family was ever restored to the throne, that no attempt should be made to avenge his death. Extensive preparation was made to prevent any attempt at rescue. As the executioner had bound him Louis burst away and exclaimed, "Frenchmen, I die innocent! I pray that my blood come not on France." The rolling of drums drowned his voice, but the abbé cried out, "Son of St. Louis, ascend to the skies."

After the death of her husband, the widowed queen remained with her children in the Temple, cheered by the pity and kindness of Madame Elizabeth, until the poor little prince—a gentle, but spirited boy of eight—was taken from them, and shut up in the lower rooms, under the charge of a brutal wretch (a shoemaker) named Simon, who was told that the boy was not to be killed or guillotined, but to be "got rid of"—namely, tormented to death by bad air, bad living, blows, and rude usage. Not long after August 1st, Marie Antoinette was taken to a dismal chamber in the Conciergerie prison, and there watched day and night by National Guards, until she too was brought to trial, and sentenced to die October 16th, eight months after her husband. Gentle Madame Elizabeth was likewise put to death, and only the two children remained, shut up in separate rooms; but the girl was better off than her brother, in that she was alone, with her little dog, and had no one who made a point of torturing her.

After the death of the king in January, 1793, revolts broke out in all parts of France. On the 1st of February war was declared against England, which entered into a second coalition with Holland, Spain, Naples, and the German States against the republic. An insurrection broke out in La Vendee at the same time under Cathelineau, Larochejacquelein, the Chouans and others. The second named signaled himself by many heroic acts and gained success against the republicans for some time, but was finally defeated December 13th, 1793, and escaped with difficulty. This insurrection was finally put down by General Hoche, who was able by moderate and prudent steps to suppress the revolt and gain the entire district. The proscription of the Girondists followed, as we have already related, and the reign of terror



The enthroned Goddess of Reason is carried into the Cathedral of Notre Dame.
M. Mueller. Page 277.

began the 31st of May, 1793. Marat, Danton, and Robespierre were the bloody triumivrate who upheld this merciless and insatiable terrorism all over France. The human mind turns with a shudder from the fearful sights presented.

Meanwhile the guillotine was every day in use. Cart-loads were carried from the prisons—nobles, priests, ladies, young girls, lawyers, servants, shop-keepers, everybody whom the savage men who were called the Committee of Public Safety chose to condemn. There were guillotines in almost every town; but at Nantes the victims were drowned, and at Lyons they were placed in a square and shot down with grape shot.

Moreover, all churches were taken from the faithful. A wicked woman was called the Goddess of Reason, and carried in a car to the great cathedral of Notre Dame, where she was enthroned. Sundays were abolished, and every tenth day was kept instead, and Christianity was called folly and superstition; in short, the whole nation was given up to the most horrible frenzy against God and man. The victims of the guillotine could be numbered by thousands. The leaders of the convention seemed to be insatiable, and each in turn became jealous of the others. We have already spoken of one, we will now devote a little space to the other two.

Jean Paul Marat was one of the most detestable and infamous characters of this period. He was born in 1744. The Revolution brought him into prominence, and he had unbounded influence over the lower classes. It was owing to him that the massacre of September, 1792, was characterized with so much atrocity. In the midst of this he was elected to the Convention; but when he first appeared he was met with expressions of abhorrence; no one would sit near him, and when he rose to speak there was the utmost confusion. No falsehood was too monstrous and no deed too atrocious for him. His Journal which he had been publishing was now called the *Journal de la Republique*, and was more ferocious and blood-thirsty than ever. He demanded two hundred and seventy thousand heads, and defended his demand in the Convention, saying that if this was not granted he would demand more. He was most bitter against the king, and at his trial called upon the people to slay two hundred thousand of the adherents of the old régime, and to reduce the Convention to one-fourth its numbers. He obtained the enregister of the act by which four hundred thousand suspected persons were imprisoned. The rash, unscrupulous and bloody wretch was associated with his peers in crime. But he, the most vindictive and perhaps the basest of the three, was the first to fall; for on July 13th, 1793, he was stabbed to the heart by a girl named Charlotte Corday, who hoped thus to end these horrors; but the other two continued their work of blood, till Robespierre grew jealous of Danton, and had him guillotined.

This young lady was descended from a noble family, but she early imbibed revolutionary principles. Her soul revolted at the horrors which she saw enacted around her, and she resolved to rid France of one of the three leaders; she was undecided whether Robespierre or Marat. It is said that

while she was debating which one she should strike the latter issued his demand for more heads, and by this token she decided which should be her victim. After the deed she was at once arrested and dragged before the tribunal, where she boldly avowed the act and defended it. Of course she was condemned to death, and on the 17th of July sent to the guillotine. Her great beauty added to the interest which surrounded her heroic act. This event was followed by some of the worst atrocities which disgraced the French name; streams of blood as it was said to the manes of Marat. His likeness, painted with gaping wounds, was hung up in the Convention, and his housekeeper, whom he had married "one fine day in the presence of the sun," was maintained at the expense of the State. His body was granted a place in the Pantheon, but was cast out again on November 8th, 1795, and his picture removed from the Convention.

The remaining one of the infamous triumvirate was Georgies-Jacques Danton, who was born in 1759. When the revolution broke out he was an advocate, with no reputation except one for dissolute habits. The fierce, half-savage character of the man drew him at once into the vortex of the commotion; Mirabeau quickly detected his genius and hastened to attach him to himself. The political rôle of Danton began with the flight of the king and his return. On the 17th of July he and others gathered the people in the Champ-de-Mars and goaded them on to demand the deposition of the king.

Sometime after this he became *procureur-substitut* for the city of Paris. The court found it could not frighten him and undertook to bribe him. With what success it is now impossible to say, but the weight of evidence points to his venality. However it was, he soon became the more implacable of royalty than before. Danton was the man whose harangues excited the rabble to their infuriated attack upon the Tuileries on the night of that fatal 10th of August, and led to the butchery of the Swiss guard. He was immediately promoted to the office of minister of justice, which gave him such commanding influence. He was the incarnate spirit of the revolution, and manifested the same heroic audacity in the presence of danger from without and the same maniacal terror at the appearance of danger from within. It was his impassioned eloquence which restored their spirit to the panic-stricken populace when the Prussians were thundering at the very gates of Paris. He mounted the rostrum and in a speech of tremendous power stirred the very souls of his audience. In a few weeks no less than fourteen republican armies were raised, equipped, and ready to repel with unexampled bravery the entire allied forces. On the very evening on which Danton spoke, September 2d, was the beginning of the September massacres. Danton thanked the assassins not as the minister of justice, but the minister of the revolution. When he was elected as one of the deputies of Paris he at once resigned his office as minister and hastened to the trial of the king. He showed his character when he replied to



Charlotte Corday murders Marat while in the bath.
F. Lix. Page 278.

one of his friends in the convention, who said that they could not *legally* try the king. "You are right, so we will not try him but *we kill him.*" On the 10th of May he established "the extraordinary criminal tribunal," and was also president of the committee of public safety. He now set about the work of crushing the Girondists; how well he succeeded we have already shown.

For some strange reason he began after this to display some intimations of returning humanity: he disapproved of the guillotine, and some other gleams of feeling lost him the respect of the Jacobins. There came a clash between him and Robespierre; an attempt was made to reconcile them, but after an interview they parted on worse terms than ever. He had become convinced that the revolution was a sham, and conscious of his inherent power he sank into apathy. He declared that his enemies dared not lift a finger against him. He was arrested on the night of the 30th of March, 1794, brought before the same tribunal he had instituted, and by them condemned to death. He was guillotined on the 5th of April. He foretold the downfall of Robespierre and called him "an infamous poltroon," and said, "I was the only man who could save him."

The duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe Joseph, was tried before the tribunal in Marseilles with all the Bourbons, but was acquitted from the charge of high treason. He was at once seized and brought before the tribunal of Paris, by which he was condemned to death November 6th, 1793, and carried to the guillotine the same day. Madame Roland was arrested on the same night that her husband made his escape from Paris to Rouen and imprisoned in the Abbaye. A more dauntless and intrepid spirit never entered its enclosure. She was released on the 24th of June, but was at once re-arrested, without the shadow of accusation, and taken to Saint Pelagie. Thence she was summoned on the first of November—having been employed in the mean while in writing her memoirs—to the revolutionary tribunal and sentenced to the guillotine. The scaffold was erected at the foot of a statue of liberty, and she exclaimed, "Oh, Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!"

With one other name we will come to the close of the reign of terror. He is the Count Barras, Paul-Jean-François-Nicolas. He was a prominent character in the period of which we are writing. He was born in 1755. At the outbreak of the revolution he entered into the contest. He was a deputy for the third estate in that famous States-general of 1789. He took an active part in the assault upon the Tuileries, after which he received the appointment of administrator of the department of war and then of the county of Nice. He promptly voted for the execution of the king and declared against the Girondists. The siege of Toulon and the triumph of the revolutionary party were in a great measure due to his activity. And after the victory he shared in all the bloody acts which were adopted. Robespierre and the other terrorists hated him, and it was he who contributed to their final overthrow more than any one other man. The Convention appointed him commander-in-chief and virtually made him dictator for the time being. It was while hold-

ing this high office, and on the very day which beheld the fall of his rival, that he visited the Temple where the young prince Louis XVII. was confined and ordered his better treatment. Then he hurried to the Palais of Justice and suspended the execution of the prisoners who were there condemned to death.

## XVII.

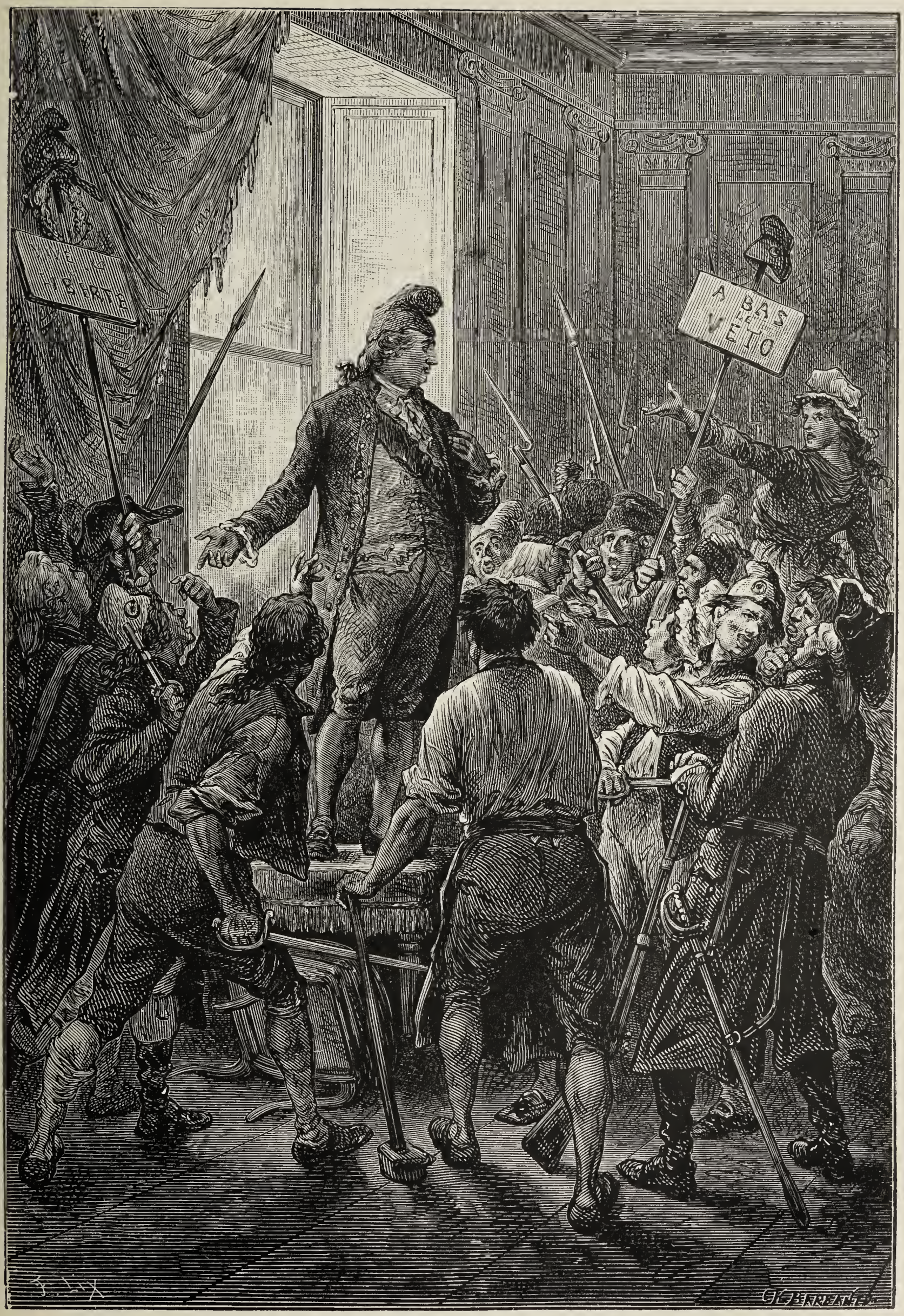
# THE DIRECTORY.

BUT Robespierre was dead, and the reign of terror was over. The reaction had set in and already the eyes of France, if not of all Europe, were being dazzled by the brilliant exploits of the young Corsican, Napoleon Bonaparte.

He was born on the 15th of August, 1769, and at the age of ten entered the military school at Brienne, as a king's pensioner. During the five years he remained here he displayed a wonderful aptitude for mathematics, history, and geography, but a decided disinclination for merely verbal and ornamental studies. He was taciturn and reserved in his manner, owing, doubtless, to the fact that he was a foreigner and learned French after he came to the school. He was also poor and unacquainted with French manners. In October, 1784, he went to the government military academy to complete his studies for the army, and in a year received his commission as a sub-lieutenant in the artillery regiment of *de la Fère*. Napoleon was serving in the garrison at Valence. He adopted the popular side in his usual quiet and undemonstrative manner. The boisterous enthusiasm and the noisy zeal of his associates were repulsive to him. Napoleon was in Paris with his friend Bourrienne when the riotous attack was made upon the Tuileries, on that infamous 20th of July. When the poor king Louis was forced to don the red cap, Bonaparte quietly remarked: "It is all over henceforth with that man." He went back to his lodgings more thoughtful and morose than usual.

When the bloody scenes of the 10th of August had been enacted he returned to his home at Corsica where General Paoli was in the chief command. This general revolted at the cruel September massacres, and in consequence threw off his allegiance and sought the aid of England. Napoleon, with others who were active but unsuccessful in opposing Paoli, were obliged to flee from Corsica.

At this time he petitioned for employment by the Convention and was




The mob forcing Louis XVI. to don the cap of the Jacobins.
F. Lix. Page 280.

appointed lieutenant-colonel of artillery, and sent to aid in the capture of Toulon. It was owing entirely to his genius and stratagem that the city capitulated on the 19th of December, 1793. In the following February he was promoted to brigadier-general and assigned to command of artillery in "the army of the South." He afterward went to Genoa to inspect the fortifications, and report upon the feeling of the inhabitants. At the opening of the year 1795 he was again in Paris seeking employment for his sword, and at one time seriously thought of offering his services to the sultan of Turkey, from sheer ennui at his long inactivity. A wide-spread reaction had taken hold of France after the death of Robespierre, and the people were becoming weary of the long-continued bloodshed, and there arose a new form of government. This consisted of a legislative organization, divided, into two bodies: 1st, the council of five hundred, whose power was to frame the laws, and the council of the ancients, whose duty it was to pass them. The executive department of government was entrusted to five members chosen from these two councils, and had its seat at the Luxembourg. The five chosen were Lépeaux, Letourneur, Rewbel, Barras, and Carnot. This was the famous Directory, which came to power in a time of intensest peril for France. The country was at this time surrounded with most powerful enemies, and within distrust, malice, and discontent made the administration of government well nigh hopeless. She was saved from the greed of foreign powers by the matchless bravery of her soldiers, and if the Directory had all been as patriotic and firm as some of them were she might have been saved from internal spoliation by her own sons. Their policy at home was on the whole most lamentable. The same demoralization which had characterized the times of Danton and his co-operators prevailed at this time, and the effort of the honest minority to serve the country was futile. Barras was a fitting representative of the turpitude of the hour, and he set the example in all the excesses of the times. It became painfully evident that France could not be reconstructed by the fag-end of the revolution. There was now an imperative demand for a power and skill that had been disciplined away from the unhealthy atmosphere of the metropolis, to accomplish this herculean task. The thoughts of a patriot, Abbé Sieyes, were directed to the army, where a host of new and brilliant names were now rising, Hoche, Joubert, Brune, Kleber, Desaix, Massena, Moreau, Bernadotte, Augereau, and Bonaparte. The abbé made known his plan for the overthrow of the Directory, and the establishment of a consulate, which was in fact only a monarchy under the thin disguise of a republican form of government. It was propounded first to Moreau, who was startled by its audacity, and then to Angereau, who could not comprehend it, and lastly to Bonaparte on his return from Egypt, who admired it and fell into the plan, with what success we shall hereafter see. The Directory was a government of weakness, immorality and intrigue. But under it there was a general amnesty, and the outward order of affairs was resumed, and upon the whole, after the reign of terror, it may have been the best under the circumstances. Peace was concluded in 1795 with Spain and

Prussia. On the 13th of October, 1795, there was a rising of the arrondissements of Paris, and there were thirty thousand troops ready to seize the Tuileries, in which the Convention held its meetings. The Directory had entrusted the defense of the Convention to Moreau, but he had failed to meet the exigency of the moment.

Napoleon had seen the general march out to quell the insurgents, and as quickly flee in cowardice before the rabble. He hastened to the Tuileries, and with calm visage and undaunted heart watched the deliberations, if such they might be termed, of the terror-stricken Convention. Moreau had been dismissed in dishonor. Resistance seemed to be useless. It was now eleven at night, and all was consternation. Barras rose and broke the awful stillness of that chamber. "I know the man who can defend us," he nervously said, "it is the young Corsican officer, Napoleon Bonaparte, whose military abilities I witnessed at Toulon. He is a man who will not stand upon ceremony." Napoleon was called down and asked, "Are you willing to undertake the defense of the Convention?" "Yes," was the terse reply. They were surprised to see a small, slender, pale-faced youth of eighteen before them. Hesitating a moment, the president continued: "Are you aware of the magnitude of the undertaking?" With his eagle glance fixed full upon his questioner the young soldier said, "Perfectly; and I am in the habit of accomplishing what I undertake! But I must be entirely untrammeled by the Convention." When the sun rose the next morning the Tuileries appeared like an entrenched camp. Artillery was placed to command every approach and defend the capital from the attacks of the infuriated mobs. The armed warriors, black and threatening, poured down the narrow streets. The members sat in silent awe in their very seats, awaiting the attack upon whose issue so much depended. Five thousand against thirty thousand. Napoleon, with his guns loaded to the muzzle, was ready for the first fire, but he would not assume the responsibility of opening the contest. He did not wait long; the first volley opened upon the handful of defenders. It was the signal for the instantaneous discharge of all the artillery, which belched forth its slaughter and death till the pavements were filled with the dead and wounded. The day was won, and Napoleon had taken the first advance to fame. As unmoved as if he had done nothing extraordinary, he returned to the Tuileries. Was it luck? No, for Moreau had the same opportunity and failed. It was the fact that the Corsican had pluck as well as luck.

Bonaparte was at once appointed commander of the army of the interior and was afterward sent to Italy, where he won the battles of Montenotte against the Austrians April 12th, 1796, and Mondovi April 22d, in which he defeated the Sardinians; then followed the victory of Lodi over the Austrian army May 10th. He was now justly regarded as the hero of Italy. Then Napoleon hastily entered the city of Milan and gave up all the northern part of Italy to the demands of his army. Then commenced a wholesale transportation of specimens of Italian art to satisfy the sight-seers of Paris. This appears to show the barbaric character of French warfare. The Directory



Napoleon Bonaparte putting down the mob against the Convention.
Page 282.

ordered that he should levy contributions on all the States that he had freed, and, according to his own account, he sent to France not less than fifty million florins.

The Austrians made an attempt to dispossess Napoleon from the places he had taken. An army of sixty thousand compelled him to raise the siege of Mantua, but Marshal Wurmser was himself defeated near Castiglione on the 5th of August, and again at Bassano, September 8th. In consequence of these defeats the Austrian was forced to seek shelter in Mantua, with only sixteen thousand left of the sixty thousand with which he entered Italy. The Austrians then sent a third army in two divisions; one of thirty thousand under Marshal Alvinzi and another of twenty thousand under General Davidowich. This was a terrible campaign for Napoleon, with his exhausted troops he was fronted by two fresh armies and was himself disheartened. At first the Austrians were successful, but after a severe fight of three days at Arcola, November 17th, they were defeated by the French general. At this time his dispatches to the Directory show how thoroughly absorbed he was in the material welfare of France. A fourth army of fifty thousand began the campaign of 1797, but it was completely routed by Napoleon on January 14th, and but a little while after Admiral Wurmser was starved into surrender. A fifth army under the archduke Charles was forced to retreat before the hero, and Napoleon had a design of marching upon Vienna, and he actually approached within eight days' march of that capital.

The Austrians were thoroughly alarmed and made proposals for peace, which ended in the treaty of Campo Formio, which was signed on the 17th of October, 1796.

It is generally conceded that his brilliant talent was never more remarkably displayed in this entire campaign, and it is but just to him to record that he used his utmost endeavors to withstand the exorbitant demands of the Directory, and from all the vast amounts which he levied on the consigned States not one penny was devoted to his own use. The glory of the French arms was established abroad, but she was still suffering under the distractions at home. The Directory had repudiated two-thirds of the public debt, and thus ruined the commerce of France as well as its foreign credit. In December, 1797, Napoleon returned to France, where he was enthusiastically received, and under a pretext of invading England a force of thirty thousand men was raised and he was appointed commander. But under this mask an expedition for Egypt was fitted out, and on June 29th he landed in Alexandria. At this period Turkey was at peace with France, and this invasion of a dependency of the sultan was unwarrantable and opposed to the policy of Europe. It reminds us of Eastern rather than Western warfare. Alexandria was captured and the French army marched on Cairo. The Mamelukes prepared to resist the invasion, but at "the battle of the Pyramids" they were totally defeated and the French were masters of Egypt. Napoleon entered the capital and began to reorganize the civil and military government of

the country. But on the 2d day of August, Nelson, the English admiral, completely destroyed the fleet at Aboukir bay, and so cut off Napoleon's communication with Europe. A month after the sultan declared war against him. He felt compelled to go elsewhere, and so marched his army of ten thousand men across the desert, and on the 9th of February, 1799, he stormed and carried Jaffa after a heroic resistance by the Turkish army. Then he marched northward and attacked Acre on the 17th. Here his victories ended and he was obliged to retire before the desperate bravery and obstinate valor of old Djezzer, assisted by Sir Sidney Smith with a small force of English sailors and marines. He then began his retreat to Egypt and re-entered Cairo, June 14th. In the mean time the sultan had raised an army of eighteen thousand at Aboukir, which was completely routed by the French commander July 25th. But the position of Napoleon was far from being comfortable, and he resolved to return to France. He had heard of the disasters in Italy and confusion in Paris, and therefore he hurried home. He barely escaped capture by an English fleet, but finally landed at Frejus on the 9th of October.

# XVIII.

## THE CONSULATE.

HE entered at once into the movement against the Directory, and grasping the situation led the movement which overthrew the government. He, with Sieyes and Roger Ducos, succeeded in being nominated as consuls. In the early part of 1800 the new Constitution was promulgated, which, though constitutional upon the face, in fact made Bonaparte the sole executive. He at once displayed a most consummate ability in reorganizing the government, to which he brought a systematic efficiency and a spirit of centralization that constituted a thoroughly practical administration. In a single word the whole power was now in the hands of Napoleon and the French nation perfectly idolized him. He caused the repeal of the most obnoxious laws of the Revolution; reopened the churches and regulated the finances. At once the prosperity of the nation was insured. In the latter part of January, 1800, he moved to the Tuileries, where he took up his residence. The French were thoroughly tired of discord, confusion and revolution, and they therefore regarded his assumption of supreme power with entire satisfaction. But Napoleon was well aware that his genius was



Napoleon rallies his beaten troops at the bridge of Arcola.
E. Bayard. See page 283.

especially adapted to military operations, so he remained but a short time in France. He left Moreau in command of the army of the Rhine, and crossed the Alps into Italy. He began this wonderful march May 13th, 1800, and before the Austrian Melas were aware of his presence he entered Milan, June 2d. In twelve days he fought the fiercely contested and decisive battle of Merango, which compelled the Austrians to retire for the second time from Lombardy. Later in the year hostilities recommenced, but the Austrians were beaten in Germany by Moreau and in Italy by Bonaparte until they were glad to sue for peace. On the 24th of December an attempt was made upon Napoleon's life by the means of an infernal machine. The peace of Luneville was signed on the 9th of February, 1801, and France was put in possession of all the territory to the Rhine.

England was the only country that refused to recognize the legality of the French conquests in Italy, and it was not until March 27th, 1802, that the peace of Amiens was concluded between France, Spain, Holland and England. This left Napoleon free to attend to schemes for the aggrandizement of France and—himself. These were nothing less than to make her the controling power of Europe and himself the powerful master and the founder of a new dynasty. He adopted measures to this end which were prudent, energetic and persistent; the immediate results were salutary to France, but at the same time they were frequently unjust, unprincipled and criminal. When we consider them in the light of their ultimate effects we are forced to regard them as execrable. France was still bleeding from internal wounds, and it was, first of all, necessary that these should be healed and the scars of the conflict removed. This could only be done by a conciliatory policy which should unite all parties and antagonize none. The first consul had the tact and ability to do this. He first tranquilized and subjected all without offending any. This was accomplished by treating all with equal favor and identifying himself with none. By this means Napoleon was able to gain the confidence and the gratitude of all the people. He busied himself in superintending the drafting of a civil code for France. All the ablest lawyers of the nation were brought together under the presidency of Cambrérès. Napoleon took frequent part in their deliberations. The result of their work was contained in four volumes, The Civil Code of France, Code of Procedure, Code of Instruction in Criminal Law and Penal Code, all of which are vaguely termed "The Napoleon Code." Attention was given to education, manufactures and commerce, but he desired especially to have an energetic and active people. He brought to the government of France the same executive ability that he displayed in the army, and was already emperor in all but name. He would not consent to any independent power but his own, and muzzled the press. The Concordat between the Church and State was concluded at Paris, June 15th, 1801, and ratified by the pope April 7th, 1802. By this the archbishops and bishops were compelled to vacate their sees. They were now and henceforth to be appointed by the first consul and receive their installation from the pope. The curates were to be appointed by the bishops and

ratified by the government. No religious enactment, consecration festival or other ceremony could be performed except by permission of the government. The Sabbath was to be observed, and in all France there must be only one form of liturgy and of catechism. On the other hand the government was to pay for the support of the clergy.

Napoleon was now ready to strike at the very central point of the revolution, the idea of popular liberty and the equality of all classes. He established the "Legion of Honor," and at once constituted a privileged class. He was advancing with rapid strides to the object of his ambition. There arose some popular opposition, but the first consul now felt himself strong enough to defy all the popular clamor. He was made consul for life August 2d, 1802, after a plebiscite, and out of 3,577,379 votes all but eleven thousand were cast for the measure. Two days after (August 4th) there appeared a *senatus-consult*, without any previous consultation with the legislative body, and upon the advice of the *council of State* changed the constitution again. This was effected without any show of resistance from the people.

The peace between France and England did not long continue. The policy of Napoleon in Italy had continually irritated the English, and repeated remonstrances proving ineffectual the British government declared war against France May 18th, 1803. At once the navy of England began to scour the seas and completely paralyzed the commerce of France. Napoleon threatened an invasion of England, and for this purpose collected a large army at Boulogne. He so completely misunderstood the spirit and disposition of the English nation that he thought that he would be welcomed as the liberator of the people. But at this juncture the very dangerous conspiracy against him was discovered, and led to one of the most despicable acts, if not the blackest of his whole career—the murder of the Duke d'Enghien.

This conspiracy of the Bourbon princes against Napoleon was headed by George Cadoudal. Pichegra and Moreau had succeeded in causing an uprising in Brittany. The Duke d'Enghien, the only son of Prince Henri Louis Joseph, had retired to the other side of the Rhine after the peace of Luneville. But when the discovery of the Bourbon conspiracy was made in Paris Napoleon had him at once arrested on the pretense that he was knowing to the conspiracy, and although there was not the least evidence to that effect. The natural territory of Baden was invaded and the duke was overpowered by an armed band after attempting resistance on the night of May 17th, 1804. He was captured with a few friends and servants and taken to Strasburg and immediately conveyed to Vincennes; three days later he was hastily tried and condemned to death; in half an hour the sentence was executed. This cruel and audaciously criminal act has affixed a lasting stigma to the name of Napoleon Bonaparte. The illegality of the trial and sentence was subsequently acknowledged by the president of the court, General Hullin. Napoleon endeavored in vain to excuse his action in the eyes of Europe.

George Cadoudal was one of the leaders of the Chouan or Royalist war in Brittany. He was born in 1771, and all the while during the revolution and



The battle of the Pyramids. "Three thousand years look down upon you, and victory."
F. Lix. See page 283.

the career of Napoleon was a devoted Royalist. He was a distinguished character in the conspiracy against the first consul in 1799, but had escaped to England after Napoleon had assumed the power. The latter at once recognized the ability and force of character of this man and offered to make him a lieutenant-general in his army, which he refused, as he also did another offer of a pension of one hundred thousand francs if he would only remain quiet. Subsequently, when George Cadoudal entered into the conspiracy of which we are speaking, he came to Paris, where he was arrested, tried, convicted, and executed June 25th, 1804. He was a man of uncompromising integrity and dauntless resolution. Napoleon said of him, "His mind was cast in the true mold; in my hands he would have done great things."

Charles Pichegru had been a successful general of the republic and risen to the chief command of the army of the Rhine in 1793, where he gained repeated victories over the enemies of France, but on finding the anarchy which prevailed in Paris, he was led by the secret offers of the prince of Condé to favor the Bourbons. His conduct aroused the suspicions of the Directory and he was superseded in the command by Moreau, and subsequently, on account of other intrigues, he was transported to Cayenne. He effected his escape in June, 1798, and entered heart and soul into the Bourbon conspiracy. The conspirators secretly came to Paris, bent upon taking the life of the first consul. An intimate friend of Pichegru betrayed him to the government for a bribe of one hundred thousand crowns. He was surprised in his sleep and carried to the Temple, where he was afterward found dead in his bed. An attempt to fasten his death as a private assassination upon Napoleon lacks evidence, and the most general belief is, that he strangled himself.

## XIX.

# THE EMPIRE—NAPOLEON I.

THE conspiracy was crushed in its beginning, and Napoleon used it as a pretext to advance his claims for the emperorship. The question of another change in government was submitted to the people, and out of a vote of between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000, only three or four thousand were against the measure. But as municipal freedom was gone, but little value can be placed upon this expression of the popular will. On the 18th day of May Napoleon assumed the title of emperor, and was crowned, not by the pope, but in his presence, December 2d. When the pope was about to place the crown upon his head, he suddenly snatched it from the pope's hand and crowned himself with it. The pope had come to Paris for the purpose of crowning Napoleon and his wife Josephine. Then there was created a new order of nobility, and all the relatives and friends of the new emperor were created kings, dukes, counts, and placed over the conquered people which he had subdued. By the means of his power over the weakened continental nations, he made an efficient blockade of the coast of England. His arms were everywhere victorious, with the one exception of the operations in the peninsula. His policy of aggrandizement began at this time to arouse the attention and jealousy of all the other powers, and especially Austria, who saw her territory in Italy seriously threatened. By the effort of England a coalition was formed in 1805 against France by Austria, Russia, Sweden and England. The war broke out in September of that year, and Napoleon moved with his wonderful celerity. His forces, which were scattered widely, were gathered as quickly at Mainz. A forward march across Bavaria compelled General Mack to surrender Ulm with twenty thousand men on October 17th, and Napoleon entered the Austrian capital on the 13th of November. The news of this electrified all France, but the rest of Europe was dumbfounded. This was only the prelude to a more wonderful success. The Russian emperor had already entered Moravia with a large army and joined the scattered Austrian troops. Hurrying northward the French emperor did not lose a moment, but met the allied armies at Austerlitz on December 2d, 1805.

The allied armies of Austria and Russia were under the immediate command of their respective emperors, and they advanced in five columns to offer battle to the French emperor. But the movements of these were ill-



Charlotte Corday undauntedly leaves the "Conciergerie" on the road to the Guillotine.
See page 278.

conducted, and evidently made without a knowledge of the strength of the French army. Napoleon had taken his head-quarters at Brünn. The strength of his army was fully eighty thousand men, but they were so carefully concealed under the tactics of their general as not to appear to be nearly so many. The engagement began at 7 o'clock in the morning, but the Russian line was quickly broken by the French. The left wing of the allied army suffered severely toward the close of the battle, and attempted to withdraw across a frozen pond, but Napoleon ordered his artillery to fire upon the ice, which was thus broken and thousands of the troops were drowned. According to trustworthy accounts the allied armies lost thirty thousand men, and the French twelve thousand. Russian and French accounts make the number on each side respectively much less. This battle was followed by an armistice, the terms being dictated by the conquering emperor, and on the 26th of December, by the treaty of Presburg, Austria was completely humbled by this disaster.

Prior to this decided victory the French navy had suffered a terrible defeat at Trafalgar. The French fleet was commanded by Villeneuve, and the Spanish fleet, allied with it, by two Spanish admirals. This combined fleet consisted of thirty-three ships of the line, five frigates and two brigs. The British fleet opposed them with twenty-seven ships of the line, four frigates and two smaller vessels. The engagement resulted in an overwhelming defeat for the French, but the English lost their bravest and best admiral, Nelson.

On the 27th of December Napoleon declared war against the king of Naples, because he had violated the treaty of neutrality by receiving an English and Russian army with friendship a few days before the battle of Austerlitz. A powerful army under Massena and Joseph Bonaparte had hastened to Naples to enforce the promulgation of Napoleon's annunciation, "The royal house of Naples has ceased to reign." The army reached the capital of the kingdom February 15th, 1807, at whose approach the royal house fled in terror to Palermo. The emperor at once appointed his brother Joseph the hereditary king of that beautiful kingdom and made him a tributary of the empire. The capture of Gaeta, July 18th, consummated this revolution.

Shortly after Joseph Bonaparte had been seated on the throne of Naples a delegation from Batavia came to Paris and implored that Louis Napoleon should be appointed regent of that country. Immediately this prince was proclaimed king of Holland, upon the same conditions that his brother had been made king of Naples.

The kingdom of Italy was now increased by the addition of all the States which had formed the States of Venice, and over this was placed the adopted son of the emperor. Eugene Beauharnais, who had married the Princess Augusta of Bavaria, was seated on the throne of this kingdom, which now embraced all Italy except Hetruria and Rome.

While Napoleon raised his large family of relatives to dignity and

renown he did not forget to reward his generals with dukedoms and provinces, by which he could bestow emoluments without taxing France or taking from her territory. There was, in fact, a double empire, the direct and the indirect. The former consisted of France and her incorporated provinces under the immediate rule of Napoleon, the latter of the kingdoms and principalities which were held by those who were French subjects and, at the same time, dependent for their power upon the French emperor.

The entire administration of internal affairs tended to the consolidation of the empire and the last vestige of freedom to the French.

The restoration of the Gregorian Calendar in the place of the Republican, the arrangement of the Church in its connection with the State and national system of education, all tended to make the people subservient to the will of a despot. Only one thing was wanting to concentrate in the person of the emperor alone all the relations of Church, education, commerce and the family —the subjection of his own house. This was effected on the 30th of March, 1806, by the imperial *family statute*, by which he was able to rivet the chains more closely, not only about France itself, but around the allied States he had connected with her. By this his own family, although they occupied foreign thrones, were compelled into absolute dependence upon him. From the time he became consul for life his character underwent a most radical change in every particular. Before that the good of France may have been the sole object of his ambition, but thereafter his egregious personal ambition swallowed up every other consideration.

It was Germany which suffered the heaviest from the treaty of Presburg. March 15th, 1806, Napoleon gave Cleves, with Berry as an hereditary duchy, to his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, upon the usual condition. The imperial city of Frankfort was fallen upon by French troops, put under contribution, and presented to the electoral archchancellor on the 19th of September. The uncle of the great Napoleon was appointed his coadjutor May 28th.

A union of sixteen German princes, under the control of the French emperor, was concluded at Paris, July 12th, 1806. These princes agreed by a treaty of alliance to raise a contingent of sixty-three thousand men for all the wars which France might wage. Augsburg and Lindon were the places of rendezvous. The formation of this confederation was communicated with no delay by the French *chargé d'affaires*, Bucher, to the diet of the German empire, with the declaration that France no longer recognized the existence of a German empire. Thus passed away without noise or confusion an empire which Charles the Great had founded more than a thousand years before.

The Confederation of the Rhine, as this union was styled, increased the territory of France by an area of between eleven and twelve thousand square miles, and added eight million souls to her population. It mattered not by what title he was called, whether emperor, king, prince, or protector, the great Napoleon was absolute master of all. Negotiations for peace had been begun with Russia and England, but they were abruptly broken off October 1st. Prussia began to arouse herself and shake off her blindness to




The prisons emptying their emaciated charges to be led to execution.
F. Lix. See page 277.

the situation, now she was thoroughly alive to the important crisis. War was declared by France on the 7th, and by Prussia on the 8th. Preparations were hurriedly made. Prussia collected an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men in the vicinity of Erfurt. It was a valiant army but poorly officered. Napoleon quietly, and with astonishing rapidity, broke through the Prussians and suddenly assailed them on the left flank. The engagement near Saalfeld October 10th, in which the heroic Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia fell like a hero, was only the prelude to the fatal day of Jena and Auerstadt on the 14th. The Prussian power was overthrown on that bloody field. The pages of modern history do not record a defeat so total and irredeemable as this. The two Prussian armies were routed and dispersed in spite of many heroic exploits. Not less than fifty thousand Prussians fell on that day. The subsequent disasters were even more appalling. Two days after the battle, Erfurt surrendered with its strong citadels and fourteen thousand men. The day after this the entire reserve under the prince of Wurtemburg was beaten near Halle. The French crossed the Elbe and entered the fortified Sprandau on the 24th of October, and Berlin on the 25th. The end of disaster had not yet come; on the 28th the Prussian general, Hohenlohe, surrendered with seventeen thousand men, the next day six thousand cavalry also surrendered, Lubeck was stormed repeatedly on the 6th of November, and was surrendered by its valiant defender, Blucher, with ten thousand men. Other cities follow the same fate, and before the first of December all the country between the Rhine and the Oder with 9,000,000 inhabitants had surrendered to the victorious French emperor. All Northern Germany felt the scourge of the victor, and neutral territory was not spared. Of all Germany, Austria alone had taken no part in the war; but the sudden fall of Prussia, although it might make their own overthrow less humiliating, was none the less an object of terror and grief. After the fall of the Prussian capital Napoleon hastened northward to meet the Russians, who were now coming to the aid of Prussia; on his way he aroused the Poles to make a strike for liberty, but only with partial success. The French were twice beaten back, once at Pultask, December 18th, 1806, and again at Eylau, February 8th, 1807; but after some months they received heavy re-enforcements, and on the 13th of June they fought and won the great battle of Friedland, which led to the treaty of Tilsit July 7th. At the same conference a secret treaty was signed, by which the Russians agreed to exclude the English from her ports. Just after this treaty the emperor removed the last vestige of popular government from the people by the abolition of the tribunate. In August the emperor created his brother Jerome, sovereign of Westphalia, and soon after declared war with Portugal on account of her refusing to keep the British ships out of her ports. In the month of March, 1808, occurred the extraordinary instance of trepanning at Bayonne, by which the royal family of Spain came into the hands of the French. In the following July the "dearly beloved brother" of Napoleon, Joseph, was ordered to exchange the throne of Naples for that of Spain and the Indies.

His successor in Naples was Joachim Marat. Spain at once arose in arms, and was aided by England under Sir John Moore. Napoleon invaded Spain, defeated their army, and entered Madrid December 4th. But he was urgently needed elsewhere, and he was obliged to leave Soult and other generals to conduct the war in the peninsula. Austria once more prepared for war, which began in the spring of 1809.

The first great operations of the war gave no very decided advantage to Napoleon, although his bulletins spoke of partial victories as final triumphs. The battle of Eckmuhl on the 22d of April was followed by the entry of the French into Vienna on the 13th of May. But the archduke Charles had re-enforced his army, and was advancing rapidly along the left bank of the Danube, to prevent the enemy crossing from the right bank, on which Vienna is situated. In the great stream of the Danube is the island of Lobau, nearly three miles in length, and nearly two miles in breadth. To this island Napoleon determined to transport his army. This was an operation of no common difficulty; but it was accomplished by incessant labor in constructing a great bridge upon boats, held in their places by anchors, or by the weight of cannon taken from the arsenal of Vienna. From Lobau there was a smaller stream to cross, by a similar bridge, before a landing could be effected on the open plain on the left bank. On the morning of the 21st of May, the army of the archduke Charles saw from wooded heights the army of Napoleon crossing the lesser branch of the river, and pouring into the great level called Marchfeld. As the French formed their line, the village of Aspern was on one flank; the village of Essling on the other flank. On the 21st and 22d of May, the most sanguinary contest of the war here took place. "It was a battle," says Thiers, "without any result but an abominable effusion of blood." Never before was the all-conquering emperor in so dangerous a position as when the day closed upon this horrible carnage. He could not return to Vienna; for the river had risen, and the Austrians had floated down the main stream great balks of timber and numerous fire-ships, which swept away the boats and their bridge. Napoleon could only return to the island of Lobau. Here he retreated, carrying with him thousands of wounded soldiers. The place afforded small means for their cure or comfort; and there was soon little difference between those who died in the battle-field and those who were borne from it to a lingering death.

The inaction of mutual exhaustion was coming to an end. To Napoleon inaction was generally insupportable. He appeared busily employed in constructing massive bridges from the island to the left bank of the Danube; but he was secretly collecting the materials for another work. On the night of the 4th of July the whole of his army crossed the stream, by a bridge hastily thrown over an unguarded point. On the morning of the 5th the French moved in order of battle toward the entrenched camp of the Austrians, which was to resist the passage over the Danube so ostentatiously prepared. The archduke Charles quitted his entrenchments, abandoning the



Andreas Hofer gathering his Highlanders in defense of Fatherland.
F. Deffregger. Page 293.

country between Enzensdorf and Wagram. He had lost the opportunity of attacking the French as they crossed the river in that one night, and confronted him as if by miracle. He now retired to a strong position on the elevated table-land of Wagram. From this locality the great battle of the 6th derives its name. The number of soldiers engaged in the work of mutual destruction was between three and four hundred thousand. The French historians claim to have killed or wounded twenty-four thousand Austrians; and admit to have lost eighteen thousand in killed or wounded. But the sturdy resistance of Austria had deranged some of Napoleon's grandest plans of ambition. "He had renounced the idea of dethroning the house of Hapsburg, an idea which he had conceived in the first movements of his wrath." He would humiliate Austria by new sacrifices of territory and of money. The time was fast approaching when the conquering *parvenu* would demand a daughter of the house of Hapsburg in marriage, completing the triumph of his proud egoism by divorcing the woman who had stooped from her rank to wed the Corsican lieutenant of artillery. Austria sued for an armistice; and the armistice led to a peace. Two of the conditions of the peace of Vienna, which was signed on the 14th of October, were more degrading to Austria than the loss of territory. One was that she should give no succor to the Tyrolese who had so nobly fought for her independence. The other was, that she should unite with all the rest of the enslaved continent in the exclusion of the commerce of England, her ally, that was affording the most effectual co-operation by exertions in Spain; and had attempted by a small expedition to Naples, and a vast expedition to the Scheldt, to divert the levies of France from going to the aid of the French armies that were fighting against Austria on the Danube and in Italy. England was ill-timed in her assistance; she was unlucky; but her good-will was not the less sincere. Napoleon returned to Paris, and left his marshals to put down the spirit in Germany which a humiliating peace could not compromise, and which the system of terror could not wholly extinguish. Fifty thousand French and Bavarians marched into the Tyrol; hunted the peasantry from hill to hill; set a price upon the head of Andrew Hofer; and procured his arrest by treachery. He was tried by court-martial at Mantua, and condemned to death. The majority of French officers were averse to the sentence being executed. There was a respite; but an order from Paris left no choice. He was shot on the 20th of February.

The time had now come when Napoleon was about to commit the most contemptible act of his whole life, and for which he ought to receive the curse of all decent men. The gentle Josephine, who had stooped from her rank to wed the young Corsican sub-lieutenant, had made him a true and noble wife. But she was childless, and he wished to ally himself to some royal family as well as to perpetuate his family. He therefore began proceedings for divorce. The act of divorcement was registered on the 16th of December, 1809, and Josephine was permitted to retain the title of empress. In less than three months he was married to Maria Louisa, arch-

duchess of Austria. He was now at the zenith of his power, but according to the old Greek belief Nemesis was already on his track. The real cause of his downfall was the moral effect of that outrage on modern civilization contained in the Berlin decrees, by which Napoleon declared the whole of the British Isles in a state of blockade.

On the 13th of December, 1810, all Holland was added to the French empire, and created ten departments. The empire now consisted of one hundred and thirty departments, embracing forty-two million souls. The millions that were dependent upon the will of the mighty emperor—a godhead with some infatuated English, a "restless barbarian" with others not wholly given up to party—can scarcely be numbered. The kingdom of Italy, which was under his sway, contained six millions. The kingdom of Naples, in which his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, now ruled, contained five millions. The kingdom of Westphalia, of which his brother Jerome was the sovereign, submitted to the law that was enforced upon his other satellites, that "everything must be subservient to the interests of France." Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, he had at his feet the kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemburg, and a train of minor German princes. Prussia was wholly at his mercy. Denmark would obey any command of Napoleon since Copenhagen was bombarded and her fleet carried off. Marshal Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo, had been elected by the States of Sweden as successor to the aged and childless Charles XIII., who had succeded the deposed Gustavus. The French marshal was installed crown prince on the 1st of November, 1810. There only wanted the entire possession of Spain and Portugal, under his brother king, Joseph—Austria being his own by family ties, and Russia his ally, in the sworn friendship of her emperor—to make the world his own. England was to perish in the great league of Europe against her commerce; and in the resistance of America to her maritime claims. "The English," says Thiers, "once expelled from Portugal, all would tend in Europe to a general peace. On the contrary, their situation consolidated in that country, Massena being obliged to retrace his steps, the fortune of the empire would begin to fall back before the fortune of Great Britain, to sink in the midst of an approaching catastrophe." In his place in parliament, about this time, the marquis Wellesley proclaimed a great truth, which he repeated in 1813: "As Bonaparte was probably the only man in the world who could have raised his power to such a height, so he was probably the only man who could bring it into imminent danger. His eagerness for power was so inordinate; his jealousy of independence so fierce; his keenness of appetite so feverish in all that touched his ambition even in the most trifling things, that he must plunge into desperate difficulties. He was of an order of mind that by nature made for themselves great reverses."

On the 10th of March, 1811, Louise Maria presented the emperor with a son, whom Napoleon in the joy of his heart saluted as king of Rome. The




Napoleon announcing to Josephine his determination to divorce her and marry Maria Louise.
E. Bayard. See page 293.

infant prince was baptized June 6th, by the name of Napoleon François Charles Joseph.

Russia and the other European powers found that they could not enforce the unrighteous decrees of Berlin and Milan, and at first began to evade them. The relations of England and the United States to the continental question are set forth in the respective histories of those countries.

## XX.

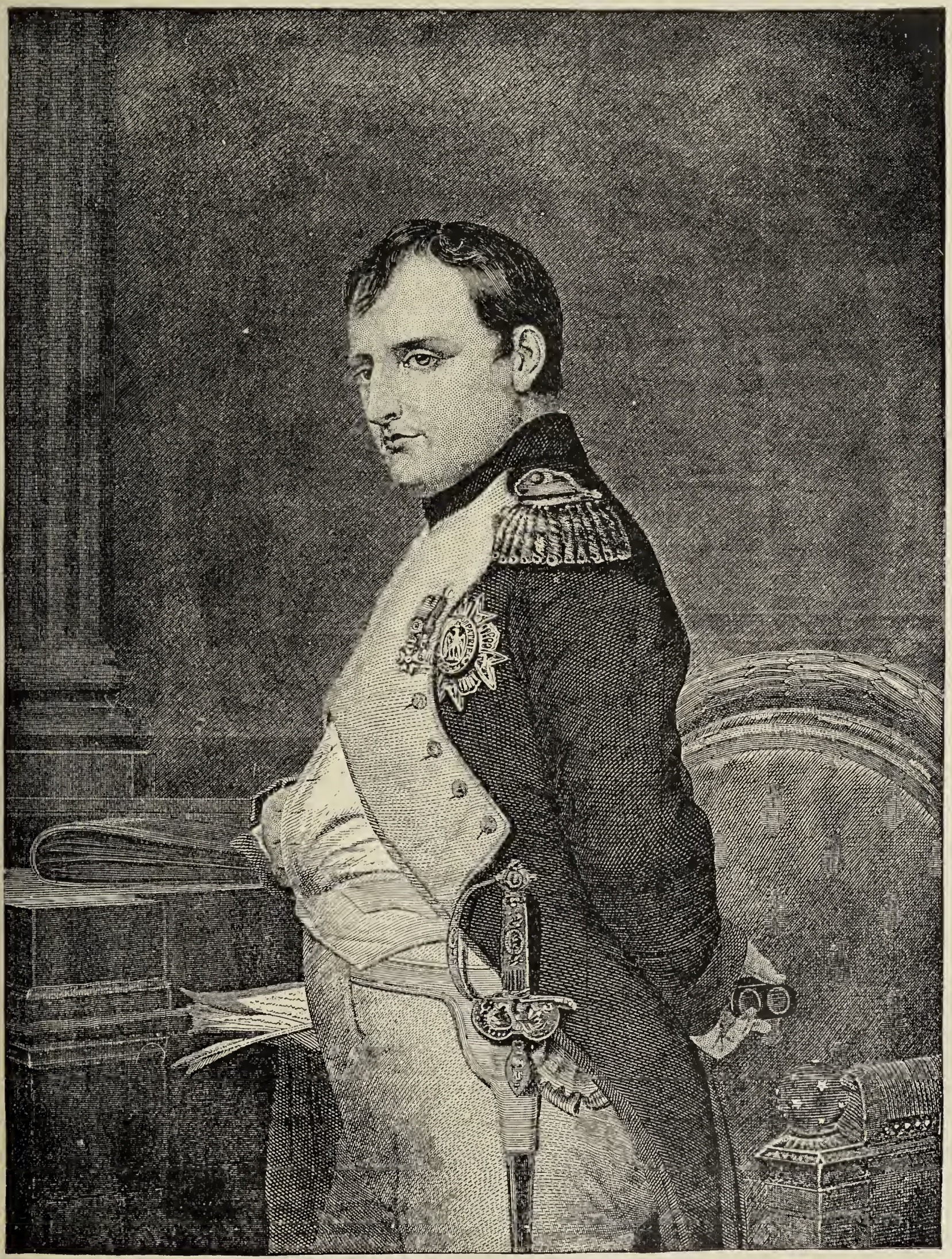
# THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN AND THE END OF THE EMPIRE.

THE eternal friendship between Napoleon and Alexander which had been sworn at Tilsit was threatened to be dissolved by causes of which the two emperors at first took little heed. Princes might submit to the continental decrees of France, but nations were more difficult to persuade or to coerce. The Russian people, and especially the Russian landholders, who were deprived of the usual markets for the produce of their estates, compelled the government to issue a ukasè, by which commodities were to be introduced into Russian ports unless they should appear to belong to subjects of Great Britain. This restriction was easy to be evaded, and the trade between the two countries became really opened. Napoleon was haughty and indignant. But Alexander dared not impose any severer law upon his subjects; and he had now the support of Bernadotte, the crown prince of Sweden, who also refused to submit to the dictator, who had seized and confiscated fifty Swedish merchantmen, on the ground of their contraband trade with England. In March, 1812, a treaty of alliance was signed between Russia and Sweden. Napoleon had been gradually collecting large bodies of troops on the Vistula. He had levied the conscription of 1812, although that of 1811 was only just completed. It was clear that an offensive war was in preparation. At the beginning of May, the Russian minister at Paris presented an official note, to the intent that the differences between the governments might be easily settled if the French troops were withdrawn from Pomerania and the duchy of Warsaw, where they were evidently stationed to threaten the Russian frontier. Bonaparte said he would not be dictated to by any foreign sovereign, and he sent the ambassador his passports. On the 9th of May he left Paris, with his Austrian empress. At Dresden he received the homage of his tributary princes: and

there, too, came the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, to offer their contingents for the invasion of Russia. Splendid were the ceremonials with which the vassals did fealty to their liege lord. The numbers of the confederated army which, on the 24th and 25th of June, passed the Niemen, the boundary of the Russian empire, have been variously stated. The lowest estimate places them at half a million of men. A detailed return, extant in the French War-office, gives the numbers as six hundred and fifty-one thousand three hundred and fifty-eight infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers; one hundred and eighty-seven thousand one hundred and twenty-one horses, and one thousand three hundred and seventy-two pieces of ordnance. To meet this mighty force, the Russian armies only comprised two hundred and fifty-four thousand three hundred and fifty-six men. But there was something stronger than these mighty masses of invaders,—the determination of the Russian people to resist to the last extremity. It was in this spirit that the officers and soldiers of Alexander's army held that to ruin the invader they must retire before him into the heart of Russia without giving battle, and, destroying everything before him in their retreat, to leave nothing but ravaged fields, so that the modern Pharaoh and his hosts should perish in the immensity of the void, as the ancient Pharaoh perished in the waters.

The French armies entered Lithuania without encountering any opposition. They ravaged the country, feeding their horses on green corn; and when the main bodies left it, entirely devastated, they left behind them a hundred thousand men, dead, or in hospitals, or marauding in scattered parties through the districts where the locusts who had passed over had left nothing to be consumed. On the 16th of August they were under the walls of Smolensk, about two hundred and eighty miles from Moscow. The Russians were there in force, and a great battle took place. When the French entered the city it had been evacuated, and they found only burning ruins. The Russians continued their retreat toward Moscow, Napoleon following them. On the 7th of September was fought the sanguinary battle of Borodino. The sun had risen with extraordinary brilliancy, and Napoleon hailed it as the twin sun of Austerlitz. The fighting lasted two days. On each side there were forty thousand killed and wounded. Each army imagined itself lord of the field; but the Russian army continued its retreat to Moscow.

On the 14th of September before day dawn, the Russian troops commenced filing through the city. They were soon accompanied by all the inhabitants and populace who could find any means of conveyance. "The incidents and the whole scene of the evacuation of a great capital may be conceived better than described. The Russians, however, have preserved so much of their nomad habits, that they were much more quickly packed and equipped for their emigration than the inhabitants of any other European city would have been. The army, indeed, since the first day's retreat from Smolensk, had been accompanied by a wandering nation. All the towns villages, and hamlets were abandoned as the columns appeared. The old and



Napoleon

infirm, the women and children were placed with the movable effects, and the 'Dii Penates,' on their kabitgas or telegas—one and two horse carts which no peasant is without." On the same day Napoleon arrived at Moscow with his guards, and was astounded at the solitude which reigned everywhere. "His feelings had been excited to the highest degree of pride and glowing expectation. He had anticipated his reception by a submissive magistracy and humbled people, imporing clemency; and dreamt that in the palace of the czars he would have it in his power to promise pardon, protection, and peace to themselves and their sovereign."

Napoleon took up his residence in the suburb of Moscow. He had commanded his soldiers to bivouac outside the city, but at night many entered, and sought in plunder and riot some compensation for their long endurance of severe privations. That very night the alarm of fire was given in various quarters. The great bazaar with its ten thousand shops was in a blaze. The crown magazines, with vast stores of wine and spirits, were in a blaze. Not a fire-engine, not a bucket, could be procured. They had all been carried off. The next day the French emperor transferred his quarters to the Kremlin. Day after day the astonished soldiers saw the canopy of smoke and flame spreading over the city of a thousand domes and minarets. On the 21st, the Russian army was established within twenty-five miles of Moscow. They knew that the progress of their invader had been stayed. The conflagration went on till, of forty thousand houses in stone, only two hundred escaped; of eight thousand in wood, five hundred only were standing; of sixteen hundred churches, eight hundred were consumed. The Kremlin itself, on the 16th, had become uninhabitable, and Napoleon left it to take up his quarters outside the city. A furious wind carried showers of sparks far and near. On the 20th, when Napoleon returned, a heavy rain had extinguished the flames, but only one-tenth of the city was left unconsumed. Only those provisions had escaped being burnt which were left in the cellars of the houses. What was the cause of this terrible destruction? Was it the resolved purpose of a patriotic devotion producing a havoc more awful than any event which history records, or was it accident? There can be no doubt that it was part of the same determined system of resistance which had driven the whole population from the burning villages on the road from Smolensk, and had led forth the inhabitants of Moscow, with the exception of the miserable thousands who were unable to move, to seek for other shelter than in the homes of the devoted city. Rostopchin, the governor of Moscow, "could neither deny nor adopt the act." But that he had a strong conviction of what was public virtue may be gathered from the fact that he afterward set fire with his own hands to his magnificent palace in the village of Woronow, when a division of the French were approaching on the 4th of October, and that he affixed upon a pillar these ominous words: "The inhabitants of this property, to the number of seventeen hundred and twenty, quit it at your approach, and I voluntarily set the house on fire that it may not be polluted by your presence. Frenchmen, I abandoned to you my two houses at

Moscow, with their furniture and contents, worth half a million of roubles. Here you will only find ashes." The French evacuated Moscow on the 19th of October. Snow had begun to fall. An early winter was setting in.

Adequately to describe the incidents of that terrible destruction of the French grand army, which occurred from the 19th of October to the 13th of December, when a miserable remnant re-crossed the Niemen, would require a volume—as indeed several separate volumes have been written on that fearful catastrophe. The march of the French was a succession of battles with the pursuing Russians. The troops were skillfully led; their courage rarely failed, even when starving and perishing by the wayside with the extremity of cold. Clouds of Cossacks hung upon their path, leaving them not an hour's safety. The most popular narrative, that of the Count de Ségur, has been held to contain many exaggerations. That of Sir Robert Wilson has many striking details of horror, amid a critical military view of the operations of the Russians in which he is not sparing of blame. There is a brief account by Desprez, the aide-de-camp of King Joseph, who was sent to Napoleon to propitiate his anger against his brother, and against Marmont, for the defeat at Salamanca. The emperor kept him at Moscow, and when the evacuation took place, he accompanied the division of Marshal Mortier, till it reached Wilna, where the French had staid till the 16th of December, when the Russians were coming upon them. The aide-de-camp, in a letter to King Joseph, dated from Paris on the 3d of January, says that the army when he quitted it was in the most horrible misery. For a long time previously the disorder and losses had been frightful; the artillery and cavalry had ceased to exist. The different regiments were all mixed together; the soldiers marching pell-mell, and only seeking to prolong existence. Thousands of wandering men fell into the hands of the Cossacks. The number of prisoners was very great, but that of the dead exceeded it. During a month there were no rations, and dead horses were the only resource. The severity of the climate rendered hunger more fatal. The truth could not be wholly hidden, even by Napoleon. He could not conceal that of four hundred thousand Frenchmen who had crossed the Niemen in May, with the persuasion of their invincibility, not twenty thousand had returned to the Vistula. The destruction could not be concealed from the bereaved families who mourned their sons and their husbands. On the 3d of December, the emperor issued his twenty-ninth and last bulletin, which made France and the world comprehend, in some degree, how the invasion of Russia had ended. For the first time he then spoke of his retreat; he avowed such part of his misfortunes as he could not wholly deny; he attributes his calamities to the severity of the weather. On the 5th, in the middle of the night, he quitted his army at Smorgoni, traveling in a sledge, accompanied by Caulaincourt, a Polish interpreter, his mamlook Rustan, and a valet. He arrived in Paris on the night of the 18th of December.

There is a description of the state of public feeling in Germany at the beginning of 1813, which shows how the continent was awakening from its




The retreat from Russia. The fearful calamity at the bridge over the Berezina.
E. Bayard. Page 298.

torpor. The writer was a professor in the University of Breslau: "The 29th bulletin had appeared: every artful expression in it seemed to endeavor vainly to conceal the news of a total defeat. The vision of a wonderful agitated future rose in every mind with all its hopes and terrors: it was breathed out at first in tones scarcely audible: even those who had believed that unbridled ambition would find its check in the land which it had desolated could not realize the horrible destruction of a victorious army, an army which had for fifteen years, with growing might, excited first the admiration, then the terror, and, lastly, the paralyzed dismay of all the continental nations, and which had at length been overtaken by a fearful judgment, more wonderful than its conquests. But the strange event was there; reports no longer to be doubted crowded in upon us,—the distant voice approached,—the portentous words sounded clearer and clearer,—and at last the loud call to rise was shouted through the land. Then did the flood of feeling burst from hearts where it had been long pent up,—fuller and freer did it flow; then the long-hidden love to king and country flamed brightly out, and the dullest minds were animated by the wild enthusiasm. Every one looked for a tremendous crisis, but the moment was not yet come for action, and while resting in breathless expectation, thousands and thousands became every hour stronger still to meet it."

The passionate impulses of the people of Prussia were powerful enough to make their sovereign resolve to endure no longer his state of ignominious vassalage. He first made a proposal to Napoleon, with the consent of Alexander, whom he met at Breslau, that the French should evacuate Dantzic, and all the Prussian fortresses on the Oder, and retire behind the Elbe into Saxony. The Russian army should in that case remain behind the Vistula. Napoleon contemptuously spurned the proposition. Frederick-William and Alexander then concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive. Austria decided to remain neutral. Hostilities immediately began. The French quitted Berlin and Dresden. The old spirit of Germany,—the spirit of Arminius, which eighteen centuries before had driven the Roman legions beyond the Rhine,—had again awakened. Secret societies had cherished this spirit, and now it no longer needed to be secret. The preacher called upon his congregation to arm; the professor told his class that they must now learn to fight. At nightfall in every city bands of young Germans shouted forth the songs of Arndt; and every student and every apprentice could join in the chorus of "Was ist der Deutschen Vaterland." In the mean time, France, weeping for her children, still crouched at the feet of her master.

The senate were now called upon to place at the disposal of the emperor half a million of conscripts. He took the field in the middle of April. He could reckon upon collecting two hundred and fifty thousand troops before Russia and Prussia could concentrate an equal force. But of his forces four-fifths were young soldiers; the other fifth were Germans. He left Erfurt to march upon Leipzig. On the 2d of May he fought the battle of Lützen, and defeated the combined Russian and Prussian army. His victory gave him

possession of Leipzig and of Dresden. On the 20th and 21st of May the two armies renewed the struggle at Bautzen. The slaughter on each side was nearly equal. The allies retreated; but Napoleon did not attempt to follow up the success which he had achieved at a prodigious loss, which told him that such days as Austerlitz and Jena were not likely to recur. An armistice was agreed upon, to extend from the 5th of June to the 22d of July. Bonaparte spent this period in Berlin trying to deceive the powers by pretending to devote himself to ease and pleasure, but he was really preparing for the coming contest. The duke of Wellington gained a decided victory at Vittoria on the 19th of June, over Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan. Then followed repeated victories over the French in Spain by the allied forces. The spirit of Europe was thoroughly aroused and the spell was broken. In all Europe and even in France the feeling was growing that the world had had "enough of Bonaparte." Prussia was burning to wipe out the disgrace of Jena and the bitter humiliation which followed. An alliance was formed between Prussia and the Emperor Alexander; at first Austria stood neutral, but subsequently joined it. The exalted military genius of Napoleon never shone more brightly than in the campaign which resulted in his downfall. The opening battles were successful: that at Lützen, May 2d, at Bautzen, May 21st, and Dresden, August 24th, 25th and 27th, but an invincible determination, which made these last victories well nigh fruitless, had seized the allied powers. They were thoroughly convinced that one grand victory by them would neutralize all the advantages gained by Napoleon. And the issue proved that they were correct. Napoleon had won his last victory. Then followed a series of disasters on the 26th of August in the battle of Katzbach, in which the French lost twenty-five thousand men, and then the defeat of Vandamme on the 20. The Swedes, Prussians and Russians had won the field of Gross-Buren the 23d of August. General Ney was defeated at the battle of Denniwitz on September 3d. On the 8th of October the king of Bavaria was obliged to join the allies. Napoleon saw that these reverses were not transitory misfortunes that could easily be retrieved. When he heard of the defeat of Vandamme he exclaimed: "This is war:—high in the morning, low at night." The morning had now little sunshine. He determined to fight his way to the Rhine, though all Germany was rising against him. To Leipzig he directed his march. He arrived in its neighborhood on the 15th of October. The Russians and Prussians were advancing to the same point. On the 16th he was attacked at the village of Wachau, near Leipzig. The action was not decisive; but for Napoleon not to win triumphantly was in itself defeat. On that day Bernadotte had not come up. There was a doubt at the Prussian head-quarters whether the crown prince of Sweden would be staunch. The amateur soldier, Professor Steffens, was sent to search for him after the battle of the 16th had begun. "It was not till night," he says, "that I made him out at Landsberg, in miserable quarters, surrounded by Swedish officers. He lay on a mattress spread on the floor of a desolate, nearly empty room. The dark Gascon face, with the prominent



Marshal Blücher defeats the French on the Katzbach, August 26th, 1813.
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nose and the relaxing chin, was sharply relieved against the white bed-clothes and the laced night-cap." Steffens explained the object of his mission. Bernadotte promised to march directly, and he kept his promise. On the 17th there was a pause. Napoleon had been secretly making propositions for an armistice. His father-in-law and Alexander returned no answer. The battle was fought on the 18th and decided the fate of Napoleon. The French were defeated and marched out of Leipzig on the morning of the 19th before daybreak. Then commenced the disastrous retreat toward Paris, closely followed by the allied forces. Napoleon won his last victory at Hannau on the 30th and 31st of October, 1813. His last fight on German soil resulted in a victory, but it could not stay his retreat. He crossed the Rhine November 22d.

On the 14th of November the senate of France presented an address to Napoleon at the Tuileries. In his answer he said, "A year ago all Europe marched with us: now all Europe is marching against us. It is because the opinion of the world is formed by France or by England. We should have everything to fear but for the energy and power of the nation." The senate at once gave him three hundred thousand conscripts. In all, France had sacrificed, from September, 1805, to November 15th, 1813, no less than 2,103,000 of her sons.

Two columns of the allies marched upon Paris. On the 20th of January, 1814, the battle of Brienne was fought, but it decided nothing. By a rapid and daring movement Napoleon put himself in the rear of the allied forces. A hard battle was fought in the defense of the capital on March 30th, and on the 31st Paris capitulated. Napoleon abdicated and retired to the Island of Elba, but the allied powers recalled Louis XVIII., who entered Paris on the 3d of May amid the shouts of *Vive le Roi*. The king promised the French a constitutional government.

## XXI.

# THE HUNDRED DAYS.—WATERLOO.

THE diary of Mr. Abbot, the speaker of the British House of Commons, for the month of March, 1815, contains brief but remarkable entries, which may suggest some notion of the agitation of the public mind when the news came of two most unexpected and untoward events.

"March 8th.—News arrived this day of the failure of the attack on New Orleans; and the loss of General Pakenham, General Gibbs, and twenty-five hundred men killed and wounded."

"March 10th.—News arrived of Bonaparte having escaped from Elba, and landing at Antibes with one thousand men."

The second startling piece of intelligence, following so close upon the announcement of a great defeat of the British army in America, might have suggested to many a belief that the treaty of peace and amity between Great Britain and the United States, signed at Ghent on the 24th of December, had not been ratified; that the escape of Bonaparte had been anticipated by his democratic friends in America; and that a war in both hemispheres would make the peace as perishable as "The Temple of Concord," splendid with lamps and fireworks for a few hours, upon which the people had gazed in the Green Park on the night of the 1st of August. The peace of Ghent had nevertheless been duly ratified. At four o'clock on the morning of the 2d of March, the troops, in number about eight hundred, with Napoleon at their head, attended by his old companions in arms, Bertrand, Drouet, and Cambronne, commenced their march north on the road to Grasse; and possibly skirted Cannes on the east side, which quarter has been almost entirely built since 1815.

This landing in the Gulf of St. Juan on the 1st of March was the introductory scene to the great drama called "The Hundred Days." These count from the 13th of March, when Napoleon assumed the government, to the 22d of June, when he abdicated.

The secret departure from Elba was not known to the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia and Russia, and to the representatives of the other European powers assembled in congress at Vienna, till the 7th of March, when the duke of Wellington received a dispatch from Lord Burghersh, the British




Napoleon's return from Elba. "Who dares to shoot at his Emperor?"
C. E. Delort. Page 301.

minister at Florence, announcing the astounding fact. It was some days afterward before the landing near Cannes and the march toward Grasse were known at Vienna. Such was the slowness of communication that on the 5th of March it was not known in Paris that the ex-emperor had quitted the territory all too narrow for his ambition. Let us, before proceeding to relate the progress and issue of this great adventure, take a retrospect of the events that had followed Napoleon's abdication on the 4th of April, 1814—eleven months of false confidence and hollow peace.

The 4th of June, 1814, was an exciting day for Paris; an important day for the future tranquility of France and of Europe. A constitutional charter was that day to be promulgated by the restored king; and, on the same day, the last of the allied troops were to quit the capital. Louis XVIII. was to be left in the midst of his subjects, without the guarantee for his safety which some associated with the continued presence of the armed foreigners. The charter created a chamber of peers, of about one hundred and forty members, named for life by the king. These took the place of the servile flatterers of Napoleon, called the senate. The composition of this new body was an approach to impartiality in the union of members of the old noblesse with a remnant of the senate, and of generals of the army before the revolution, with marshals of the empire. By the charter, a representative body was also created, with very sufficient authority, and especially with the power of determining the taxes to be levied on the people. The letter of the ancient feudalism had perished. But its spirit lingered in the very date of this charter. It was held that Louis XVIII. began to reign when Louis XVII., the unhappy son of Louis XVI., was released by death from his miseries. The charter "given at Paris in the year of grace 1814, in the nineteenth year of our reign," was an emanation of the royal bounty. The king was declared by the chancellor, in his speech of the 4th of June, to be "in full possession of his hereditary rights," but that he had himself placed limits to the power which he had received from God and his fathers.

The constitutional charter was in some degree the work of the king himself, inasmuch as he had greatly modified a charter presented to him by the senate, which he found busy upon a constitution after Napoleon's abdication. The substance, and even the forms of liberty, having perished during the consulate and the empire, the change was great when freedom of speech and of writing were possible; when a senate and a representative body could debate without reserve and vote without compulsion.

When the powers who had signed the treaty of Paris assembled in congress at Vienna on the 30th of March they were informed of the escape of Napoleon and his entrance into France. They at once published a declaration which showed conclusively that there must be a renewed trial of strength more or less severe. The 4th of April the duke of Wellington arrived in Brussels to devise measures for the defense of the Netherlands. The ex-emperor had marched from Cannes to Grenoble and encountered no opposition. He had been in communication with

Labedoyére, who was an officer of the garrison at Grenoble, and this young colonel was ready with the men he commanded to hoist the tri-color. General Marchand, the governor of Grenoble, who was firm in his allegiance to the sovereign of the Restoration, sent out a detachment to observe the force that was approaching. Napoleon alone advanced to meet them, exclaiming, "I am your emperor; fire on me if you wish." The soldiers threw themselves on their knees, and amid shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur*," joined his ranks. Labedoyére and his men swelled the number, and Napoleon entered Grenoble amid the cheers of the soldiery and the citizens. On the 12th of March he was at Lyons, from which city he issued his decrees, which showed that he assumed supreme authority. On the 7th of March Marshal Ney had left the king, saying that he would bring the ex-emperor back in an iron cage, but on the 14th the marshal issued his orders at Auxerre in favor of Napoleon. On the 19th of March the king dissolved the chamber of deputies and on the 20th left the Tuileries. On the 21st Napoleon slept there, having been borne up the grand staircase by an enthusiastic crowd. On April 30th he issued a decree convoking the electoral college for the nomination of deputies. The greater number of people abstained from voting. In an assembly of two hundred thousand people of both sexes Napoleon announced that the wishes of the nation had brought him back to his throne and his whole thoughts were turned to the "founding our liberty on a constitution resting on the wishes and interests of the people." This constitution was called "Acte additionel aux Constitutions de l'Empire." It was a very literal copy of the charter of Louis XVIII., and had been forced upon the emperor by a party who believed that a limited monarchy, with representative institutions, might be a successful experiment, whether under a Bourbon or a Bonaparte. Napoleon had addressed letters to the European potentates, professing his moderate and peaceful intentions. No faith could be placed in his professions, and his letters were unanswered. There could only be one solution of the question between Napoleon and the allied powers. In the Champ de Mai he exclaimed, "The princes who resist all popular rights are determined on war. For war we must prepare." The Chambers commenced their functions, not in the old spirit of the empire, but as if they really trusted in his promises. But Napoleon would not wait the attack of his enemies. On June 11th he left Paris after he had appointed a provisional government to act in concert with the Chambers. On the 13th he was at Avesnes, and on the 15th had crossed the frontier at the head of one hundred and twenty-two thousand men.

The battle of Waterloo was fought on the 18th of June, 1815, on the ground which we call the field of Waterloo (although the battle was fought about a mile and a half in advance of that village). Wellington had taken up his position, with a certain knowledge, derived from several previous examinations, of its capabilities for defense. "He used to describe the line of ground between the farm of La Haye Sainte and Hougoumont as resembling the curtain of a bastion, with these two positions for its angles."



Napoleon's retreat from Waterloo, June 18th, 1815.
A. C. Gow. Page 304.

The first care of the duke was to occupy with sufficient force these two angles, Hougoumont, near the Nivelles road, in front of the right center, and La Haye Sainte, close to the Genappe road, in front of the left center. The right of his position was thrown back to a ravine near Braine Merbes, which was occupied; and its left extended to the château of Frichermont, situated on a height above the hamlet of La Haye. The undulated plain upon which the army of English, Belgians, and Germans looked from the ridge on which they stood on the evening of the 17th was covered with crops of grain, of potatoes, and of clover. It had rained incessantly through the day; as night advanced the torrents of rain were accompanied with thunder and lightning. The troops had to bivouac upon the wet crops, while the generals and their staff obtained shelter in the adjacent villages. Wellington had his head-quarters in a house opposite the church at Waterloo. At three o'clock in the morning of the 18th be was writing to Sir Charles Stuart at Brussels, with a calm confidence in the result of the almost inevitable struggle of that day. "The Prussians will be ready again in the morning for anything. Pray keep the English quiet if you can. Let them all prepare to move, but neither be in a hurry or a fright, as all will yet turn out well." At the same hour he wrote a long letter in French to the Duke de Berri, in which he says, "I hope, and moreover I have every reason to believe, that all will go well." At the time of writing this letter, only a portion of the French army had taken up their ground on the opposite side of the valley, and he thought it possible that the main attack might be made at Hal, on the great road from Mons to Brussels. He had there stationed seven thousand men, in addition to a large number of troops under the command of the prince of Orange. The possible success of the enemy there appeared to him "the only risk we run." His army was a little superior in number to that of Napoleon, but it was inferior in artillery. There was however a far greater disparity. Wellington commanded an army of various nations, who had never before fought together; and even some of his British troops were new levies. In the summer of 1814, a large number of his famous Peninsular soldiers had been sent to America. Napoleon, on the contrary, had an army which he could wield with the most perfect assurance of unity of action, composed in great part of veterans who had returned to France at the peace. When Napoleon saw the English in position before the forest of Soignies, he exclaimed, "At last I have them; nine chances to ten are in my favor." He was of opinion, in which his generals agreed with him, that it was contrary to the most simple rules of the art of war for Wellington to remain in the position which he occupied; that having behind him the defiles of the forest of Soignies, if he were beaten all retreat would be impossible. Extensive and compact as that forest was, Wellington knew that there were many roads through it, all converging upon Brussels, most of which were practicable for cavalry and for artillery, as well as for infantry. "The duke," says Lord Ellesmere, "was of opinion that his troops could have retired perfectly well through the wood of Soignies, which, like other beech woods, is open at

bottom; and he was still further satisfied that, if driven from the open field of Waterloo, he could have held the wood against all comers till joined by the Prussians, upon whose co-operation he throughout depended and relied." The greater number of military authorities agree that the position of Mont St. Jean was well chosen, and suitably occupied.

The allied troops had won the victory, and Napoleon had received his crushing defeat. The allied armies lost twenty-four thousand six hundred and seventy-nine men, and the French, eighteen thousand five hundred killed and wounded, and seven thousand eight hundred prisoners. After that fatal night the defeated emperor hastened with all speed to Paris. The Chambers of Representatives met at noon on that day and declared itself permanent. It was now determined that he should abdicate. Louis Bonaparte urged the claims of his brother to the gratitude of France. The Marquis Lafayette replied that "during ten years three millions of Frenchmen had perished for a man who would still struggle against all Europe. We have done enough for him. Now our duty is to save our country." Napoleon was urged to abdicate, but he refused. He resisted for some time, but at last submitted, and dictated his abdication in favor of his son. He said, "My political life is ended." The government required him to leave France for the United States. He went to Rochefort, and, not finding a chance to escape, gave himself up to the captain of an English vessel, the Bellerophon, who took him to Plymouth. On the 31st of July the English government decided that the Island of St. Helena should be his future home. He protested that he was not a prisoner of war, and this question gave rise to grave discussion.

Lord Campbell says: "I think Lord Eldon took a much more sensible view of the subject than any of them—which was, 'that the case was not provided for by anything to be found in Grotius or Vattel; but that the law of self-preservation would justify the keeping of him under restraint in some distant region, where he should be treated with all indulgence compatible with a due regard for the peace of mankind.'" The probability is, that if Napoleon had fallen into the hands of the Prussians, who were near Paris on the 29th of June, the question of his fate would have been disposed of in a much more summary way than could arise out of any discussion upon the law of nations. On the 28th of June, Wellington wrote to Sir Charles Stuart: "General —— has been here this day, to negotiate for Napoleon's passing to America, to which proposition I have answered that I have no authority. The Prussians think the Jacobins wish to give him over to me, believing that I will save his life. —— [Blücher] wishes to kill him; but I have told him that I shall remonstrate, and shall insist upon his being disposed of by common accord. I have likewise said, that, as a private friend, I advised him to have nothing to do with so foul a transaction; that he and I had acted too distinguished parts in these transactions to become executioners; and that I was determined that, if the sovereigns wished to put him to death, they should appoint an executioner, which should not be me." The Prussian General

Muffling states in his "Memoirs," that having been appointed to obtain the concurrence of Wellington in the design of Blücher, that Napoleon should be shot in the place where the Duke d'Enghien had been killed, Wellington had replied: "Such an act would disgrace our names in history, and posterity would say of us, 'They were not worthy to have been the conquerors of Napoleon.'" The prisoner of St. Helena repaid this conduct by bequeathing ten thousand francs to the man who had attempted to assassinate Wellington, during his residence in Paris as the commander of the army of occupation. French historians have attempted to justify this odious testamentary expression of Napoleon's hatred of his victor, by attributing to Wellington that he instigated the banishment to St. Helena. It is now known that, as early as May, 1814, the plenipotentiaries at the congress of Vienna decided, in secret conference, that if Napoleon should escape from Elba, and should fall into the power of the allies, a safer residence should be assigned him, at St. Helena or at St. Lucia.

On the 7th of July the English and Prussian armies entered Paris and took possession of all the principal points. Louis XVIII. returned on the 8th. Wellington favored a firm moderation, but the Prussian General Blücher was for revenge. When he had begun to mine the bridge of Jena, with the intention to blow it up, because that monument proclaimed a defeat of the Prussian arms, "the duke of Wellington," says a French historian, "interfered by placing an English sentinel on the bridge itself. A single sentinel. He was the British nation; and if Blücher had blown up the bridge, the act was to be held as a rupture with Great Britain."

The definite treaty with France was signed on the 20th of November, 1815. This left France with the same territory as the treaty of 1814. The general peace of Europe had been settled previously.

## XXII.

# LOUIS XVIII.

THE peace of Europe was settled, as every former peace had been settled, upon a struggle for what the continental powers thought most conducive to their own advantage. The representatives of Great Britain manifested a praiseworthy abnegation of more selfish interests. Napoleon, at St. Helena, said to O'Meara, "So silly a treaty as that made by your ministers for their own country was never known before. You give up everything and gain nothing." We can now answer that we gained everything when we gained a longer period of repose than our modern annals could before exhibit.

Louis XVIII. can scarcely be accused of blood-thirstiness; yet his character would have stood better, not only with the French people, but with the British, had he not sanctioned the condemnation and capital punishment of three who had indeed betrayed the trust which the restored government had reposed in them, but who had some excuse in their inability to resist the fascinations of Napoleon. Talleyrand had been unable to accomplish by negotiation as favorable terms for France as he had expected, and he resigned his office as president of the council. He was succeeded by the Duc de Richelieu, who signed the treaty of the 20th of November. While Talleyrand remained in power he, as well as Fouché, was anxious that no capital punishments should be inflicted upon any of those who were proscribed by an ordinance of the 24th of July, for the part they had taken in the return of Napoleon in March. Ney, Labedoyère, and Lavalette were advised to place themselves in safety by leaving France. They were tardy and irresolute; the friendly warning was useless. Labedoyère was tried by court-martial, and was shot. Lavalette, who had been condemned to death by the Cour d'Assise, escaped through a stratagem of his wife, who, having visited him in prison, was able to disguise her husband in her own dress, remaining herself as an object for the possible vengeance of the Royalists. Lavalette was assisted to pass the frontier by the generous friendship of three Englishmen, —Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Hutchinson; who were tried for this offense, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. The proceeding

which most commanded public attention in England was the trial and execution of Ney; for it was held to involve the honor of the duke of Wellington. While the trial was proceeding before the chamber of peers, Ney was advised to rely for his defense on the capitulation of Paris. His wife had an interview with Wellington, who had previously expressed his opinion in a letter to the Prince de la Moskwa,—to the effect that the capitulation related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris; that the object of the 12th article was to prevent the adoption of any measures of severity, under the military authorities of those who made it, toward any persons on account of the offices which they filled, or their conduct or their political opinions. "But it was never intended, and could not be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French commander-in-chief must have acted, or any French government which should succeed to it, from doing in this respect as it might deem fit."

The Holy Alliance was a league formed after the fall of Napoleon, by the sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia, nominally to regulate the state of Christianity in Europe, but really to preserve the power and influence of the existing dynasties. Most of the other powers acceded to it, and the treaty was formally published in the *Frankfort Journal*, February 6th, 1816. It had really been concluded personally by the sovereigns without the countenance of their ministers at Paris, September 26th, 1815. A special article of this treaty excluded forever the members of the Bonaparte family from any European throne. This alliance set up as the principle of conduct for the allied powers, "the precept of justice, Christian charity, and peace," promising to their nations a parental government, guaranteeing fraternity and mutual assistance in all cases, and acknowledging all of the Christian name as one nation, united under the only supreme sovereign, Jesus Christ.

The English army had remained for three years in France, to assist Louis XVIII. in case of any fresh outbreak. Almost everybody else was forgiven; and Prince Talleyrand, one of the cleverest and most cunning men who ever lived, who had risen under Napoleon, worked on still with Louis XVIII.

It was the saying in France that in their exile the Bourbons had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. This was not quite true of Louis XVIII., who was clever in an indolent way, and resolved to please the people enough to remain where he was till his death, and really gave them a very good charter; only he declared he gave it to them by his free grace as their king, and they wanted him to acknowledge that they had forced it from royalty by the revolution. But his brother Charles, count of Artois, was much more strongly and openly devoted to the old ways that came before the revolution, and, as Louis had no children, his accession was dreaded. His eldest son, the duke of Angoulême, had no children; and his second son, the duke of Berri, who was married to a Neapolitan princess, was the most amiable and hopeful person in the family; but on the 12th of February, 1820, he was stabbed by a wretch called Louvet, as he was leaving the opera, and died in a few hours.

His infant son, Henry, duke of Bordeaux, was the only hope of the elder branch of the Bourbons.

France was worn out and weary of war, so that little happened in this reign, except that the duke of Angoulême made an expedition to assist the king of Spain in putting down an insurrection. The French nobility had returned to all their titles; but many of them had lost all their property in the revolution, and hung about the court, much needing offices and employments; while all the generation who had grown up among the triumphs of Napoleon, looked with contempt and dislike at the attempt to revive the old manners of conduct and thought.

The total evacuation of France by the English troops left France to recuperate from the great disasters under the revolution and the empire. The result of the elections of 1818 seemed to arouse the nation to more earnest war. Manuel, Grenier, Camille, Jordan, and Lafayette, were elected. A change in the cabinet followed. Great hopes were entertained by the Liberalists, but this cabinet was not free in its action and the session of 1819 produced no great result. The succeeding election turned out favorable to the constitutional party, and the government was alarmed and resolved to make a strike upon the constitution. They gained the king to their side. The liberal ministry was dismissed. The duke of Richelieu was placed anew at the head of the ministry. In 1820, laws of execution were passed which destroyed the liberty of the press and threatened to complete the abolition of representative government.

On the 5th of May, 1821, died Napoleon Bonaparte. Six years had passed since, in the great festival of the Champ de Mai, he had announced that the people who had called him to the throne must prepare for war. The issue to himself was his imprisonment in this lonely island of the Atlantic, long suffering under a chronic disease, and suffering more from his total want of power to endure his fate with equanimity. A hurricane swept over the island as Napoleon was dying, shaking houses to their foundation, and tearing up the largest trees. To Napoleon the war of the elements seemed as if "the noise of battle hurtled in the air," and he died muttering the words, *Téte d'Armêe.* The death of him who had so long filled the world with the terror of his name produced no great sensation in England or in Europe.

The king of France, in opening the chambers at the end of January, 1823, left no doubt of the intentions of the French government. Louis XVIII. announced that he had recalled his minister at Madrid, and that a hundred thousand Frenchmen, commanded by a prince of his family, were ready to march to preserve the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry the Fourth. He declared that hostilities should cease at the moment "that Ferdinand the Seventh should be free to give his people the institutions which they could not hold except from him." The French invaded Spain. England had taken her stand upon a principle, but that attitude did not involve the necessity of going to war. Mr. Canning declared in Parliament that the king's government would abide by a system of neutrality, except under certain conditions. If

Portugal were to be attacked, such an assault would bring Great Britain into the field with all her force to support the independence of her ancient and faithful ally. The French armies marched to Madrid, which they occupied on the 24th of May. They overran Spain, they accomplished the release of Ferdinand, who had been detained at Cadiz; the cortes were overturned. Spain entered upon that long night of tyranny and superstition which left her among the feeblest and most degraded of nations. Such was the position of affairs at the close of 1823.

On the 15th of August, a month only before the decease of Louis, the censorship of journals was re-established by a royal ordinance. The state of the king's health appeared to the minister, M. de Villèle, to require that the government should have in its hands this power of controlling the press. The good sense of Louis XVIII., and his desire to govern as far as possible in an enlightened and liberal spirit, preserved France during his reign from any popular convulsion. Under the charter the struggles of parties were of a constitutional character. There were great orators in the chamber of deputies who were opposed to the government; there were bitter satirists in prose and verse, such as Courier and Beranger, who attacked the ultra-royalist party and the priestly party with unsparing ridicule; nevertheless, the nation had not arrived at the belief that another vital change in its institutions was necessary, and was content to confide in the power of the charter gradually to repair its own deficiencies.

# XXIII.

# CHARLES X.

LOUIS XVIII. died September 16th. Charles X. came to the throne. The French saw the change with something like dread, for he was considered the representative of ultra-royalist opinions. He at once manifested a solicitude that the people should accept him as a constitutional king. His first act was to abolish the censorship of the journals. He said to the peers and deputies that his great desire was to consolidate the charter for the happiness of his people. He promised to each religious body protection for its worship. The ceremony of consecrating the king at Reims was little in accordance with the spirit of the age, or the general character of the French. The people laughed and sneered when the *Moniteur* said:—"There is no doubt that the holy oil which will flow on the forehead of Charles X. in the solemnity of his consecration, is the same as that which, since the time of Clovis, has consecrated the French kings." Napoleon putting the crown upon his own head was a fitter type of popular sovereignty in France than Charles X. anointed in seven parts of his body by the archbishop of Reims. Nevertheless, the king had solemnly promised to maintain the charter, and the obsolete pageantries of his coronation were not imputed to him as a fault. The people had soon to learn how little dependence could be placed upon the professions, and even upon the liberal actions, of their new king. "Without false calculation or premeditated deceit, Charles X. wavered from contradiction to contradiction, from inconsistency to inconsistency, until the day when, given up to his own will and belief, he committed the error which cost him his throne." He was at heart "a true emigrant and a submissive bigot."

M. de Villèle's career, as the chief minister of Louis XVIII. and Charles X., had been of a longer duration than might have been expected from the discordant elements by which he was surrounded. For six years he had been the presiding spirit of the government. When he entered upon power he said, "I am born for the end of revolutions." This belief had little of the spirit of prophecy, however the prudence and sagacity of this minister might have retarded that isolation of the ruler from the ruled, which is the beginning of revolutions. The elections of 1827 were unfavorable to the government; and the minister, not having the cordial support of the whole

Royalist party, was compelled to retire from office. The dauphiness said to the king, "In abandoning M. de Villèle, you have descended the first step of your throne." M. de Martignac became the head of the cabinet which replaced that of M. de Villèle. His tendencies were liberal and constitutional; his talents had not their proper influence either with the king or the chambers. He did what was in his power to prevent the measures of repression which one party desired, and to carry forward those measures of conciliation which he thought would retard a rupture between the throne and the nation. Lafayette characterized the policy of Martignac in a very significant sentence: "Three steps forward and two backward, we have the net product of one little step." To move forward at all, and not have the power of carrying the chambers in a retrogressive policy, was held at the Tuileries to be the fault of this minister. In August, 1829, a royal ordinance appeared changing the whole of the ministry, and finally appointing Prince Jules de Polignac president of the council. The prince had been ambassador to England; and many of the French, and not a few of the English, chose to believe that he had been appointed to his post through the influence of the duke of Wellington, and that his subsequent measures were taken in concert with the English cabinet. Sir Robert Peel, on the 2d of November, 1830, emphatically denied that the government of his country, directly, or indirectly, had interfered in this appointment. In the choice of Polignac as his prime minister, "Charles X.," says M. Guizot, "had hoisted upon the Tuileries the flag of the counter-revolution." On the 2d of March, 1830, the chambers were opened. There was a half menace in the royal speech, which appeared to presage some exercise of arbitrary power. "If criminal maneuvers were to place obstacles in the way of my government, which I neither can, nor wish to foresee, I should find the power of surmounting them in a resolution to maintain the public peace, in the just confidence of the French people, and in the devotion which they have always demonstrated for their king." The address of the chamber of deputies, which was carried by a majority of 221 to 181, affirmed that it was their duty to declare to the king that the charter supposed, in order to its working, a concurrence between the mind of the sovereign and the interests of his people; that it was their painful duty to declare that such concurrence existed no longer, as the administration ordered all its acts upon the supposition of the disaffection of the people. The next day the chambers were prorogued till the 1st of September. On the 16th of May they were dissolved. New elections were ordered for June and July, and the parliament so elected was to meet on the 3rd of August. Most men saw clearly that a great struggle was at hand. The duke of Orleans, on the 31st of May, gave a fête in honor of his brother-in-law, the king of Naples, at the Palais Royal, at which Charles X. and the royal family were present. M. de Salvandy said to the duke of Orleans, "This is truly a Neapolitan festival; we are dancing on a volcano." The duke agreed with him, adding that he would not have to reproach himself with making no effort to open the eyes of the king. "What am I to do? Nothing is

listened to. Heaven only knows where they will be in six months. But I well know where I shall be. Under any circumstances my family and I remain in this palace."

On the 12th of July, during the progress of the French elections, the news arrived of the capture of Algiers. For two or three years the French government had been carrying on a small war against that barbarian power.

On Monday morning, the 26th of July, while the population of Paris were quietly proceeding to their various duties or pleasures, Paris was shaken to its center as by a political earthquake. Before the doors of the Bourse were opened, the holders of stock were crowding thither to sell. More important than the operations of commerce were the proceedings of the journalists. The proprietors and editors of the chief opposition papers took a wise and prudent course in the first instance. They consulted the most eminent lawyers, who gave their opinion that the ordinances were illegal, and ought not to be submitted to. One of the judges of the Tribunal of First Instance authorized the *Journal of Commerce* to continue its publication provisionally, because the ordinances had not been promulgated in legal forms. Forty-four conductors of newspapers assembled at the office of the *National*, signed a protest in which they declared their intention to resist the ordinances as regarded their own interests, and invited the deputies to meet on the 3d of August as if no decree had gone forth for new elections. The government, said this protest, has this day lost that character of legality which commands obedience, we resist it as far as we are concerned; it remains for France to judge how far it should carry its own resistance. On that Monday there was no appearance of popular insurrection. There was occasionally a cry in the streets of "Long live the Charter! —Down with the ministers!"

The next day a more ominous cry went forth—"Up with Liberty—Down with the Bourbons!" The provisions of the decrees respecting the Press were to be carried through by naked force. Four of the most popular journals had been printed without the license which was required by the ordinance. Sentinels were placed around the offices to prevent their sales; but copies of the journals, which not only contained the ordinances, but the protest of the journalists, were thrown out of the windows, and were quickly circulated throughout Paris. The old scenes of the revolution of 1789 were rapidly developed. In the Palais Royal, and other public places, men mounted upon chairs read the ordinances and the bitter comments upon them to assembled crowds. The steps taken by the police to prevent the further issue of these papers were calculated to stimulate the excitement of the people into absolute fury. The doors of the offices where they were printed were broken open, and the presses rendered unserviceable. The printers thrown out of their employ joined the crowds in the streets; and they are not a class to be injured without lifting up their voices against the wrong. In the course of that Tuesday the resistance to the acts of the government began to be transferred to men who might have been able to

guide its course more safely than the declamation of the journalist or the passions of the populace. The deputies were beginning to arrive in Paris. M. Guizot describes how, on reaching the city on the morning of the 27th, he found a note from M. Casimir Périer, inviting him to a meeting of some of their colleagues. "A few hours before," he says, "and within a short distance of Paris, the decrees were unknown to me; and, by the side of legal opposition, I saw on my arrival revolutionary and unchained insurrection." He went to the meeting at the house of M. Casimir Périer and was selected with two others to draw up a protest in the name of the deputies against the decrees. This protest was adopted on the 28th and signed by sixty-three deputies.

Then followed the fearful "three days of July." The people were aroused against the king. From daybreak multitudes had begun to assemble, armed with sticks and pikes, old guns and sabers. They unpaved the streets; they threw up barricades of timber and of carts filled with the paving-stones; they seized the Hôtel de Ville; they hoisted the tri-colored flag on its roof, and on the towers of Nôtre-Dame. The bells of the municipal palace and of the metropolitan church again called the citizens to arms as in the days of the first revolution. Terror was in every family now as then; but there were no frightful excesses, no sanguinary scenes of popular vengeance, to make even the name of liberty hateful. The people stood prepared for the struggle with the regular troops that were coming upon them—for Paris, on that morning of the 28th, had been declared by the government to be in a state of siege. Marmont had not begun to act after receiving the ordinance, which thus declared that the military power was the sole arbiter, before the insurgents were in possession of the chief part of the capital. He finally formed his troops in four columns, which were directed upon different points. It was not long before the sanguinary conflict began. It would be beyond the object of this history, even if it were in the power of the writer, to furnish a clear detail in a small compass of the struggles of this memorable day. Those who witnessed some of the many occurrences which were proceeding simultaneously in distant parts of Paris felt this difficulty in the subsequent discharge of their official duty. "The events," said M. Martignac, in the defense of Polignac, "so press upon, jostle and confound each other, that the imagination can scarcely follow them, or the understanding range them in order." The first serious fighting appears to have taken place in the narrow street of St. Antoine, which was closed by barricades. From the houses approaching this street paving-stones, broken bottles, and even articles of furniture, were showered upon the heads of the unfortunate soldiery. The column which was ordered to force this street returned to the Tuileries where Marmont had his head-quarters. Another column had to sustain an obstinate fight about the Hôtel de Ville. The general who commanded the troops obtained possession of the place, but he was compelled to confine his resistance to the populace to defensive operations. Another column lost many men at the Marché des Innocens. The fourth column sustained less loss. Night came on. The

firing was still continued; the tocsin was rung from every church; the lamps were extinguished in the streets. Neither mail nor diligence left Paris. The communication with the provinces by telegraph was cut off. During the afternoon five deputies headed by M. Lafitte had waited upon Marshal Marmont at the Tuileries to ask for a suspension of hostilities, that in the interval they might send a deputation to the king. The marshal said he could only dispatch a messenger to the king to inform him of the proceedings of the assembled deputies and of the state of affairs in Paris. His aide-de-camp received at St. Cloud a verbal answer directing Marmont to hold out, to collect his forces, and to act in masses. In conformity with these orders the column which had held the Hôtel de Ville returned at midnight to the Tuileries, having left in the streets several hundred men killed or wounded. The king in his suburban palace had no conception of the magnitude of the danger; but was passing his evening at cards, while the court routine went forward as if the distant boom of the cannon was a sound which should inspire no fear and awaken little sympathy.

On the 28th the working classes had almost exclusively borne the brunt of the battle. On the morning of the 29th, hostilities had again commenced by seven o'clock. National Guards, young students, and even deputies, were now at the barricades. The stately Faubourg St. Germain was now as ready for battle as the dingy Faubourg St. Antoine. The posts of the Luxembourg were disarmed. At a very early hour several Royalists of high rank went to the Tuileries and had an interview with Marmont and Polignac. They urged the minister to recall the ordinances. He was calm and polite, but would promise nothing. He would consult his colleagues. They then suggested to Marmont that he should arrest the ministers. He seemed somewhat inclined to take their advice, when Peyronnet, one of the most obnoxious of the cabinet, came in, and exclaimed, "What! are you not gone yet?" They had stated their intention to go to St. Cloud. They set out, but Polignac got there before them. According to M. Guizot, the Duke de Mortémart, Messrs. de Sémonville, d'Argout, de Vitrolles, and de Sussy, were "the enlightened Royalists who attempted to give legal satisfaction to the country, and to bring about an arrangement between the inert royalty at St. Cloud and the boiling revolution at Paris. But when they demanded an audience of the king they were met by the unseasonable hour, by etiquette, the countersign, and repose." From Charles X., whose inconsistency in this trying hour of his destiny was as remarkable as in all his previous actions, they at last extorted a promise for the dismissal of the Polignac ministry, the appointment of the Duke de Montémart as president of the council, and for other appointments which would be a guarantee for constitutional government. Still the king lingered and delayed the proper signatures till late in the day to the necessary ordinances. The Duke de Mortémart, who set out on his return to Paris without a proper passport, met with a succession of interruptions from the royal guards. He had equal difficulty with the people in passing the barricades. The battle was raging all round Marmont at the Tuileries. The detachment

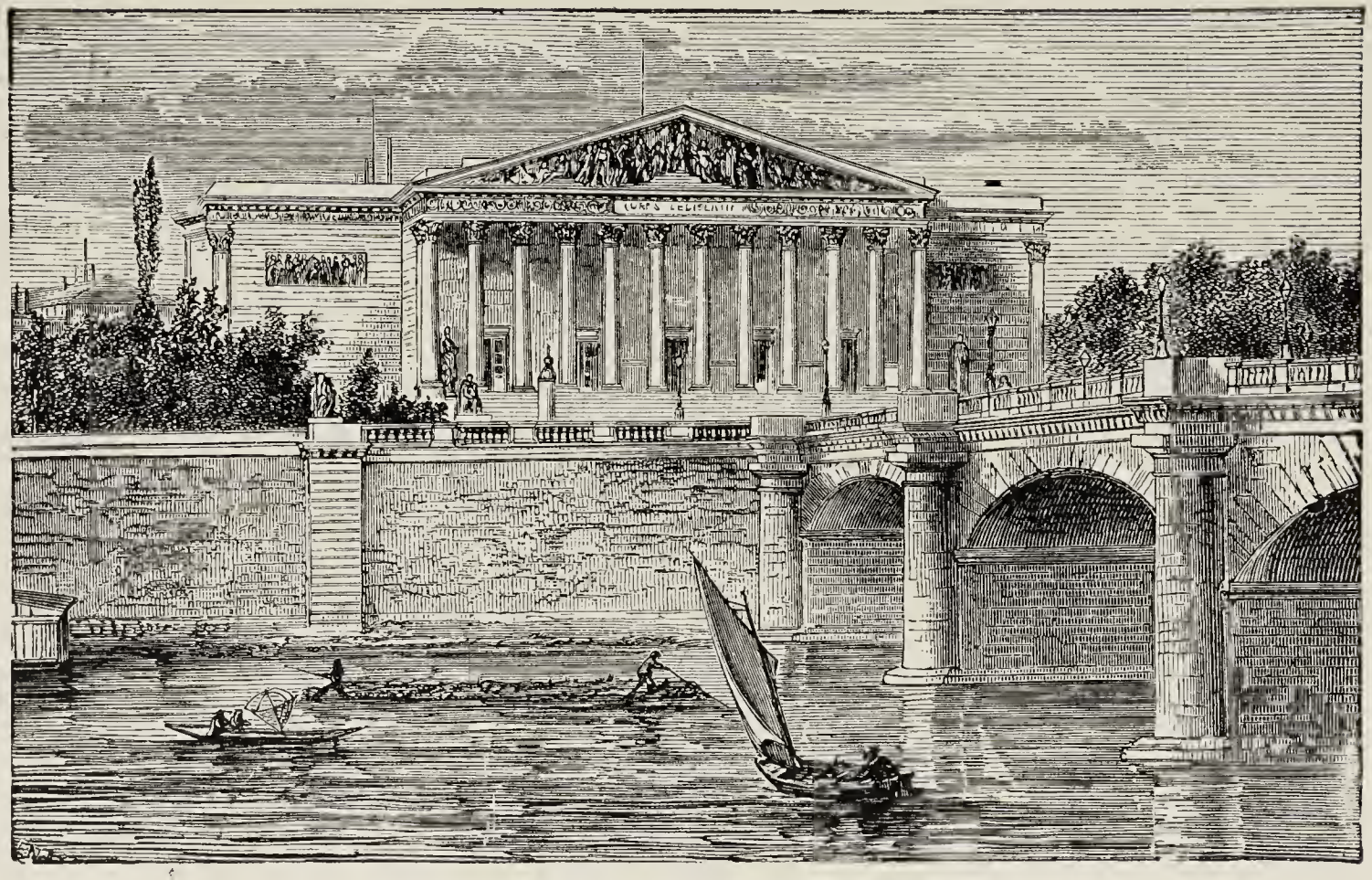


Pont Des Arts and Palace of the Tuileries and Louvre, Paris.
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at the Palais Bourbon was attacked, and the commander retired with his troops into the garden, and promised to be neutral. The Louvre was surrounded by masses of the populace, of whom a great number fell by the fire of the Swiss from the windows. At the Place Vendôme two regiments of the line were stationed, and a remnant of the gendarmerie. They were surrounded by the people, who, manifesting no inclination to regard the soldiers as enemies, the whole body of the troops, with their officers, went over to the side of the insurgents. On a second attack the Swiss were driven from the Louvre. The defection of the army, which was beginning to spread, proclaimed to Marmont that it was impossible to continue this contest. The insurrection had become a revolution. He hastily quitted the Tuileries with his troops to repair to St. Cloud. The populace as quickly broke into the palace. The tri-color was hoisted on the staff where the white flag of the Bourbons had floated for fifteen years. The deputies who had met in the morning had determined to establish a provisional government. Lafayette, who had received from them the command of the forces in Paris, had, in the uniform of a National Guard, gone to take possession of the Hôtel de Ville. Upon the news of the defection of the two regiments, and the capture of the Louvre and the Tuileries, a municipal commission that had been formed by ballot, with authority to take all measures that the public safety might require, installed themselves at the Hôtel de Ville, surrounded by dead bodies heaped upon the Place. In a few hours the National Guard was organized; the administration of finance was provided for; the post-office was again set in action; the mails and the diligences left Paris bearing the tri-color flag. Three of the Royalists who had been at St. Cloud arrived at ten o'clock at night with the ordinances already mentioned, and with a further ordinance, repealing those of the 25th of July, and appointing the chamber of deputies to meet on the 3d of August. The three Royalists from St. Cloud came to negotiate for the preservation of the crown to Charles X. They were interrupted by cries of "It is too late!" The sovereignty of France had vanished from the grasp of the elder branch of the Bourbons.

On the 30th of July the deputies who had held their previous meetings at private houses met more formally in the hall of the chamber of deputies, inviting their absent colleagues to join them there. They came to a resolution of soliciting the duke of Orleans, who was at his country seat at Neuilly, to repair to the capital to assume the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Forty deputies signed this resolution. Three only declined being parties to it, considering this as a decisive step toward a change of dynasty. On the 31st the deputies so assembled published a proclamation which thus commenced: "France is free! Absolute power elevated its standard; the heroic population of Paris has beaten it down. Paris, under attack, has made the sacred cause triumph by arms which had succeeded already through the constitutional elections." The proclamation then announced that the deputies, in anticipation of the regular concurrence of the chambers, had invited a true Frenchman, one who had never fought but for France—the duke of

Orleans—to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. "We shall secure to ourselves by law all the guarantees we require to render liberty strong and permanent." On the 1st of August the duke of Orleans was at the Palais Royal, had accepted the office, and proceeded on horseback to the Hôtel de Ville, as a mark of courtesy to the National Guard, and to their commander, Lafayette. M. Guizot relates that the deputies accompanied the duke on foot across the barricades. Women and children surrounded them, dancing and singing the Marseillaise. Cries and questions of every kind burst incessantly from the crowd. Who was that gentleman on horseback? was he a prince? A hope was expressed that he was not a Bourbon. "I was much more deeply impressed," says Guizot, "by our situation in the midst of that crowd, and their attitude, than even by the scene which followed a few moments after at the Hôtel de Ville. What future perils already reveal themselves for that new-born monarchy!" Lafayette, surrounded by his staff, advanced to the steps to meet the duke, who cordially embraced him. In the great hall the proclamation of the deputies was read, and received with cheers. The lieutenant-general of the kingdom advanced to the window, holding Lafayette by the hand and waving the tri-color flag. He then appointed provisional ministers, of whom M. Guizot was minister of the interior. Meanwhile it was known at St. Cloud that the king's authority was at an end. The crowd of courtiers quickly dropped off from him. In his restlessness he went to Trianon and then to Rambouillet. He was still surrounded by a large body of soldiery. On the 2d of August he addressed a letter to the duke of Orleans, inclosing a formal act of abdication in favor of his grandson, the duke of Bordeaux. Remaining at Rambouillet with numerous soldiers around him, the provisional government began to be uneasy as to the possibility of another conflict. Three commissioners were sent to confer with Charles and to urge him to depart. Their recommendations were backed by the presence of six thousand of the National Guard, who marched to Rambouillet, accompanied by vast numbers of Parisians on foot and in vehicles of every description. The king consented to leave, and to proceed to Cherbourg, escorted by the garde-du-corps. Throughout his journey the unfortunate king and his family received no indignities from the people, but they saw on every steeple the tri-colored flag, and the tri-colored cockade in many a hat. They embarked for England on the 16th, and were carried to the coast of Devonshire, the king having decided that England should be his place of refuge. For a short time he resided at Lulworth castle. He subsequently occupied Holyrood House. Some ultra-liberals in Edinburgh having shown an inclination to treat the fallen monarch with disrespect upon his arrival, Sir Walter Scott published a manly and touching appeal to the more honorable feelings of his fellow citizens. "If there can be any who retain angry or invidious recollections of late events in France, they ought to remark that the ex-monarch has, by his abdication, renounced the conflict into which, perhaps, he was engaged by bad advisers; that he can no longer be the object



Palace of the Corps Legislatif, Paris.
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of resentment to the brave, but remains to all the most striking emblem of the mutability of human affairs which our mutable times have afforded."

On the 3d of August the duke of Orleans opened the legislative session in the chamber of deputies. In that chamber during the next four days there was a partial opposition from the adherents of the fallen dynasty against the manifest tendency to a solution of the difficult question of a future government by the appointment of the duke of Orleans as king. The charter of Louis XVIII. received some alterations, and then it was declared by a large majority, that, subject to the acceptance of the modified charter. the universal and urgent interests of the French nation called to the throne the duke of Orleans. On the 9th of August the duke of Orleans in the chamber of deputies declared his acceptance of the crown with the title king of the French, and took this oath: "In the presence of God, I swear to observe faithfully the constitutional charter, with the modifications expressed in the declaration; to govern only by the laws and according to the laws; to cause good and true justice to be rendered to each according to his right; and to act in all things only with a view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people."

"While two American packets, escorted by two French men-of-war, rapidly conveyed the old king and his family from France, all France hastened to Paris." An English historian may add that no inconsiderable portion of the population of this kingdom were, as he himself witnessed, looking with intense interest upon the localities of the great events of the three days. Some were fraternizing with National Guards in the *cafés;* others were mingling in a crowd of all nations at the evening *réceptions* of General Lafayette; a privileged few were banqueting at some shady *guinguette* with a great company of French, English, Belgian and Polish liberals, whose fervid eloquence seemed the prelude to a very unsettled future of European society. There was, however, so much to admire in the conduct of the French people, that although the traces of carnage were everywhere around—although men of education joined their voices in the common cry of "death to the ministers," as an atonement for the blood of the slain whose graves were daily strewn with *immortelles*,—the old idea of revolution had lost something of its terrors. There had been more bold speaking at our elections for the new parliament than was considered in some quarters safe or decorous. Yet the sympathy of the British population with the revolution of France was not to be mistaken for an approbation of leveling and destructive doctrines, such as had led astray many enthusiasts among us in 1789. It was a "contrast to the first revolution;" it "vindicated the cause of knowledge and liberty, showing how humanizing to all classes of society are the spread of thought and information, and improved political institutions." The sympathy was too manifest to be set at naught by the government of this country, even if it had been as much disposed to uphold "a royal rebellion against society," as it was the fashion unjustly to ascribe to the great warrior who was the head of the cabinet. He. it has been stated, was for a short time perplexed and undecided. "When

nothing was known beyond the ordinances of July, some one asked the duke of Wellington, 'What are we to think of this?' 'It is a new dynasty,' answered the duke. 'And what course shall you take?' inquired his friend. 'First, a long silence, and then we will concert with our allies what we shall say.'" A wiser and nobler policy than that was adopted. It was a speedy recognition of the new government.

## XXIV.

# LOUIS PHILIPPE.

DURING the six years in which Louis Philippe was king of the French, his reign was exempted from solicitudes of a more painful nature than the ordinary cares of monarchs. In the first two years of his rule events had been in some degree propitious to him. The duke of Reichstadt, the son of Napoleon, died in 1832. His presence in France might at any time have raised up a host of Bonapartists, whose movements might have been exceedingly dangerous to the citizen king. The attempts of the duchess of Berri to excite an insurrection in favor of her son, the duke of Bordeaux, had signally failed. Freedom of debate in the chambers, and the liberty of the press, appeared the best guarantees for the security of the constitutional government. But the unrestricted power of speaking and writing was not used with moderation. The license of the press, and the occasional hostility of the chambers, produced a counter-disposition on the part of the king to struggle against what he believed to be the evils of the representative system. There were constant changes of administration since Lafitte took the reins of government in November, 1830. In 1831 Lafitte was succeeded by Casimir Perier, who had a premiership of something more than a year and a half. From October, 1832, to September, 1836, there had been nine changes of ministry—Soult, Guizot; Soult, Broglie; Soult, Thiers; Gérard; Bassano; Mortier; Broglie, Humann; Broglie, d'Argout; Thiers. In September, 1836, the heads of the cabinet were Molé and Guizot. During these changes, and the consequent excitement of parliamentary conflicts, there had been more than one conspiracy of which the great object was to assassinate the king. The 28th of July, 1835, was the second day of the fêtes to commemorate the revolution of 1830. Louis Philippe with his three sons and a splendid suite of military officers, was riding through the line of the National Guard, drawn up on the Boulevard du Temple, when an explosion resembling a discharge of musketry took place from the window of a house overlooking the road. Fourteen persons, among whom were Marshal



The Corsican Fieschi's unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Louis Philippe.
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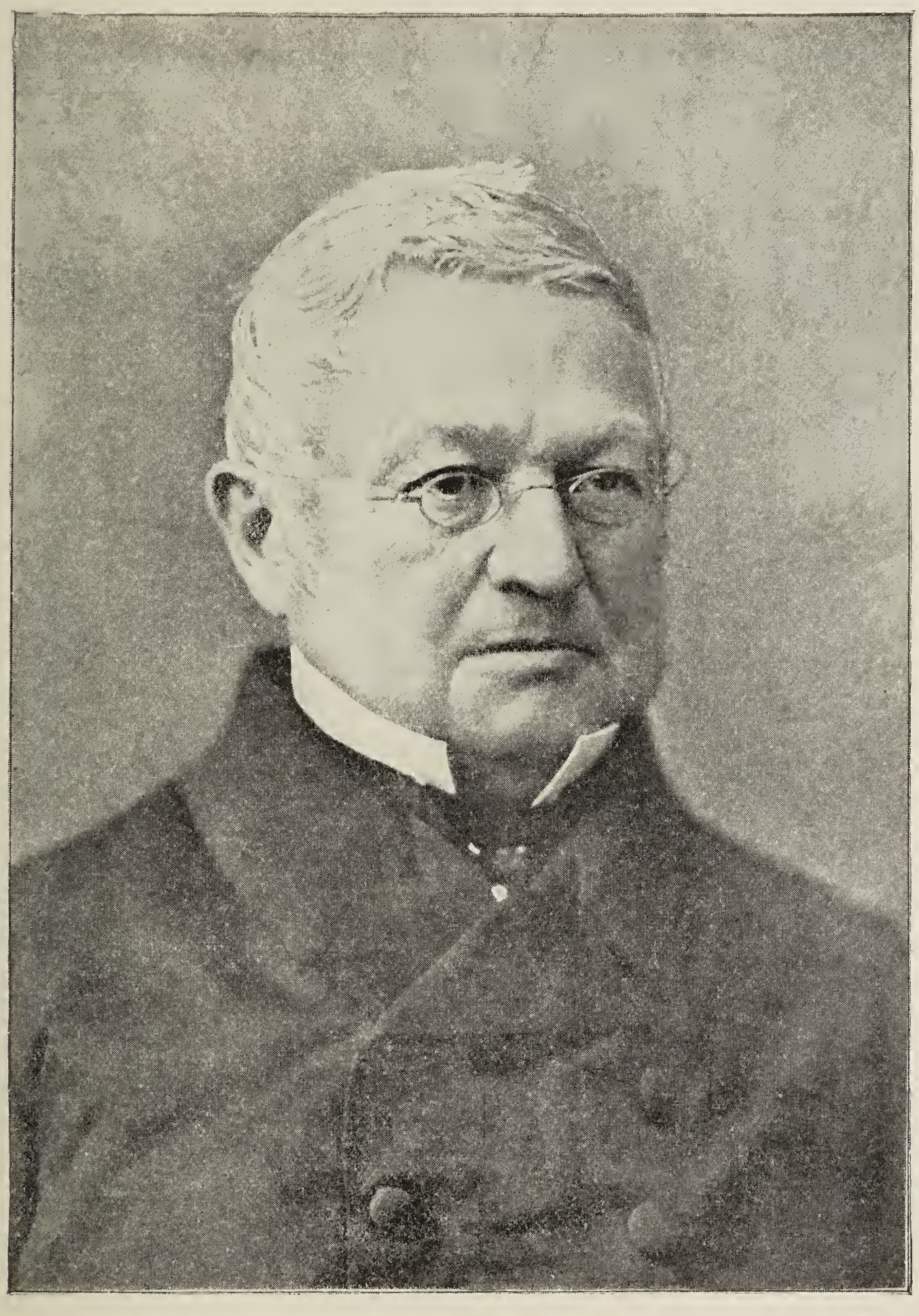
Mortier and General De Virginy, were killed upon the spot. A shower of bullets had been discharged by a machine consisting of twenty-five barrels, which, arranged horizontally side by side upon a frame, could be fired at once by a train of gunpowder. The king was unhurt. The police rushed into the house and seized the assassin, who was wounded by the bursting of one of the barrels. He proved to be a Corsican named Fieschi, who maintained that he had no object in this wholesale massacre but his desire to destroy the king. Another attempt upon the life of Louis Philippe was made in 1836, by a man of the name of Alibaud, who fired into the king's carriage, the queen and his sister being with him. A third attempt was made in the same year by another desperado, named Meunier. In the history of such fearful manifestations of wickedness or madness, there is nothing more remarkable than the extraordinary escapes of Louis Philippe, as if he bore a charmed life.

More interesting at the present day than these brutal attempts at assassination was the failure of an enterprise which contemplated, without any apparent organization, the overthrow of a strong government by a young man of twenty-five, who relied only upon his name, his abilities, and his daring. Charles Louis Napoleon, the youngest son of Louis Bonaparte, king of Holland, and of Hortense Eugénie, daughter of the Empress Josephine by her first husband, had so dwelt upon his boyish remembrances of his illustrious uncle, that when in 1832 the duke of Reichstadt died, and he became, according to a decree of 1804, heir to the throne, the natural course of his ambition was to assert his claim against one whom he regarded as a usurper. Louis Philippe was always apprehensive of the rivalry of this young man. He had refused him permission to return to France in 1830. He had further influenced the government of Rome to order him to quit the Papal territory. Escaping from Italy, he resided with his mother in the Château Arenenberg in Switzerland, where he devoted himself to the study of politics and of military science, and became known in Europe as a writer of diligent research and unquestionable ability. Whatever study he pursued and whatever ideas he promulgated had evidently some bearing upon what he implicitly believed would be his great future.

The ordinary relations of the attempt of Louis Napoleon—availing himself of the general unpopularity of the king of the French, to risk the result of a popular commotion to overthrow the Orleans dynasty—have recently received a new interest from the official revelations of M. Guizot. He relates that on the evening of the 31st of October the minister of the interior brought to him a telegraphic dispatch received from Strasbourg, dated on the evening of the 30th, which announced that about six o'clock that morning Louis Napoleon "traversed the streets of Strasbourg with a party of . . . ." A mist which enveloped the line of telegraph had left the remainder of the dispatch uncertain. Guizot and the minister of the interior repaired instantly to the Tuileries, where they found the whole cabinet assembled. All was conjecture. Instructions were drawn up founded upon many possible contingencies. The ministers remained with the king nearly the whole night, expecting news

which came not. During those hours of suspense, the queen, the king's sister, the princes, entered again and again to ask if anything had transpired. "I was struck," says M. Guizot, "by the sadness of the king, not that he seemed uneasy or subdued, but uncertainty as to the seriousness of the event occupied his thoughts; and these reiterated conspiracies, these attempts at civil war, republican, legitimist, and Bonapartist, this continual necessity of contending, repressing, and punishing, weighed on him as a hateful burden. Despite his long experience and all that it had taught him of man's passions and the vicissitudes of life, he was, and continued to be, naturally easy, confiding, benevolent, and hopeful. He grew tired of having incessantly to watch, to defend himself, and of finding so many enemies on his steps.

The next morning, the 1st of November, an aide-de-camp of the commandant at Strasbourg brought to the perplexed king and his ministers a solution of the telegraphic mystery. Louis Napoleon, having the support of a colonel who commanded a battalion, had presented himself at the barrack of a regiment of artillery, and was received with shouts of "Long live the emperor." At another barrack the attempts of the prince upon the fidelity of the troops was repulsed; and he and his followers were arrested by the colonel and other officers of the forty-sixth regiment of infantry. The affair was over in a few hours without bloodshed. One only of the known adherents of Louis Napoleon, M. de Persigny, his intimate friend, effected his escape. On ascertaining the result of this rash enterprise, queen Hortense, whose affection for her son was most devoted, hurried to France to intercede for him with the government. From Viry, near Paris, she addressed her supplications to the king and M. Molé. M. Guizot says, "She might have spared them. The resolution of not bringing Prince Louis to trial, and of sending him to the United States of America, was already taken. This was the decided inclination of the king, and the unanimous advice of the cabinet." The adventurer was brought from the citadel of Strasbourg to Paris, where he stayed only a few hours. He was then taken to L'Orient, where he embarked on the 14th of November in a frigate which was to touch at New York. The sub-prefect of L'Orient waited on the prince when he was on board, inquired whether he would find any resources when he arrived in the United States, and being told that none were at first to be expected, the prefect placed in his hands a casket containing fifteen thousand francs in gold, which the king had ordered him thus to appropriate. Louis Napoleon remained in the United States till October, 1837, when, hearing of the illness of his mother, he encountered the risks of a return to Europe and was with Hortense at her death. The French government demanded his extradition from Switzerland. The Cantons refused to comply: but Louis Philippe enforced his demand by the irresistible argument of an army, and the prince withdrew to England. The fashionable circles of London regarded him merely as a man of pleasure, and he was popular in country houses from the spirit with which he could follow hounds in a fox-chase. His attempt at



LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS.
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Strasbourg had only excited laughter here. He was not generally regarded as possessing any force of character that would justify a lofty ambition.

The exclusion of France from the European alliance came very nearly precipitating France and England into a war. M. Thiers, then president of the council, showed no desire to calm the passion that had burst out in France in the belief that the nation had been insulted. The duke of Wellington, with his usual strong sense, rightly interpreted the disposition of the people and of the government of this kingdom. In a private letter of the 5th of October he thus expressed himself: "God send that we may preserve peace between these two great countries, and for the world! I am certain that there is no desire in this country on the part of any party, I may almost say of any influential individual, to quarrel with, much less to do anything offensive toward France. But, if we should be under the necessity of going to war, you will witness the most extraordinary exertions ever made by this or any country, in order to carry the same on with vigor, however undesirable we may think it to enter into it." Upon the conduct of Lord Palmerston, then secretary of state for foreign affairs, there was some diversity of opinion at home. Even members of the cabinet were not wholly in accord with his policy, and many of the public held that he was rash and obstinate. His policy was signally triumphant. Although the cry of the Parisians for a few months was, "Guerre aux Anglais," the French government found that their country was not in a condition to go to war, and that the popular cry for hostilities had some association with revolutionary tendencies. After the lapse of twenty-one years, M. Guizot had published his Memoirs of that stirring time, when he was ambassador in England. His intelligent and candid revelations may present to those who are curious to trace the movements and counter-movements of two such adroit players in the great game of politics as M. Thiers and Lord Palmerston, a juster view of the causes of this temporary interruption of the friendly feelings between the two governments and of the policy of the British minister for foreign affairs, than they could otherwise derive from the contemporary expressions of opinion either in England or in France.

The resolutions of the four powers upon which the treaty of the 15th of July was founded had become known in London on the 23d. At the anniversary of the 28th of July, when sixty thousand men were under arms in Paris, the popular desire for war was shown in the most marked manner. M. Guizot was perplexed by the contrast of the uneasiness of Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell with the decided language of Lord Palmerston. In answer to the ambassador's dispatches, M. Thiers had only one word to reply—"*tenez ferme*," but the warlike minister invited him to a meeting with the king and himself at the Château d'Eu on the 7th of August. Guizot left London for this interview on the 6th. While he was crossing the channel to Calais another person was crossing the channel to Boulogne, to be the hero of what was then described as "a wild attempt to excite civil war

made by a maniac of the Bonaparte family." The maniac of 1840 became the emperor of 1852.

On the 7th of July the French frigate *La Belle Poule*, commanded by the Prince de Joinville, had sailed for the purpose of receiving at St Helena, and transporting to France, the remains of the Emperor Napoleon. To this somewhat strange request of the government of Louis Philippe made by M. Guizot, the English cabinet accorded its consent, Lord Palmerston giving a courteous reply to the demand, while he was unable to conceal a passing smile. At this time Prince Louis Napoleon was residing at Carlton Gardens, in London, and M. Guizot had been required to keep an eye on his movements. The ambassador described the refugee as being constantly in the park; as frequently also at the opera, where aides-de-camp stood behind him in his box. In public they were bragging and ostentatious. Their private life was idle and obscure. In spite of their tall talk M. Guizot thought there was little of reality in their boastful projects. The French foreign office, however, believed that some attempt would be made by this party of Bonapartists, although their action would be confined to a very narrow circle.

On the 4th of August a steam packet, the *City of Edinburgh*, which had been hired as for a party of pleasure, left the port of London, bearing Prince Louis Napoleon, Count Montholon, and about forty officers and attendants. Arms and ammunition, military uniforms, horses and carriages and a large quantity of specie, had been previously taken on board; with a tame eagle that the prince had taught to feed out of his hand. The steam-packet dropped down the river, took a French pilot on board at Gravesend, and made for the French coast, where it arrived on the evening of the 5th. Between two and three miles to the north of Boulogne is the miserable village of Wimereux, around which, in 1803, a camp was formed of a portion of the Grand Army for the invasion of England. The country here is barren, and a few hovels lie between the sand hills on the shore. Here, at the mouth of a petty stream, Napoleon caused a port to be formed, which at the end of six months was capable of containing a hundred and seventy vessels. It is now choked up and altogether decayed. Here, then, surrounded by associations with the memory of the great emperor—in the harbor which his army had dug out of the sands, and in view of the column which they had raised to his glory—the nephew landed with his followers at four o'clock on the morning of the 6th. Those of military rank had exchanged their ordinary dress for the uniform then worn by French officers. The invading band, who had been joined from Boulogne by a young lieutenant of the 42d, named Aladenise, and three soldiers, marched toward the town, bearing a tri-colored flag surmounted by an eagle. There were few persons about at that hour except two or three officers of the customs, who were compelled to march with them. Upon arriving at the guard-house in the Place d'Anton, an attempt to seduce the soldiers failed, and the party marched to the Quai de la Caserne. The barrack there, now given up to peaceful purposes as a vast storehouse, was occupied by the 42d regiment.

The officers slept out of the barrack, and had not arrived at five o'clock, when Lieutenant Aladenise called up the soldiers, ordering them to take their arms, and march with the nephew of the emperor to Paris; Louis Philippe, he told them, had ceased to reign. The proposed march was, however, interrupted by the arrival of Captain Puygelier and two other officers. To the splendid offers that were made to the captain and his companions they turned a deaf ear. The captain was as unmoved by the threats of some of his men as by the promises of the adventurers. To the shouts of *Vive le Prince Louis* he replied *Vive le Roi.* A scuffle ensued, when a shot was fired from a pistol which Louis Napoleon had in his hand, by which a grenadier was wounded. The prince was not absolutely charged with a murderous intention in thus discharging his pistol, but it was implied that this part of the affair was an accident, or at least unpremeditated. Immediately after this the barrack-yard was cleared of the intruders, and they marched to the Haute Ville, distributing proclamations and throwing about money. They fancied they could seize arms in the old château for the purpose of arming the population, but their course was stopped by the sub-prefect of Boulogne, who in the name of the king commanded them to disperse. He was answered by a blow on the head with the eagle which one of the officers carried. They tried to force the door of the château. During this time the rappel had called out the National Guard, who marched out toward Wimereux, to do battle with a large force which they were told had landed there. It was now six o'clock. Failing in the attempt to force the château, unsupported by any portion of the population, there was nothing left to the adventurers but flight to the place of their debarkation. With a mad movement of defiance they marched on the Calais road, and then stopped at the Napoleon column, instead of proceeding over the hill to Wimereux. The first stone of the column had been laid by Marshal Soult in 1804. Left unfinished under the empire, it had been proceeded with under Louis XVIII., "as a monument of peace." Louis Philippe, whose doubtful policy was to revive the national appetite for glory which belonged to the memory of Napoleon, was in 1840 finishing this column. But the statue of the great emperor by which it is crowned was not placed there till 1841. The prince and his party surrounded the monument, while the eagle-bearer entered the column to plant the standard on its summit. He was left to mount the dark stairs while his leader and his companions made a hasty retreat before the large force that was now coming against them. The soldiery, commanded by Captain Puygelier, with the National Guards and gendarmerie under the orders of the sub-prefect and the mayor, rendered resistance vain. Some fled into the fields. Louis Napoleon and five or six others got down to the sands to the north of the harbor. The prince threw himself into the sea and swam to a little boat. The National Guard fired upon the fugitives, of whom one man was killed and another dangerously wounded. An inhabitant of Cologne, who had been one of the National Guard in 1840, expressed to us the indignation which he felt at beholding men who were swimming for their

lives being fired upon when their power of doing mischief was at an end, Louis Napoleon swam back and surrendered himself. He was taken to the dungeon of the château, where he remained two days before being conveyed to Paris.

The trial of the prince and of nineteen other conspirators took place on the 6th of October before the chamber of peers. Louis Napoleon maintained a bold front upon his trial. In the speech which he addressed to his judges he said, "I represent before you a principle, a cause, a defeat; the principle, it is the sovereignty of the people; the cause, that of the empire; the defeat, Waterloo. The principle you have recognized; the cause you have served; the defeat you desire to avenge." He was sentenced to imprisonment for life; his companions to various terms of confinement. The prison of Louis Napoleon was the fortress of Ham in the department of Aisne. The six years of solitude which he there passed were not unprofitably employed in study. In 1846 he escaped in the dress of a workman, and again found a refuge in England. The Paris press of 1840 teemed with denunciations against the ministers of Queen Victoria, maintaining that they had encouraged the prince in his project, being angry with the government of Louis Philippe. It was asserted that Lord Palmerston had made a visit to Louis Napoleon, or had been visited by him, previous to his departure. Lord Palmerston found it necessary to assure upon his honor le Baron de Bourqueney, who represented the French embassy in the absence of M. Guizot, that neither he nor Lord Melbourne had seen Louis Napoleon for two years, nor any one of the adventurers who had accompaied him.

The conferences at the Château d'Eu were soon terminated. The king of the French went to Boulogne to express his thanks to the inhabitants for their loyalty on the 6th of August. To a deputation of the English he said that affairs between France and England were taking a favorable turn. M. Guizot returned to England, and was satisfied by the cordiality of his reception by the authorities and populace of Ramsgate that the English people bore no ill-will toward France. Arrived in London, he found an invitation from the queen to visit her at Windsor, where he met the king and queen of the Belgians, Lord Melbourne and Lord Palmerston.

Looking at the execution of the treaty of the 15th of July, M. Guizot frankly acknowledges the errors of the policy of the French government. "We had attached to this question an exaggerated importance; we had regarded the interests of France in the Mediterranean as more associated than they really were with the fortunes of Mehemet Ali." France had, he says, believed that Mehemet Ali would have been able to resist all the efforts of the four powers united, when it was finally shown that an English squadron would be sufficient to subdue him. These errors, he continues, were public, national, everywhere spread, and maintained in the chambers as well as in the country, in the opposition as well as in the government. "The hour of disappointment was come, and it was the cabinet over which M. Thiers presided which had to bear the burden." Louis Philippe

refused his assent to the warlike speech which. M. Thiers proposed for the opening of the chambers. The ministry resigned, and Soult and Guizot were their successors.

The belligerent spirit which had been called forth in France by these differences between the English and French governments were not likely to subside into cordial friendship under the influence of a pageant which recalled the glories and the humiliations of the empire. The population of Paris had the gratification of a magnificent spectacle on the 15th of December, when the remains of Napoleon were interred in the church of the Invalides. The procession has been described as wearing more of a triumphant than a funeral air. Long cavalcades of troops were succeeded by a few mourning coaches; grenadiers of the Old Guard and Mamelukes followed the splendid car on which was placed the body. Imperial eagles veiled with crape were carried by eighty-six non-commissioned officers. Even to the sword and the hat of the emperor, which were laid upon the coffin, the whole solemnity was calculated to call up remembrances of the past which were not favorable to the security of the reigning family. There was no tumult; but there were demonstrations of popular feeling which showed that the pacific policy of the king and of his new ministry was not so welcome to the populace as M. Thiers and war with Europe.

Again there was a threatened rupture between France and England in 1844, growing out of the action of a missionary consul in the island of Tahiti, but it was settled by the kindly offices of M. Guizot and Sir Robert Peel. Louis Philippe visited the queen at Windsor Castle, where he was entertained for a week.

Louis negotiated a marriage between his third son, the Prince de Joinville, and the princess of Brazil, and by this match he gained an immense dowry with the bride. His matrimonial scheme in regard to a Spanish alliance is thus discussed by Justin McCarthy in his "History of Our Times."

"In an evil hour for themselves and their fame, Louis Philippe and his minister believed that they could obtain a virtual ownership of Spain by an ingenious marriage scheme. There was at one time a project, talked of rather than actually entertained, of marrying the young queen of Spain and her sister to the Duc d'Aumale and the Duc de Montpensier, both sons of Louis Philippe. But this would have been too daring a venture on the part of the king of the French. Apart from any objections to be entertained by other States, it was certain that England could not "view with indifference," as the diplomatic phrase goes, the prospect of a son of the French king occupying the throne of Spain. It may be said that after all it was of little concern to England who married the queen of Spain. Spain was nothing to us. It would not follow that Spain must be the tool of France because the Spanish queen married a son of the French king, any more than it was certain in a former day that Austria must link herself with the fortunes of the great Napoleon because he had married an Austrian princess. Probably it would have been well if England had concerned herself in no wise with the

domestic affairs of Spain, and had allowed Louis Philippe to spin what ignoble plots he pleased, if the Spanish people themselves had not wit enough to see through and power enough to counteract them. At a later period France brought on herself a terrible war and a crushing defeat because her emperor chose to believe, or allowed himself to be persuaded into believing, that the security of France would be threatened if a Prussian prince were called to the throne of Spain. The Prussian prince did not ascend that throne; but the war between France and Prussia went on; France was defeated; and after a little the Spanish people themselves got rid of the prince whom they had consented to accept in place of the obnoxious Prussian. If the French emperor had not interfered, it is only too probable that the Prussian prince would have gone to Madrid, reigned there for a few unstable and tremulous months, and then have been quietly sent back to his own country. But at the time of Louis Philippe's intrigues about the Spanish marriages, the statesmen of England were by no means disposed to take a cool and philosophic view of things. The idea of non-intervention had scarcely come up then, and the English minister who was chiefly concerned in foreign affairs was about the last man in the world to admit that anything could go on in Europe or elsewhere in which England was not entitled to express an opinion, and to make her influence felt. The marriage, therefore, of the young queen of Spain had been long a subject of anxious consideration in the councils of the English government. Louis Philippe knew very well that he could not venture to marry one of his sons to the young Isabella. But he and his minister devised a scheme for securing to themselves and their policy the same effect in another way. They contrived that the queen and her sister should be married at the same time—the queen to her cousin, Don Francisco d'Assis, duke of Cadiz, and her sister to the Duke de Montpensier, Louis Philippe's son. There was reason to expect that the queen, if married to Don Francisco, would have no children, and that the wife of Louis Philippe's son, or some of her children, would come to the throne of Spain.

"On the moral guilt of a plot like this it would be superfluous to dwell. Nothing in the history of the perversions of human conscience and judgment can be more extraordinary than the fact that a man like M. Guizot should have been its inspiring influence. It came with a double shock upon the queen of England and her ministers, because they had every reason to think that Louis Philippe had bound himself by a solemn promise to discourage any such policy. When the queen paid her visit to Louis Philippe at Eu, the king made the most distinct and spontaneous promises to her majesty and Lord Aberdeen.

"The objection of England and other powers was from first to last an objection to any arrangement which might leave the succession to one of Louis Philippe's children or grandchildren. For this reason the king had given his word to Queen Victoria that he would not hear of his son's marriagewith Isabella sister until the difficulty about the succession had been removed by Isabella's herself being married and having a child. Such an agreement was abso-

lutely broken when the king arranged for the marriage of his son to the sister of Queen Isabella at the same time as Isabella's own marriage, and when, therefore, it was not certain that the young queen would have any children. The political question, the question of succession, remained then open as before. All the objections that England and other powers had to the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier stood out as strong as ever. It was the question of the birth of a child, and no child was born. The breach of faith was made infinitely more grave by the fact that in the public opinion of Europe, Louis Philippe was set down as having brought about the marriage of the queen of Spain with her cousin Don Francisco in the hope and belief that the union would be barren of issue, and that the wife of his son would stand on the next step of the throne.

"The excuse which Louis Philippe put forward to palliate what he called his "deviation" from the promise to the queen was not of a nature calculated to allay the ill-feeling which his policy had aroused in England. He pleaded in substance that he had reason to believe in an intended piece of treachery on the part of the English government, the consequences of which, if it were successful, would have been injurious to his policy, and the discovery of which, therefore, released him from his promise. He had found out, as he declared, that there was an intention on the part of England to put forward, as a candidate for the hand of Queen Isabella, Prince Leopold of Coburg, a cousin of Prince Albert. There was so little justification for any such suspicion that it seems hardly possible a man of Louis Philippe's shrewdness can really have entertained it. The English government had always steadfastly declined to give any support whatever to the candidature of this young prince. Lord Aberdeen, who was then foreign secretary, had always taken his stand on the broad principle that the marriage of the queen of Spain was the business of Isabella herself and of the Spanish people, and that so long as that queen and that people were satisfied, and the interests of England were in no wise involved, the government of Queen Victoria would interfere in no manner. The candidature of Prince Leopold had been in the first instance a project of the dowager queen of Spain, Christina, a woman of intriguing character, on whose political probity no great reliance could be placed. The English government had in the most decided and practical manner proved that they took no share in the plans of Queen Christina, and had no sympathy with them. But while the whole negotiations were going on the defeat of Sir Robert Peel's ministry brought Lord Palmerston into the foreign office in place of Lord Aberdeen. The very name of Palmerston produced on Louis Philippe and his minister the effect vulgarly said to be wrought on a bull by the display of a red rag. Louis Philippe treasured in bitter memory the unexpected success which Palmerston had won from him in regard to Turkey and Egypt. At that time, and especially in the court of Louis Philippe, foreign politics were looked upon as the field in which the ministers of great powers contended against each other with brag and trickery and subtle arts of all kinds; the plain principles of integrity and truthful dealing did not seem to be regarded as prop-

erly belonging to the rules of the game. Louis Philippe probably believed in good faith that the return of Lord Palmerston to the foreign office must mean the renewed activity of treacherous plans against himself. This at least is the only assumption on which we can explain the king's conduct, if we do not wish to believe that he put forward excuses and pretexts which were willful in their falsehood. Louis Philippe seized on some words in a dispatch of Lord Palmerston's, in which the candidature of Prince Leopold was simply mentioned as a matter of fact; declared that these words showed that the English government had at last openly adopted that candidature, professed himself relieved from all previous engagements, and at once hurried on the marriage between Queen Isabella and her cousin, and that of his own son with Isabella's sister. On October 10th, 1846, the double marriage took place at Madrid; and on February 5th following, M. Guizot told the French chambers that the Spanish marriages constituted the first great thing France had accomplished completely single-handed in Europe since 1830.

Every one knows what a failure this scheme proved, so far as the objects of Louis Philippe and his minister were concerned. Queen Isabella had children. Montpensier's wife did not come to the throne; and the dynasty of Louis Philippe fell before long, its fall undoubtedly hastened by the position of utter isolation and distrust in which it was placed by the scheme of the Spanish marriages and the feelings which it provoked in Europe. The fact with which we have to deal, however, is that the friendship between England and France, from which so many happy results seemed likely to come to Europe and the cause of free government, was necessarily interrupted. It would have been impossible to trust any longer to Louis Philippe."

## XXV.

# THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

THE overthrow of 1848 was approaching. It is not compatible with the limits of our work to enter into any minute detail of the revolution of February. The legislative session had opened on the 28th of December, 1847. The king's speech contained an allusion to the agitation for "electoral and parliamentary reform,"—which words had become a toast at several provincial banquets. Petitions for reform had been presented to the chamber of deputies. On the opening of the session there had been discussions in the chamber on the legality of peaceful and unarmed political meetings. On the 22d of February there was to have been a reform banquet in the twelfth *arrondissement* of Paris—a quarter where the materials for disorder were abundant. The minister of the interior forbade the meeting, as the committee for the banquet had proposed a procession of National Guards in uniform, and of students. The uniform of the National Guards had almost disappeared from public view. They were no longer favored and flattered by the government. The principal leaders of the parliamentary opposition now announced that the banquet was adjourned, in consequence of the declaration of the minister of the interior. The postponement was loudly murmured at by the democratic journalists. On the morning of the 22d the streets were crowded at an early hour. About noon a crowd surrounded the chamber of deputies; and a cry was raised of "Down with Guizot;" but in the evening the city was quiet. Not so during the night. The government was collecting troops, and the people were raising barricades. The *rappel* was again heard calling out the National Guard at seven in the morning of the 23d. Some firing soon took place between the populace and the Municipal Guards. But the National Guards had come to an agreement among themselves to act the part of conciliators rather than that of the opposers of the people; and their presence in consequence prevented any attempt of the regular troops to disperse the multitudes assembled in various quarters. Soon the cry of *Vive la Réforme* was heard among groups of the citizen soldiers. The royal occupants of the Tuileries began to be seriously alarmed. A council was hastily summoned, when M. Guizot, finding that the cabinet could not rely upon the firmness of the king, expressed his determination to retire. He

himself announced his resignation to the chamber of deputies. There was joy that night in Paris, for it was thought that the cause of reform had gained a victory. Houses were illuminated as if the crisis were passed. But a band of republicans bearing a red flag had come forth, and gathering together before the Hotel of Foreign Affairs occupied by M. Guizot, where a battalion of infantry was stationed, a shot fired from the mob was answered by a volley from the soldiery, and fifty fell, killed or wounded. A procession was immediately formed. The bodies of the dead were carried by torchlight through the streets, amid the frantic cries of excited crowds demanding vengeance. The opportunity of restoring tranquillity by the exercise of force had passed away. During the night the king had reluctantly decided for concession. He had sent for M. Thiers and offered him the formation of a ministry. As the condition of his acceptance M. Thiers stipulated that M. Odillon Barrot should be a member of the cabinet. This was entirely to yield upon the question of reform, and wholly to change the policy of the government. But there was no alternative for the perplexed king. The change of administration was announced by placards in the morning. The command of the troops had been given to Marshal Bugeaud during the night; and it is probable that he would have adopted no half measures to support the crown. His command was superseded by the new ministers, who judged that the danger of insurrection was passed. They were deceived. About noon the populace attacked the Palais Royal, and sacked the apartments. The Tuileries was next to be assailed. The king left the palace with his queen. The mob broke in. The throne was carried along the Boulevards, and was burnt at the foot of the column of July.

The chamber of deputies met at half-past twelve, when M. Dupin announced the abdication of Louis Philippe. M. Dupin also announced that the king had abdicated in favor of his grandson, the Comte de Paris, appointing the duchess of Orleans regent. The duchess, leading her two sons by the hand, entered the chamber, accompanied by the Duke de Nemours. She said, "I have come here with all I have dear in the world." Some repugnance was manifested at the presence of royal strangers, but the duchess appearing unwilling to retire, a stormy discussion began. By a law of 1842 it was declared that during the minority of the Comte de Paris, in the event of the demise of the king, the Duke de Nemours should be regent. The debate turned upon this difficulty. It was soon interrupted by the rush of a crowd that filled all the passages of the chambers and swarmed into the hall. The mother and her children were surrounded by armed men; but still she resolved to remain. She heard the demand for a provisional government; she heard the assertion that a regency could not be created. Amid clamors and threats she was forced by her attendants out of the hall. The deputies were scarcely free agents, as, with the applauses or the hisses of the fierce republicans who were now in command of the situation, the members of a provisional government were nominated. Seven deputies were finally appointed to this responsibility. In the mean time another provisional

government had been formed at the Hôtel de Ville. The members chosen by the chamber were Lamartine, Marie, Ledru-Rollin, Crèmieux, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, and Garnier Pagès. The provisional government of the Hôtel de Ville consisted of Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc and Albert. The seven proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, and there, after violent altercation, came to a compromise with the four. Liberty and Equality shook hands. There was to be a republic; but a republic in which the principles of socialism should be the paramount element. At the top of the stairs of the Hôtel de Ville, Lamartine proclaimed the republic to the populace below. The provisional government of eleven declared that the chamber of deputies was dissolved; that a national assembly should be convoked, the members of the "ex-chamber of peers" being forbidden to assemble. On the 25th "a proclamation," signed by Garnier Pagès and Louis Blanc, declared that the provisional government undertook to secure the existence of the workman by labor; to guarantee labor to all citizens. On the 26th the members presented themselves to the people assembled before the Hôtel de Ville; and there Lamartine proclaimed the abolition of royalty and the establishment of the republic, with the exercise of their political right by the people. The prospect of universal suffrage was made still more agreeable by the announcement of the opening of national workshops for the unemployed workmen.

The peace of Europe then occupied the attention of the provisional government, and measures were taken to provide a more permanent government. A national assembly was elected on the 27th of April, and on the 4th of May it met at Paris. The provisional government now ended its existence, and instead there was an executive commission chosen by the assembly as the visible governing power. On this commission Lamartine was placed. But his popularity was already on the wane. The 13th of June Louis Napoleon was elected a member of the assembly from three departments of the Seine. The insurrections of the red republicans broke out on the 22d of June. The immediate cause of this was the disbanding of the national workshops. The large number of idle operatives were too much for the government to bear. The workmen saw their political and social hopes vanishing, and they were in open revolt to overthrow the new government. But the assembly was now prepared for battle. The army was brought up and placed in command of General Cavaignac, an officer of great boldness and experience, and moreover a very ardent but practical republican. The insurgents fortified themselves in the quarter where they resided, and for awhile resisted with success all efforts to dislodge them.

The streets of Paris ran with blood for three days, and fully one half of this time the issue was uncertain. But in the end the army of the assembly was victorious, and its authority maintained at the loss of from three thousand to five thousand lives.

The popularity of Lamartine before on the wane was now entirely obscured, and his statesmanship despised. The opposition to him was so decided that

he and his associates resigned, and General Cavaignac was virtually dictator. Relieved from the fear of an insurrection, the assembly changed the constitution again. Under this there was a single representative body and a president for four years. This went into force in December, 1848, and Louis Napoleon was elected president, taking the oath of office on the 20th of that month. The new president proved himself strongly conservative, and went so far as to send an army to aid the pope against the republicans of Italy. This revolution against the pope was put down in 1849, and Rome was left in the hands of the French troops. There were frequent quarrels between the president of France and the legislature, the latter being convinced that Louis Napoleon had his eye not so much on the good of the republic as on his own. The deposed king, Louis Philippe, died in England on the 26th of August, 1850.

In the mean while, Louis Napoleon was gradually drawing the lines of absolute power about the press and all the liberty of the people. In the midst of the anarchy he held steadfast to his purpose, and at last put an end to it by the famous or infamous—from whichever standpoint you regard it—*coup d'etat* on December 2d, 1851. The principal actors in this drama were Louis Napoleon, M. de Morny, M. de Maupas and General St. Arnaud. The circumstances attending it were necessarily atrocious and violent. Preparations were made for destroying all authority but his own. The ministers were compelled to resign, and he made an appeal to the people stating his desire to be elected to the presidency for ten years. Very many arrests were made, and troops were placed in readiness. On the 4th of December bloodshed was commenced. The boulevards were swept by troops, artillery was placed in position, and wherever a group of people was seen they were fired upon, and the soldiers having been ordered to show no quarter, so in two or three days all was quiet, and the election came on. Napoleon was elected president for ten years by a vote of seven millions. In just one year the republic was transformed into an empire, and Napoleon assumed the title of Napoleon III. He shortly after married the Mlle. de Montig, countess of Teba, who bore him a son March 14th, 1856.

Mr. Justin McCarthy, in his "History of Our Times," thus describes the state of feeling in England at this time:

"All the earlier part of the year had witnessed the steady progress of the prince president of France to an imperial throne. The previous year had closed upon his *coup d'état*. He had arrested, imprisoned, banished or shot his principal enemies, and had demanded from the French people a presidency for ten years, a ministry responsible to the executive power—himself alone—and two political chambers to be elected by universal suffrage. Nearly five hundred prisoners, untried before any tribunal, even that of a drum-head, had been shipped off to Cayenne. The streets of Paris had been soaked in blood. The president instituted a *plébiscite*, or vote of the whole people, and of course he got all he asked for. There was no arguing with the commander of twenty legions, and of such legions as those that had operated

with terrible efficiency on the Boulevards. The first day of the new year saw the religious ceremony at Notre Dame to celebrate the acceptance of the ten years' presidency by Louis Napoleon. The same day a decree was published in the name of the president declaring that the French eagle should be restored to the standards of the army, as a symbol of the regenerated military genius of France. A few days after, the prince president decreed the confiscation of the property of the Orleans family and restored titles of nobility in France. The birthday of the Emperor Napoleon was declared by decree to be the only national holiday. When the two legislative bodies came to be sworn in, the president made an announcement which certainly did not surprise many persons, but which nevertheless sent a thrill abroad over all parts of Europe. If hostile parties continued to plot against him, the president intimated, and to question the legitimacy of the power he had assumed by virtue of the national vote, then it might be necessary to demand from the people, in the name of the repose of France, 'a new title which will irrevocably fix upon my head the power with which they have invested me.' There could be no further doubt. The Bonapartist empire was to be restored. A new Napoleon was to come to the throne.

"'Only the devil knows what he means,' indeed. So people were all saying throughout England in 1852. The scheme went on to its development, and before the year was quite out Louis Napoleon was proclaimed emperor of the French. Men had noticed as a curious, not to say ominous, coincidence that on the very day when the duke of Wellington died the *Moniteur* announced that the French people were receiving the prince president everywhere as the emperor-elect and as the elect of God; and another French journal published an article hinting not obscurely at the invasion and conquest of England as the first great duty of a new Napoleonic empire. The prince president indeed, in one of the provincial speeches which he delivered just before he was proclaimed emperor, had talked earnestly of peace. In his famous speech to the Chamber of Commerce of Bordeaux on October 9th, he denied that the restored empire would mean war. 'I say,' he declared, raising his voice and speaking with energy and emphasis, 'the empire is peace.' But the assurance did not do much to satisfy Europe. Had not the same voice, it was asked, declaimed with equal energy and earnestness the terms of the oath to the republican constitution? Never, said a bitter enemy of the new empire, believe the word of a Bonaparte, unless when he promises to kill somebody. Such was indeed the common sentiment of a large number of the English people during the eventful year when the president became emperor, and Prince Louis Napoleon was Napoleon the third.

"It would have been impossible that the English people could view all this without emotion and alarm. But they could not see with indifference the rise of a new Napoleon to power on the strength of the old Napoleonic legend. The one special characteristic of the Napoleonic principle was its hostility to England. The life of the Great Napoleon in its greatest days had

been devoted to the one purpose of humiliating England. His plans had been foiled by England. Whatever hands may have joined in pressing him to the ground, there could be no doubt that he owed his fall principally to England. He died a prisoner of England, and with his hatred of her embittered rather than appeased. It did not seem unreasonable to believe that the successor who had been enabled to mount the imperial throne simply because he bore the name and represented the principles of the first Napoleon would inherit the hatred to England and the designs against England. Everything else that savored of the Napoleonic era had been revived; why should this, its principal characteristic, be allowed to lie in the tomb of the first emperor? The policy of the first Napoleon had lighted up a fire of hatred between England and France which at one time seemed inextinguishable. There were many who regarded that international hate as something like that of the hostile brothers in the classic story, the very flames of whose funeral piles refused to mingle in the air; or like that of the rival Scottish families, whose blood, it was said, would never commingle though poured into one dish. It did not seem possible that a new emperor Napoleon could arise without bringing a restoration of that hatred along with him.

"When the *coup d'état* came and was successful, the amazement of the English public was unbounded. Never had any plot been more skillfully and more carefully planned, more daringly carried out. Here evidently was a master in the art of conspiracy. Here was the combination of steady caution and boundless audacity. What a subtlety of design; what a perfection of silent self-control! How slowly the plan had been matured; how suddenly it was flashed upon the world and carried to success. No haste, no delay, no scruple, no remorse, no fear! And all this was the work of the dull dawdler of English drawing-rooms, the heavy, apathetic, unmoral rather than immoral haunter of English race-courses and gambling-houses! What new surprise might not be feared, what subtle and daring enterprise might not reasonably be expected from one who could thus conceal and thus reveal himself, and do both with a like success!

"Louis Napoleon, said a member of his family, deceived Europe twice: first when he succeeded in passing off as an idiot, and next when he succeeded in passing off as a statesman. The epigram had doubtless a great deal of truth in it. The *coup d'état* was probably neither planned nor carried to success by the cleverness and energy of Louis Napoleon. Cooler and stronger heads and hands are responsible for the execution at least of that enterprise. The prince, it is likely, played little more than a passive part in it, and might have lost his nerve more than once but for the greater resolution of some of his associates, who were determined to crown him for their own sakes as well as for his. But at the time the world at large saw only Louis Napoleon in the whole scheme, conception, execution, and all. The idea was formed of a colossal figure of cunning and daring—a Brutus, a Talleyrand, a Philip of Spain, and a Napoleon the first all in one. Those who detested him most admired and feared him not the least. Who can

doubt, it was asked, that he will endeavor to make himself the heir of the revenges of Napoleon? Who can believe any pledges he may give. How enter into any treaty or bond of any kind with such a man? Where is the one that can pretend to say he sees through him and understands his schemes?

"There were five projects with which public opinion all over Europe specially credited Louis Napoleon when he began his imperial reign. One was a war with Russia. Another was a war with Austria. A third was a war with Prussia. A fourth was the annexation of Belgium. The fifth was the invasion of England. Three of these projects were carried out. The fourth we know was in contemplation. Our combination with France in the first probably put all serious thought of the fifth out of the head of the French emperor. He got far more prestige out of an alliance with us than he could ever have got out of any quarrel with us; and he had little or no risk. We do not count for anything the repeated assurances of Louis Napoleon that he desired peace with England. A change in circumstances at any time might have induced an altered frame of mind. The very same assurances were made again and again to Russia, to Austria, and to Prussia. The pledge that the empire was peace was addressed, like the pope's edict, *urbi et orbi*."

## XXVI

# THE SECOND EMPIRE.

NAPOLEON III. made his government an absolutism under which France made rapid advances in material strength and prosperity. The city of Paris was embellished and fortified as never before. The emperor steadily maintained his policy and announced himself as the adjuster of the wrongs of nations.

The Crimean war began in 1853. The French and Russian governments had taken sides in the controversy between the Greek and Latin, or Roman Catholic, churches, in regard to the occupancy of the sacred places around Jerusalem and vicinity. The czar sent Prince Menshikoff as envoy extraordinary to Constantinople, February 22d, 1853. He also made certain demands respecting the protection of Christians in Turkey. In regard to the first of these questions the sultan referred it to a mixed commission, but refused to entertain the second. Two weeks later, after the envoy was recalled, the sultan acceded to all the demands of the czar and appealed to his allies. In June the French and English fleets appeared on the scene. About the middle of September, 1853, four of this fleet passed the Darda-

nelles, and on the 5th of October the sultan declared war against Russia and struck the first blow. Now the Russian czar declared war, and then followed a series of battles in and around the Crimea which lasted for twenty-six months. The chief of them followed in this order: Alma, September 20th, 1854, the English under Lord Raglan and the French under Marshal St. Arnaud routed the Russians; September 25th, the allies took Balaklava; October 17th they began an unsuccessful siege of Sevastopol. The battle of Balaklava, in which was made the famous charge of the Light Brigade, was fought on October 25th. On the 8th day of September, 1855, the French carried Malakoff by storm, and the Russians, sinking their fleet in the mouth of the harbor, left Sevastopol. There was but little fighting after this, and peace was concluded March 30th, 1856, and the allies left the Crimea on the 9th of July. The French lost about sixty-three thousand five hundred men; the English, twenty-six thousand eight hundred and seventy-three from killed and wounded.

In April, 1855, the emperor and empress of France visited Queen Victoria at Windsor castle, and were sumptuously entertained by the queen and her royal consort. Prince Albert returned the visit in August of the same year. The Industrial Exhibition was opened at Paris, May 15th, 1855, and far surpassed the World's Fair in Hyde Park. An attempt was made on the life of the emperor on the 28th of April by Pianori, and another by Bellemarre on the 8th of September, the same year. The birth of the prince imperial, March 16th, 1856, has been already noticed. There was nothing of public interest after the close of the Crimean war. In the early part of the year 1857 the archbishop of Paris, Sibour, was assassinated by a parish priest named Verger. A conspiracy against the life of the emperor was discovered July 11th, 1857, and, later in the year, he and the Empress Eugenie again visited England. The brave General Cavaignac, who had steadily refused to give his adherence to the emperor, was still permitted to reside in France without molestation. He died very suddenly at his country seat near Tours, October 28th, 1857. Unlike most of his countrymen he was calm, sober and moderate in debate, but of firm principle and unimpeached morality. Louis Napoleon and the Russian emperor, Alexander II., had an interview at Stuttgart, September 25th.

Another attempt upon the emperor's life was made in Paris, on the 14th of January, 1858, by a man named Orsini, who, with his accomplices, threw three shells at the emperor and the empress. One hundred and fifty persons were killed and wounded by the explosion, but the emperor escaped unharmed. The assassin Orsini was traced by the blood from the wound inflicted by his own bomb. This is fully discussed in the History of England. In this same year the empire was divided into five military departments. A republican outbreak at Chalons was suppressed with much violence. The queen of England and consort return the visit of the emperor.

On the first day of January, 1859, Louis Napoleon announced his inten-



Napoleon III. wins the victory at Solferino over the Austrians, July 24th, 1859.
E. Meissonier. Page 339.

tion of aiding the Italian cause, under Victor Emanuel. In the early part of this year Victor Emanuel proclaimed his intention of aiding to free the populace of Italy from the Austrian yoke. Sardinia and France united in a war against Austria, and in April, 1859, the war commenced. The victories of Magenta and Solferino were quickly followed by the inconclusive treaty of Villafranca, July 11th, by which a confederation of all the Italian States was formed under the protectorate of the pope. All Italy indignantly rejected this, and early in 1860 the various States declared in favor of annexation to the kingdom of Piedmont. March 18th, Parma, Modena and the Emilean provinces were incorporated with Sardinia, and the grand duchy of Tuscany followed on the 22d. Victor Emanuel was proclaimed king of Italy, March 7th. Nice and Savoy were ceded to France on the 24th. Garibaldi, with a thousand volunteers, led a successful and bloodless revolution in the Sicilies. He then liberated the whole southern part of the peninsula and presented it to Victor Emanuel, who entered Naples November 7th. The French emperor had taken the field himself, and arrived at Genoa May 12th. The Italians suspected the French influence in the cabinet, and were present at the subsequent battles. The Empress Eugenie was left as regent in France. The Emperor Napoleon and the emperor of Austria met at Villafranca July 11th, and Napoleon returned to France the 17th. A treaty was signed between Austria, France and Sardinia on the 12th of November, 1859.

In 1860 the principal public events are hastily given as follows: January 23d, the emperor adopts a free trade policy with England. The annexation of Nice and Savoy has been mentioned. The Emperor Napoleon meets the German sovereign at Baden-Baden, June 15–17th. The emperor and empress visit Savoy, Corsica and Algiers in the summer. The new tariff goes into operation on October 1st. The collection of Peter's pence is prohibited, and the issuing of pastoral letters very much restricted. The freedom of the press is partially restored, and many important ministerial changes are made, and finally the emperor advises the pope to give up his temporal possessions. In the year 1861 France purchases the principality of Monaco for four million francs. Then followed trouble with the Catholic Church, and the French government issued a circular prohibiting the clergy from interfering with secular politics, April 11th. A commercial treaty is made with Belgium. The French government declares neutrality in the American civil war. The kingdom of Italy is recognized June 24th. The French emperor and king of Prussia meet at Compiegne October 6th. The finances of France were in a fearful condition, and Achille Fould, who had been removed in December, 1860, was recalled to be minister of finance; his great ability and system enabling him to extricate matters. In the latter part of 1861 there was a convention entered into between France, Spain and England, in regard to the government of Mexico. Using the pretext of the disordered state of matters in that country they ventured, in defiance of the avowed policy of the United States, when that country was in the midst of a gigantic civil war, to set up a monarchy on the southern border of that republic. The expedition

was begun in 1861, and a fleet of French, Spanish and English ships of war entered the gulf of Mexico. In December the British minister left Mexico, and the Spanish landed at Vera Cruz, and took possession before the arrival of the allied fleet. The three commanders of the allied fleet issued a proclamation to the people, but received no response; then they began to advance on the capital. The provisional government asked for an armistice, pending negotiations for a treaty. The treaty was accepted by Spain and England, but not by France. The French troops remained in possession of the country. War was declared against the government of Juarez, but the Mexicans did not take well to the French occupation. The French captured several important places and entered the city of Mexico on June 10th, 1862. A provisional government was formed, and an "assembly of notables" was called June 24th, to form the best kind of a government. They decided that a limited monarchy with a Catholic sovereign was the best, and resolved to offer the crown to the archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria. The Mexicans can not have had much real spirit in this if we may judge of it in the light of subsequent events. Maximilian accepted the crown offered to him and came to Mexico in May, 1864. He entered his capital June 12th. The Imperialist army of France had gained possession of every State, and Juarez had fled to the United States before the summer was gone. There were still small bands of republicans left in the country, which kept up a guerilla warfare. Maximilian issued a proclamation on the 25th of October, 1865, menacing all who were found in arms with death. In accordance with this two generals were afterward shot. The French emperor became weary of this expensive and although successful yet unprofitable expedition, and he gradually withdrew his troops and left Maximilian to his fate. In February, 1867, the last French troops were removed, and at once Juarez returned and resumed the government of the republic. Maximilian, at the head of a few troops of his own remaining in the country, was overcome, captured and shot by the Mexicans. His poor wife, Charlotte, became insane from grief. And thus Napoleon's scheme fell through.

To return to the year 1862. The French conquered the province of Bienhoa in Anam, and six provinces in Cochin China. These have been ceded to France by treaty. A new commercial treaty was formed with Prussia August 2d. There was much suffering in the manufacturing districts of Southern France on account of the scarcity of cotton, owing to the civil war in America.

In 1863 we notice these events: Commercial treaty with Italy. Revolt in Anam crushed. The Spanish frontier was established by treaty. The emperor proposes a conference of the European powers on the questions of the day, November 9th, but England refuses to join, November 25th. There is a growing opposition to the government all the while, and many liberal members are elected to the legislature.

In 1864 we record a treaty with Japan; a commercial treaty with Switzerland; a convention with Italy in regard to the evacuation of Rome. The



Defeat of Bazaine at the battle of Mars-La-Tour by the Prussians, August 16th, 1870.
E. Hünten. Page 342.

Mexican empire was established with Maximilian of Austria as its head. In the year 1865 a treaty was made with Sweden, the emperor Louis Napoleon made a visit to Algeria, and the British fleet came upon a friendly visit to Cherbourg and Brest. A return visit was made by the French fleet to Portsmouth, and the Spanish queen visited the emperor at Biarritz. An extensive feeling of alarm was produced in Europe in 1866, by the declaration of Louis Napoleon that he detested the treaties of 1815. He then proposed a peace conference with England and Russia, aiming at a settlement of the difficulties between Austria and Italy, but Russia refused to join it. France declares a watchful neutrality as to the German-Italian war. The Emperor Napoleon demanded of Prussia a cession of a part of the Rhine provinces, and was refused in August. Austria cedes Venetia to France, who transfers it to Italy. The French occupation of Rome terminated December 11th.

The great exposition of Paris was opened April 1st, 1867, and consisted of the industrial arts of all nations. Many foreign visitors were present, and the awards were distributed by the emperor. By a treaty adopted at London, 1867, the fortress at Luxemburg was demolished and the Prussian troops were removed. Extensive riots broke out in Bordeaux and Paris during the months of March and June, 1868, but they were quickly suppressed. In the year of 1869 the elections resulted in returning a large number of radical members. Louis Napoleon granted to his people several concessions, but the great national event of the year was the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Napoleon Bonaparte, which was celebrated in great splendor in all parts of the empire August 15th.

The result of an appeal to the French nation in a plebiscitum, May 8th, was not altogether satisfactory to the emperor, and the presence of fifty thousand dissenting votes in the army was especially indicative of danger. The emperor saw at once that he must find some great foreign question to unite the people or he would hold his power upon them by a very slight tenure. The Franco-Prussian war was therefore inaugurated, and an easy pretext was found. The French had ill-brooked the growing German power, and had not forgotten the former defeats at her hands. Napoleon therefore rushed rashly into a war for which he *was not* prepared, to find that his antagonist was fully ready to cope with him and choose his own ground. The long threatened rupture came in 1870. On the 4th of July of that year the provisional government of Spain had elected Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, a relation of William of Prussia, to fill the vacant throne. The French press claimed to see in this that they were threatened with a re-establishment of the empire of Charles V. in favor of Prussia. Leopold resigned; but this did not satisfy the French, and the government demanded an assurance that Prussia should at no future time sanction his claims. King William refused to give this assurance, and France declared war. Contrary to general expectation, the southern German States united with Prussia and the northern States, and placed their armies at the disposal of Prussia.

At once the two armies began to gather. Napoleon lost two weeks of

August in delays after the declaration of war. His army was not so thoroughly organized as he thought, and so instead of marching on to Berlin he never crossed the Rhine. August 2d the French gained some trifling success at Saarback, but a brilliant victory of the crown prince of Prussia at Weisenburg on the 4th was followed by another victory of Werth over the French two days later, in which MacMahon lost four thousand prisoners and was driven toward Metz. Another French force was defeated on the same day at Specheren and lost twenty-five hundred prisoners. The Prussians occupied Nancy on the 14th, and on the 16th the French, under Bazaine, were driven back on Mars-la-Tour. The king of Prussia commanded in person at the battle of Gravelotte on the 18th, and although the German army suffered very heavily it was finally victorious, and Bazaine was shut up in Mentz. In three days the French had lost, in killed alone, twelve thousand men. Napoleon and Marshal MacMahon in vain attempted to come to the relief of Bazaine. They were surrounded and defeated at Sedan with heavy loss. The emperor surrendered with his whole army of about ninety thousand men, and was sent a prisoner to Germany September 2d. The Prussian army reached Paris on the 19th, and began a vigorous siege. After a severe bombardment, Strasburg surrendered on the 27th. The next day Bazaine surrendered the city of Metz with his army of six thousand officers and one hundred and seventy-three thousand men, four hundred pieces of artillery, one hundred mitrailleuses, and sixty eagles. Verdun capitulated on November 8th, Thornville on the 24th, and several other places of lesser importance followed.

## XXVII

# THE NEW REPUBLIC.

THE provisional government of France made great efforts to raise armies and relieve Paris, but with the exception of a little success on the Loire they met with nothing but defeat. In the battles in the forest of Orleans and that of Le Muns January 12th, the Prussians took thirty thousand prisoners. Finally Paris surrendered on January 29th. The French army of the east, eighty thousand strong, was obliged to retire to Switzerland on the 31st. The peace was declared, but France was compelled to pay an indemnity awarding $1,000,000,000, and cede the province of Alsace and the German part of Lorraine to Prussia. One great result of the war was the confederation of the German States and the elevation of King William to be emperor of Germany.

In January, 1871, the united efforts of the "provisional government of defense," respectively installed at Paris and Tours, brought about an armistice after Paris had been invested four months. The French nation now proceeded to a general election of representatives to provide for the exigencies of the case. The first assembly met at Bordeaux in February. They secured the resignation of the provisional government and began at once to form a republic. M. Thiers was nominated chief of the executive power of the State with the title of president. The responsibility rested with the assembly. The enormous war indemnity was finally liquidated in September, 1873, and then the last remnant of foreign troops was removed from the soil of France.

In the spring of 1871 the peace of Paris was seriously threatened by a successful outbreak of the communists, and a great amount of bloodshed and grievous damage was done to public and private property. But this insurrection was put down by the regular army, which had taken the side of the government, and May 20th order was completely restored in Paris. France at once began to recuperate, and gradually the disasters of the war were obliterated. Commerce, manufactures and agriculture revived, and an era of national prosperity set in. The ex-emperor died at Chiselhurst, England, in March, 1872.

On the 24th day of May, 1873, M. Thiers resigned his office, and Marshal MacMahon was elected in his stead. The new president soon after had the

power conferred on him for seven years. His sympathies were conservative, and in 1877 he was suspected of revolutionary designs. But during his term of office the republican form of government was greatly consolidated, and secured more and more the confidence of the nation and the world. In 1875, the legislative body was reorganized and two chambers were appointed. The same year a charter was granted for the construction of a tunnel under the Channel. The legislature of two chambers began its session March 7th, 1876. M. Thiers died September 3d, 1877. There was an extensive international exposition in Paris in 1878 which was very successful. In January, 1879, Marshal MacMahon resigned the presidency of the republic, and was succeeded by M. Grèvy, a thoroughgoing but not extreme republican : he had never been a blind partisan, and consequently enjoyed the respect and confidence of the nation.

He was born at Vandrez in the Jura August 15th, 1813; he adopted the profession of law and became an advocate in Paris. He was engaged in the revolution of 1830 and in 1848 was a member of the constituent assembly. In 1852 he retired from politics and resumed the practice of law, but returned to the political arena in 1868.

The prince imperial, Eugene Louis Jean Joseph, son of Louis Napoleon, escaped from Sedan at the time of his father's capture and went to England. When the Zulu war broke out in 1879 he volunteered to go to South Africa, and was shot there while with a reconnoitering party, by a band of Zulus in ambush, in July of that year.

This melancholy incident made the war memorable, not only to England, but to Europe. The young French prince, Louis Napoleon, who had studied in English military schools, felt a strong desire to vary the somewhat mournful monotony of his life by taking part in the campaign. He was influenced in some measure by a desire to fight under the English flag; but it must be owned that he was influenced much more strongly by a wish to play to a French popular audience. He persuaded himself that it would greatly increase his chances of recovering the throne of France if he could exhibit himself to the eyes of the French public as a bold and brilliant young soldier. He therefore seized the opportunity of the Zulu campaign to offer his services, and attach himself as a volunteer to Lord Chelmsford's staff. During one of the episodes of the war he and some of his companions were surprised by a body of Zulus. Others escaped, but Prince Louis Napoleon was killed. The news of his death created a great shock in England. Every one was sorry for the young gallant life so uselessly thrown away. Still more deep was the regret felt for the position of the bereaved mother. Hardly has any history a tale more tragic than hers. So sudden and splendid an elevation, so brilliant a career, so complete a fall, such an accumulation of sorrow, is hardly equaled even in the story of Marie Antoinette. Now, in the autumn of her life, she was left absolutely alone. Youth, beauty, imperial throne, husband, son, all were gone. It was natural that considerations such as these should throw a halo of melancholy romance round the fate



Bismarck and Moltke dictating the terms of the surrender of Sedan.
A. Menzel. See page 342.

of the young prince, Louis Napoleon, and should rouse in that country an amount of sympathy which harsher critics condemned as sentimental, and even as maudlin. It must be admitted that the poor young prince fell in a quarrel which was not his, in which he had neither right nor duty to interfere, and which he had taken on himself with a purely personal and political motive. Princes in exile have many times borne arms in quarrels not their own. It is one of the privileges and one of the consolations of exile thus to be enabled to lend a helping hand to a foreign cause. But then the cause must be great and just; it must have some noble principle to inspire it. When the Orleanist princes fought under the flag of the United States, they were contending for a principle dear to the lovers of freedom in every country in the world, a principle which it is the part of a Frenchman as well as an American to sustain. But the Zulu war was not in any sense a war of principle. It was not even a national English war. It was not a war with which the English people had any sympathy whatever. It was not even a war of which the English government approved. For it is a strange peculiarity of this chapter of her history that the policy of Sir Bartle Frere and the war in Zululand were condemned by no one more strongly than by the members of her majesty's government in England. The dispatches sent out to Sir Bartle Frere were constantly dispatches of remonstrance and complaint, even of condemnation. When Prince Louis Napoleon, therefore, thrust himself into this quarrel, he withdrew himself from any just claim to general sympathy. Regret for the sudden extinction of a young life of promise was but natural, and that regret was freely given; but the verdict of the public remained unaltered. He had thrown away his life uselessly in a quarrel which brought no honor, and for a motive which was not unselfish and was not exalted. The death of the young prince imperial occurred June 1st. The ministry of M. Waddington resigned December 21st, 1879, and M. De Freycinet at once formed a new cabinet.

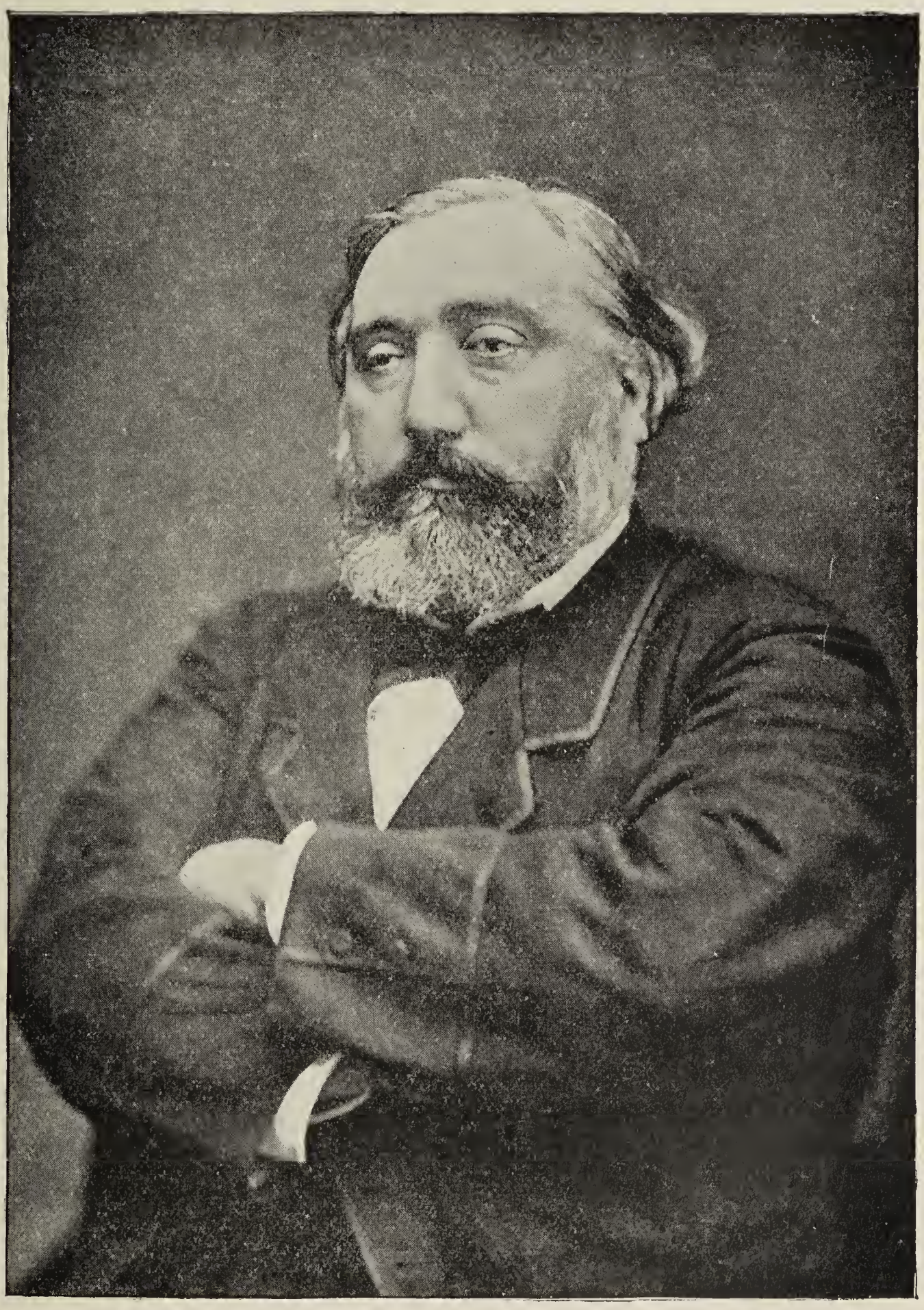
In the early part of 1880, France lost by death two of its renowned men. The first was Duc de Gramont. He had been a successful diplomat, and in 1870 he was minister of foreign affairs in the cabinet of Ollivier, but when M. Ollivier resigned he retired to private life. In 1873 he was made general of division under the republic, and in 1877 he became a commander in the legion of honor. The second man was Jules Favre, a French advocate and minister. He was born at Lyons on March 21st, 1809. He was prominent in the revolution of 1848, but when Napoleon III. executed his *coup d'état* in 1852 he retired from public life. In September, 1870, he became minister of war under the provisional government and carried on the negotiations with Bismarck, but he resigned his office in July, 1871, and resumed the practice of law. He was remarkable in political repartee, and had long been accustomed to public strife. At the session of the chambers in 1880 M. Gambetta was elected president of the chamber of deputies. The celebrated Ferry's education bill introduced into the chamber of deputies was rejected March

9th, 1880, but the decree to expel the Jesuits from France was passed by an overwhelming majority. Many protests to this decree were made from all parts of the republic and from Rome, but it was rigidly executed on June 30th of the same year. The religious orders were also suppressed by law. A general amnesty bill for all political offenses was passed the chambers July 3d. A new ministry was formed in September, 1880, with M. Jules Ferry at its head.

In the beginning of 1881 the municipal elections were favorable to the government, and a loan of forty million pounds sterling received bids for more than three times that amount. There was a long and heated discussion in the chambers upon the *scrutin de liste*, which began March 21st, and resulted in its rejection May 9th. The army of the republic invaded Tunis in April of this year, and on May 12th a treaty was signed with the bey, which gave France the virtual suzerainty of that country. Much excitement over this was manifested, especially in Italy, but the French senate ratified the treaty on the 23d of May. A grand reception was tendered to M. Gambetta at Cahors, May 25th. The autumn elections resulted in very large gains to the Republican party. The French troops occupied Tunis on October 10th, and in consequence of this and the popular elections M. Jules Ferry resigned, and a new ministry was formed with M. Gambetta as prime-minister. A financial conference of all the powers was held in Paris to decide upon the monetary value of the precious metals for coin, in 1881.

France was in the midst of her struggle with Tunis, with the English commercial treaty unsettled, and a general election just over. Troops were hurried into North Africa as soon as the elections were closed. After much suffering and further horrible massacres, the French at length occupied Kairwan, which proved the turning-point in the campaign, and the whole country was afterward gradually subjected to French arms. The result has been by no means altogether satisfactory, and the Enfida case, involving a question of disputed ownership between a French and English subject, was treated in the most overbearing manner, but by the firmness and tact of Lord Granville finally ended in a purchase by the French claimant on fair terms. In December, however, Europe may be said to have had its moral revenge. M. Rochefort having published the most disgraceful charges against M. Roustan, of acting under most questionable mercenary considerations, the latter was forced to bring an action for slander, which, on December 15th, resulted in his utter failure to obtain a verdict, and ultimately in his recall from Tunis, of which all Frenchmen had become heartily sick.

The fate of the treaty is inextricably mixed up with the shifting of French politics generally. After the elections, M. Gambetta was, by the voice of the country at large, called to the premiership. Under the free trade auspices of M. Gambetta hopeful progress was made; but when the French session again opened, on January 10th, Gambetta was already becoming unpopular. A few days later he submitted a programme for revising the French constitution under certain limitations by the chamber and senate in



**M. GAMBETTA.**
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congress. He proposed to adopt his old project of *scrutin de liste* for the chamber, giving to it also more, and the senate less, control over expenditure; also to modify the life-senatorships and widen the electoral basis of the senate. These propositions made enemies on all sides, and chiefly under the dread of a Gambetta dictatorship they were twice defeated at the end of January by heavy majorities, and M. Freycinet formed a new ministry, with M. Tirard as minister of commerce. The pronounced protectionism of the new minister brought concession to a standstill; it was found impossible to obtain any such reductions from the prohibitory French tariff as made a treaty worth having, and on February 23d M. Tirard finally announced that negotiations were broken off, and introduced a bill, giving to England simply the treatment of the most favored nation.

Still worse evils were to follow from the shifty character of French politics. So far back as February, 1881, an Egyptian colonel, named Achmet el Ourabi—later known as Ourabi, or Arabi Bey—had been imprisoned for insubordination, and rescued by his troops, the revolutionary offense being injudiciously let pass. On September 10th, Arabi, who had been sent away from Alexandria, ordered his regiment there, in defiance of orders. Cheriff Pasha, being then premier in Egypt, promised to disperse the mutinous troops, but failed; and a Turkish civil commission only led to Arabi again leaving the city, with an ovation and with many threats. At Christmas the Khedive opened the chamber of notables, and was well received; and on January 8th a joint dispatch was presented to him by the English and French representatives, stating that the two nations were resolved to maintain his authority. There is no doubt that M. Gambetta had formed a true view of the situation, and was disposed to act energetically with England to maintain order. Urged on by Arabi, the chamber began to dispute with the Anglo-French control, and the mutinous colonel got himself made under-minister of war; the porte added to the disorder by protesting against the joint note. In February Cheriff was forced to resign, and a new ministry formed under Mahmoud Sahmi, which at once made a large increase in the army and proclaimed a "constitution." The French controller resigned, and European officials were dismissed wholesale; and early in April, under pretense of a plot against himself, Arabi got all the Circassian officers in the army who opposed his influence condemned to death, procuring false evidence by torture. They were sent to Turkey instead by the combined influence of England and the porte, and the chamber dismissed; but later on, May 10th, the notables were again convened by Arabi, without the consent of the Khedive and against the law. Meantime the change of government in France had apparently paralyzed Anglo-French interference. A fidgety nervousness had taken the place of M. Gambetta's clear policy, and France would neither adopt any policy of her own nor consent to invoke the interference of Turkey as suzerain, which appeared to England and other powers the best solution of the difficulty. At length things became intolerable. On May 15th the French and English fleets were ordered to Alexandria, and ten days

later an identical note was handed in by the two powers, demanding that the military leaders should leave the country, allowing them, however, rank and pay. This was met by defiance as before; but England was still hampered by the reluctance of France either to act or allow Turkey to act; and when the latter sent Dervish Pasha as a commissioner on June 7th, there was a general hope that this measure would be successful. It turned out, however, that Dervish had brought an Ottoman decoration for Arabi; and on June 11th occurred savage anti-Christian riots in Alexandria, stirred up by Arabi and his prefect, in which over a hundred Europeans were killed. This helped to bring matters to a crisis, and England and France jointly proposed a European conference, which Turkey for long refused to join. It met without her on June 23d, but meantime, constant and fresh armaments by Arabi, in defiance of repeated protests and of the Sultan's own express commands, compelled Admiral Seymour to bombard the forts, when Arabi evacuated the town under cover of a flag of truce, intrenching himself some miles distant at Kafr-Dawar, and liberating the convicts already in jail for the massacre of a month before, to again massacre the Christians and fire the town, which was done with the utmost ferocity. Alexandria was now perforce occupied by England, and preparations for war were hurried on by the British government, while Arabi was formally deposed by proclamation of the khedive, now under British protection. Urged on by fear of impending British action, the porte on July 24th entered the conference, and accepted, though in an evasive manner, the invitation to interfere by force of arms, attempting, with no success, to make it a condition that England should retire. Meantime France had retired more and more from all action, till finally, at the end of July, M. Freycinet was actually refused by the chamber a small credit of £376,000 for guarding the Suez Canal. This led to the downfall of the ministry, and France was left without a government for more than a week, when a cabinet was formed by M. Duclerc August 7, 1882.

On the 27th of November the French steamer *Cambronne* was sunk in the British Channel by a collision, and fourteen lives were lost. On the 9th of December, Jean Joseph Louis Blanc, historian and radical, died at Cannes aged sixty-seven years. He was born at Madrid, October 28th, 1813, and before the revolution of 1848 had gained a European reputation as a radical writer; Louis Philippe said of his "*Revolution Francaise: Histoire de Dix Aus*, 1830–1840," that "it acted like a battering ram against the bulwarks of loyalty in France." It seemed as if he was to take a prominent part in the revolution of 1848, but he was accused to the government, and prosecuted for conspiracy, but made his escape to London, where he devoted his time to voluminous writing. On the fall of the empire in 1870 he returned to France, and in 1871 was a member of the chamber of deputies.

M. Gambetta died on January 1st, 1883, surrounded by his friends, at Ville D'Avray. While the remains of this eminent Frenchman were lying in state, M. Paul Deronlede had an unseemly quarrel with M. Meyer, the editor of the *Lanterne*, whom he accused of having insulted Gambetta.

High words ended in blows, and both were expelled from the mortuary chamber by the guard of honor.

M. Gambetta had been wounded by a pistol shot, and on account of persisting to resume his public duties against the advice of his physician had hastened his death. A magnificent funeral at the public expense was given the remains, and orations were delivered by MM. Duclerc, Challimel and Lacour. All the departments of government, as well as the bar and many other organizations, united to do him honor, while French patriots in other countries united on the same day, January 6th, to recognize the event with suitable ceremonies, and resolutions of condolence were passed. Gambetta was born at Cahorson October 30th, 1838, and was a member of a Genoese family. He was admitted to the bar at Paris in 1859, but his name did not come prominently before the public until 1868, when he appeared to defend certain political offenders and showed himself a determined enemy of the second empire. He was elected to the chamber of deputies in 1869, and May 5th, 1870, pronounced himself in favor of a republic. After the downfall of the empire at Sedan, he became minister of the interior and remained at Paris until it had been completely invested by the Germans. Then he escaped in a balloon and alighted at Amiens. He proceeded to Tours, where the provisional government had its seat, and was made minister of war. He assumed unlimited power and tried to stir up the provinces to defend Paris. At the general election to form a republic in 1871, he issued a decree that no officer of the second empire should take part in it, but at the instigation of Bismarck he modified the decree and resigned his office. He became a member of the chambers of Paris and was leader of the extreme left. By his impetuous and radical speech at Grenoble he caused a severe reaction in popular sentiment, which led to the retirement of M. Thiers In 1877 he was more moderate and conservative, and led the republicans in their triumph of that year. But he was twice prosecuted for too bold speech, and once condemned to imprisonment in that same year. When M. Grèvy became president of the republic in 1879 Gambetta was elected to the presidency of the chamber of deputies. He became prime-minister of France in October, 1881, which position he held until August, 1882, as we have already mentioned.

The death of the French statesman was followed by that of two of her prominent generals. The first was General Antoine Eugène Alfred Chanzy, who was buried with military honors at Chaloris on January 8th, 1883. He was born in 1823, and served as an apprentice in the navy, but in 1843 graduated from the Paris military school as sub-lieutenant of zouaves. He served with distinction in Algeria, Italy and Syria, and in a second war in Algeria. In 1868 he was made general of brigade, and in the early part of the Franco-Prussian war rose to be commander-in-chief of the second army of the Loire. He narrowly escaped death from the commune in 1870. In 1872 he was a member of the chambers, and December, 1875, was chosen senator for life. In 1878 he received the grand cross of the legion of honor.

On the same day that General Chanzy was buried his old comrade-in-arms, General Horise de Valdau, died in an apoplectic fit.

On January 16th, Prince Napoleon, commonly known as "Plon-Plon," was arrested in consequence of a manifesto which had been extensively circulated in Paris, and in which the claim was advanced that the Napoleonic inheritance should be restored to the family. He was imprisoned in the conciergerie, and the paper in which the manifesto first appeared was confiscated by government. The chambers approved this action by a vote of four hundred and seventeen to eighty-nine.

In an interview with a representative of the *Temps* Prince Napoleon denied that he had any desire to obtain personal power, and said that if the count of Chambord ascended the throne he would be the first to seize a musket and mount the barricades. He added that he wished to see a strong man at the head of the government and would support President Grèvy if he was chosen by the people. The prince declared the present government to be a failure. "Plon-Plon" made an unsuccessful attempt to escape when committed to the conciergerie. A bill was at once introduced into the chamber of deputies by M. Floquet, prohibiting the presence in France or Algeria of any member of former French dynastic families, and M. Fallieres, the minister of the interior, brought in a bill to suppress all future manifestations by French pretenders. On January 21st France made formal protest against the abolition of ducal control in Egypt and recalled M. Bredir, the French controller.

Paul Gustave Doré, the famous French painter and designer, died in Paris, January 23d. Doré was born at Strasburg January 6th, 1833, was educated at Paris, and in 1848 made his first public appearance as an artist with some pen and ink drawings sent to the salon. His paintings would have made him famous, but his world-wide reputation is based upon the illustrations he has furnished to many valuable books. He was a very prolific designer, and the wood engravers have done much to make him famous. Among the best known works illustrated by him are the Bible, Dante, La Fontaine's Fables, Don Quixote and Taine's Travels in the Pyrenees.

Some alarm was evinced in social and commercial circles by a visit of the ex-Empress Eugenie to Paris, January 23d, and the wildest rumors were in circulation that a Bonapartist demonstration was imminent. The bill of M. Fallieres, minister of the interior, was brought forward again, and by a vote of three hundred and forty-three to one hundred and sixty-three the M. Fabre compromise bill was passed, and at midnight January 31st–February 1st the chambers adjourned for one week. February 1st Prince Jerome Bonaparte was removed to the hospital on account of illness, and on the 5th the examining magistrate Benoit made an order sending him before the court upon an indictment for an attempt to overthrow the government.

On the 8th the report of the senate committee on the expulsion bill

referred to the unimportant incident which provoked the recent agitation, and declared that the republic is in no danger from the princes remaining in France. It adds that the bill could not effect the exile of the Count de Chambord, and concludes by asking the rejection of the measure by the senate. It was also reported that the Count de Chambord would issue a manifesto after the final adjournment of the chambers. There was held a meeting of communists, at which the following resolutions were unanimously passed: 1. The government is called upon to decree the immediate surrender to the nation of all the property real and personal now possessed by the thirty-three members of the Orleans family. 2. This act of preservation and justice is to be extended to the Bonaparte and Bourbon families. 3. The appropriation for the benefit of the nation of all the real and personal property of the Rothschild family. The adoption of the last resolution is particularly significant at the present juncture. After the prince comes the turn of private individuals.

Prince Napoleon and his son Louis went to London March 12, 1884, as was claimed by a certain Bonapartist newspaper to avoid the formal act of expulsion, intending to take up their residence in Brussels. The committee of the Chamber of Deputies unanimously rejected the senate expulsion bill, and negatived by a vote of six to five M. Barbey's bill. The committee then approved M. Floquet's proposal, which provided for the immediate expulsion of the members of families having reigned in France. The managing committee of the radicals left the democratic union, and the republican union have decided against the measure of M. Floquet and in favor of the proposals introduced by M. Barbey. Prince Napoleon has published a paper entitled *L'Appel du Peuple*, containing a copy of his recent manifesto. President Grèvy received an important and influential delegation of merchants and manufacturers, who presented a petition calling attention to the critical state of affairs caused by the ministerial crisis.

In the senate February 15th M. Denes, minister of justice, introduced the bill proposed by Senator Barbey rendering the princes liable to expulsion by the decree of the president of the republic. A motive for urgency was voted and the bill was at once referred to a committee, who made a report advising the rejection of Senator Barbey's substitute for the expulsion bill.

At a meeting of the cabinet, February 18th, President Grèvy accepted the resignation of the ministers, and it was officially announced that M. Ferry had been intrusted with the formation of the new ministry. M. Ferry assumed the post of minister of foreign affairs; M. Martin Feuille, minister of the interior; M. Waldeck Rosseau, minister of justice; M. Tirard, minister of finance; General Thibaudin, minister of war; M. Raynal, minister of public works; and M. Cochery, minister of posts and telegraphs. The republican union resolved to support a cabinet determined to use the existing laws against all pretenders.

In the spring of 1883 the French government became embroiled in complications both in Asia and Africa, which led to hostilities with the natives in both instances. An influential foothold had been gained in Cochin China, dating back to the time of the empire. In June, 1874, Phra Norodon was crowned as independent sovereign of Cambodia under the protectorate of France, and he acceeded to that country the right to establish a colony on the Makiang River, at a point where its four tributaries unite before entering into the China Sea. After this the French came to have considerable influence in the province, and regarded their colony as especially valuable. The king of Cochin China acknowledged the suzerainty of the emperor of China, but his vassalage was scarcely more than nominal. The monarch of this country, which had been increased by the addition of the province of Tonquin on the north, made a treaty with the French in 1874, by which three ports were opened to the commerce of Europe, and the integrity of Cochin China was assured.

On the 20th of March four thousand Annamite or Chinese troops attacked Hanoi, the capital of Tonquin, but were repulsed by the French, who had entered under the claim that the inability of the king of Annam to assure the security of Tonquin compelled France to definitely establish herself there. A letter from President M. Grévy advised the king not to resist the demand, but recognize the protectorate of France and its guarantee. Re-enforcements were dispatched from France, and two thousand troops set sail from Toulon for Tonquin in the early part of May. On the 26th of this month, as Captain Riviere was reconnoitering on the coast with a party of four hundred men, about two hundred and fifty miles from Hanoi, preparatory to landing other parties, he was attacked by a superior force, chiefly composed of pirates, and driven back with a loss of twenty-six killed and over fifty wounded. The troops subsequently reoccupied the positions. Additional troops were hurried forward from Saigon. M. de Brun, minister of marine, sent a telegram ordering the governor of Cochin China to notify the French troops that the chamber of deputies has unanimously passed the Tonquin credit, and that France will avenge her glorious children. Two additional iron-clads and a cruiser were ordered to proceed East directly. A dispatch from Hong Kong, dated May 27th, stated that China had taken a conciliatory attitude on the Tonquin question, but would maintain its right of suzerainty over Tonquin.

The complication in Africa arose from a demand for the payment of sums due the French government from the kingdom of Madagascar. To accomplish this the French troops, in the latter part of May, bombarded Majunga, and after an engagement lasting six hours landed and carried several military posts which had been erected by the Hovason Sakalava territory in defiance of French rights. Admiral Pierre also occupied the Custom House at Majunga, thus securing the road and waterway leading to Tananarivo, the capital of the island. In Senegal a French column under Colonel Desbordes succeeding in driving the hostile natives back a distance of thirty-eight miles, and tranquillity was established on the left bank of the Niger.

## XXVIII.

# HOME ADMINISTRATION AND THE COLONIES.

THE discussion of the revision of the Constitution which had been adopted in 1875 when the reactionists were in the majority, came to an issue in 1884. The government felt impelled by fear of a disruption and the arraying of the advanced Republicans against it in the pending elections to bring forward a program of reform. This Constitution, it is true, recognized the principle of universal suffrage, but to place a check upon democracy, it provided for a Senate which had the power of veto upon the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate was elected by a very select body of electors and then additional senators to the number of one-third of those thus elected were chosen by the Senate itself to hold office for life. The smallest hamlet had the same representation as the entire city of Paris. M. Ferry introduced into the Chamber of Deputies a bill modifying this constitution of the Senate which was at variance with republican ideas. The scheme of revision proposed to do away with life senators and fill their seats at death with those who had been elected for nine years. The number of senators was also to bear a certain ratio to the number of inhabitants of the municipality represented by them. To prevent the possibility of a dead-lock between the two houses the Senate was to have a suspensive veto over measures passed by the Chamber of Deputies instead of the power of absolute rejection. The bill thus introduced was discussed from May 24 to July 3. The clauses doing away with life senatorship and declaring the republican form of government were agreed to but other revisions were stricken out. The congress which met at the Palace of Versailles August 4, adopted the modified bill and adjourned August 13. The Senate began the debate upon its reorganization, November 4, and sent it to the Chamber of Deputies, where it was amended, but M. Ferry made the rejection of the amendment a government question, after which the deputies passed the bill with a vote of confidence by a majority of fifty-three.

The first senatorial elections of one-third of the members, under the new revision, occurred January 25, 1885. There were eighty-seven seats to be filled and the result was favorable to republicanism, giving the Ministerial Left a clear majority and depriving the Left Center of the casting vote.

France in 1882 laid claim to a protectorate over the Kingdom of Annam and especially over the province of Tonquin, basing the same upon a treaty which had been made with that government in 1874. The people of Tonquin resented the claim, especially as the Empire of China asserted suzerainty over the same territory. France attempted to enforce the treaty by military force and was stoutly resisted by the Black Flags, a force of Chinese guerrillas settled in the northern portion. After continued operations and much sacrifice the Black Flags were forced to the extreme north and the Chinese government agreed to a provisionary treaty in which the protectorate of France was acknowledged and the Chinese claims of effective suzerainty were withdrawn. Certain points in Tonquin which were garrisoned by Chinese troops were to be given up to the French. But when the French troops came to occupy Langson, one of the points in question, a severe conflict arose with the garrison stationed there. The Republic demanded apology and indemnity, but the Chinese government denied that its officers had done wrong and reasserted its claims over Tonquin. Whereupon France began a series of reprisals and her naval squadron bombarded the arsenal of Foochow, captured Kelung and proclaimed a blockade of the ports of Formosa. During the progress of the war in the early part of 1883, the King of Annam died and a treaty was concluded with his successor acknowledging the French protectorate and giving France the control of the province of Tonquin. This treaty was ratified August 21, 1883, and confirmed by the convention of June 6, 1884. The Chinese government however held several strong positions in the northern portion of Tonquin and the French were forced to retire from the hill country in December, 1884. The attempted descent of the Chinese forces into the delta had been checked by a desperate battle in which the entire available forces of the French were engaged. The stronghold of Kep, or Lang-Kep, fell into the hands of the French. This position was on the main road to Langson, the entrance to the hill country. The battle lasted for nearly two days, in which the Chinese displayed great improvement in order and discipline, and were found to be armed with modern rifles of German manufacture. A detachment of Chinese troops which had been sent to flank the French forces was defeated at Chu, fifty-three miles east of Kep. Near the end of January, 1885, a force of 6,000 French troops were concentrated at Kep and Chu, preparing to make an attack on Langson. January 30, General de Negrier, commander of the advanced column, ascended from Kep in a balloon and reconnoitred the position of the enemy, in the direction of Phu-Lang-Tung. Leaving his balloon to float in the air he embarked with his troops and effected a union with the forces of General Briere de l'Isle at Chu. February 2 the two generals set out with their forces from Chu and after several hard contests with the enemy at their entrenched positions succeeded in capturing and holding Dong-Son at noon February 6. Thirty-six fortresses had been taken with large stores of provisions and gunpowder. Resting here for four days, the column moved forward on the 10th, while the Chinese retreated before them and took up a strong position upon the hills in the front

of Langson, where they concentrated a large force. The battle on the 12th resulted in a victory for the French, who marched into the city on the next day. Several severe engagements followed at different points until the middle of March, when 2,500 fresh troops arrived from Europe, making the entire number of French in Tonquin at least 25,000. The repeated victories, however, were barren of results and this gave rise to severe criticism at home. March 24, the French were checked in their operations near the frontier of China, for that government seemed to be able to pour down upon the French an immense horde of men to take the place of those who had fallen.

March 27, 1885, a great mass of Chinese troops advanced in three columns and attacked the French position with impetuosity. The general in command of the French was severely wounded in the early part of the engagement and Colonel Herbinger succeeded him. This officer fearing that his ammunition would run short ordered a retreat and fell back on Dong-Son. The general-in-chief, Briere de l'Isle sent all his available force forward to Kep and Chu, where he found the situation more favorable than he had supposed. Colonel Herbinger after two slight engagements evacuated Dong-Son and March 30 retreated to Kep and Chu. The general, thinking that the evacuation of the two strongholds was too precipitate and the latter inexcusable, suspended him and put Colonel Desbordes in his place. Colonel Herbinger was sent home for trial, but acquitted on the ground of the new and sudden responsibility thrust upon him. When the news of this disaster reached France it caused the downfall of the ministry of M. Ferry. One of M. Ferry's last official acts was to charter nine steamers to transport the 8,000 troops to Tonquin which were to embark April 12th.

General Campenon, Minister of War, had resigned January 4th, because the Cabinet extended the operations against China beyond the Tonquin delta, thus weakening the army for the defence of France by sending out re-inforcements. General Lewal accepted the portfolio and the charge of military operations, which had been under the control of the Minister of the Navy, was assigned to him. This war had never been popular in France and the news of the disaster to the French arms at Langson caused the accusation that M. Ferry was withholding information from the public. Attacks were made upon the government and the Republicans did not dare to recognize him as their leader. When he asked for an extraordinary credit to continue the war, M. Clemenceau declared that he had not ministers before him but "accused persons," and said that succor must be sent to the soldiers fighting against great odds, but "there must be ministers who would speak the truth." M. Ferry's request was refused by a vote of 308 to 161, upon which he announced that the cabinet would hand in their resignations to the President. A new cabinet was formed April 5, 1885, and on the very day on which they accepted office the ministers were informed that preliminaries of peace had been signed with the Chinese plenipotentiaries. But in order that they might be prepared in event that there

was any deception in regard to a peace which had been obtained in a manner so irregular they asked a war credit of one hundred and fifty million francs.

General Campenon, who resumed the portfolio of Minister of War in the new cabinet, was prepared to prosecute with vigor the occupation of Tonquin and avenge the disaster to the French arms.

M. Brisson, the president of the cabinet, had not been aware that secret negotiations for peace had been going on in Paris because M. Grèvy did not wish to embarrass the new ministry by asking them to deal with so complicated and doubtful a matter as that which had been entertained by M. Ferry, and he also feared that new complications and interruptions might arise which would cause the loss of all chances for peace. He therefore appointed M. Billot to deal with the Chinese plenipotentiaries. Before the credit which had been asked for by the new cabinet had been voted the agreement had been ratified and the gradual evacuation of the Tonquin had been ordered by the Chinese government. General Briere de l'Isle received notice of the conclusion of peace on April 10, and sent emissaries to notify the Chinese, but before they arrived the military mandarins who had not received their orders from Peking had ordered an attack upon Kep. This attack was repelled and the force of 2,000 men were driven back beyond Bac-Le. The same day French gunboats were attacked on the Black River and the Chinese were routed by the garrison of Hung Hoa. Neither party in the field welcomed the cessation of hostilities, but on May 5 the Chinese evacuated Langson and within twenty days they retired from the province of Tonquin. The French had much difficulty with the Black Flags and their commander, Luh-Vinh-Phuoc, who recommenced their disturbances after the withdrawal of the Chinese forces. The government had appointed General Courcy to the chief command in Tonquin, and had formed two divisions for active service in that country, and a third to remain in the south of France as a reserve ready to sail at command. This general assumed command June 1, 1885.

In the preliminaries of peace and the final disposition of the subject the chief difficulty arose over the question of the claim of China to surzerainty over the Kingdom of Annam. This was treated in a vague phrase which left the historical and sentimental claim exactly as it had been, at the same time permitting France to exercise her protectorate with a free hand. The new treaty was executed June 9, 1885, and was based on the convention of Tientsin of June 11, 1884, which had been ratified by imperial decree April 10, 1885. Order was to be restored on the border of China and Tonquin, each agreeing not to cross the line. China promised to expel the bands of freebooters that were in her territory and those which might attempt to form, but not to send troops into Tonquin. She would not interfere with any treaties or conventions that might be concluded between France and Annam. These and other regulations in regard to residence and commerce and custom duties were embraced in the treaty.

General Courcy arrived in Tonquin while this evacuation of Tonquin by the Chinese troops was going forward. He had considerable trouble with

the Black Flags but, leaving the greater part of his forces to attend to this matter, he proceeded to Hue to present his credentials as French resident at the Annamite capital, and assume the practical protectorate. July 2, 1885, he established his residence at the official town in the house of the French legation, and quartered his troops across the river several thousand yards away and near the native soldiers. Not fearing any danger, he neglected the precaution to strengthen his position and was careless about sentry posts. On the same night the entire Annamite garrison attacked the French and burned the straw huts in which they were quartered. The French soldiers lost their personal effects, but held their ground and saved their provisions and ammunition. At dawn they charged the cowardly Annamite soldiers and left 1,200 to 1,600 dead on the field. The general took possession of the citadel, and became master of the town. He then seized the person of the Regent, Thuang, and induced him to sign a manifesto denouncing the ministry which had plotted this revolt, and respectfully summoning the King and Queen who had fled, to return to the place. The vast treasures in the royal treasury were guarded by French Zouaves, and flying squadrons were sent in search of Thuyet, the prime minister. He was at Camlo, where he detained the person of the King. The Queen-mother and the princes of the blood returned to Hue, but Thoxman, uncle to King Tu Duc, was appointed sole regent by the royal family until the return of the King. A new council friendly to the French was organized, and an order issued directing all officials to assist in restoring tranquility and to punish rebels and marauders. Thuyet and his insurgent troops were cut off from entering Tonquin in order to join the Black Flags. A military commission was sent out from France to reorganize the army of Annam. The King Tu Duc was dethroned and was succeeded by his adopted son Chaul Mong, who was the fourth King "devoted to the interests of France," put upon the throne in three years.

In addition to the protectorate over Annam, the French had within a few years assumed protectorates over territory in other parts of Asia, Africa, South America and Oceania, some of which had caused her large expenditures of money and life. All the while the question of the recovery of the Rhenish provincies of Alsace-Lorrain, which had been lost in the war with Germany, kept continually arising. In the debates between M. Clémenceau and M. Ferry the former said: "A nation whose frontier has been weakened should not scatter its forces over the globe." The anti-German sentiment was fostered by a patriotic league which selected a resident of Alsace for one of its officers. He was a distinguished French diplomat and historian by the name of M. Rothan. Although he had been chosen against his will the authorities of Strasburg expelled him from the province, in August, 1885.

The election of President of the Republic occurred December 28, 1885, and resulted in the reelection of M. Grévy, who had been first elected in 1879. The Right had proposed to defer this election until the seats vacant in the Chamber of Deputies had been filled, but the Republicans supported the President, who ruled that the congress was only empowered to elect a presi-

dent and not to consider a motion of such a character. A turbulent scene of two hours' duration ensued and the attempt of the Monarchists to cause disturbance and discredit the proceedings only served to check the reaction which had set in against the Republic at the failure of M. Ferry's policy in Tonquin and the discovery of the immense deficit that had grown out of the war in Annam. In the supplementary elections the Republicans had been generally successful. The extraordinary session of the Assembly had closed on the day after the presidential election. Upon his entry on his new term of office M. Grèvy had followed the custom and pardoned all political offenders. Prince Krapotkine and Louise Michel had thus gained their liberty.

The Brisson cabinet, which had only been formed after the defeat of M. Ferry to bridge over the time of the elections, suffered a substantial defeat December 24, when the demand of credit for Tonquin and Madagascar was carried by only four votes in the Chamber of Deputies. On the last day of the session M. Brisson and his cabinet handed in their resignations. A new ministry was formed with M. de Freycinet as President and Minister of Foreign Affairs. This new cabinet was variously designated as "the long desired reform ministry," or as the "working cabinet," and in derision on account of its composition as "Noah's Ark." The peaceful policy in Tonquin was begun by the recall of General Courcy and the appointment of Paul Bert as civil governor. M. de Freycinet announced that the protectorate over Annam and Madagascar would rest on a simple basis and the other ministers promised great retrenchments in their departments, while the Minister of Commerce and Industry proposed an exposition in 1889 to commemorate the Revolution of 1789 to show the world the progress that had taken place since that date.

The legislative session began January 12, 1886, and at once their attention was taken up with questions pertaining to the affairs of Tonquin and Algeria. The Radicals united with the Reactionists and voted for the motion of M. Rochefort in favor of granting a general amnesty to all political offenders, and the revolters in Algeria carried the motion against the government by a majority of three. But the Radicals afterwards repented of their bargain, and the measure was defeated February 6. The proposition of M. Michelin to investigate the cause of the Tonquin complications, which also involved the impeachment of M. Ferry, was introduced February 8, and was lost in the Chamber only by the earnest defense of M. de Freycinet, who contended that the expedition arose from the action of a previous cabinet which had been approved by the Chambers every year since the time of the Broglie ministry. The same day the Senate passed the clause of the new school act forbidding the employment of members of religious orders as teachers in the state schools.

A severe strike which lasted for half of the year was begun at Decazeville, January 26, which involved the question of the employment of three thousand miners. The engineer in charge of the mines, named Watrin, was killed by a mob that contained one thousand persons, and the directors of the company appealed to the government to protect their property. The advo-

cates of the rights of labor took up the cause of the strikers. On the 11th of February the Extreme Left brought forward the labor question in the Chamber, and a Socialist, by the name of Basly, defended the murder of Watrin, and demanded that the government should let the accused persons go free and compel the company to acceed to the demands of the miners. As many as 188 deputies voted for the resolution. M. Camelinet introduced a motion declaring the charter of the Decazeville company forfeited, because it had ceased operations in consequence of the strike. This met with the approval of the Minister of Public Works, but as he was unable to gain over his colleagues to this view the resolution was lost. This was on March 13, and for two days a bitter discussion went on, when the government and the Chamber agreed to an order of the day expressing confidence that legislation on the subject of the mines would be introduced to provide for the amelioration and protection of the rights of the laborers as well as those of the State. The mine owners declared that rather than acceed to the demands of the men they would close the mines. The Council of Paris voted to aid the destitute strikers with ten thousand francs, which action was followed by other cities. After some time of inaction the government sent troops to the threatened districts. Three laborers were convicted to short terms of imprisonment March 8, and two journalists, Roche and Duc-Quercy, who had encouraged the strikers, were arrested. They were condemned and sent to prison for fifteen months. This conviction gained for Roche the nomination for the vacancy in the Chamber of Deputies caused by the resignation of Rochefort. He received 100,000 votes. The ringleaders in the riots which caused the death of Watrin were condemned to long terms of imprisonment. A compromise between the miners and the company was effected June 10, 1886.

The next difficulty that confronted the government was in connection with the bill for the banishment of all members of houses that had reigned in France prior to the establishment of the Republic. Orleanist princesses had married with members of European reigning families and the Count of Paris had set up a kind of court, in consequence of which the rumor that a revolutionary government had been set up awakened the suspicion of the Republicans. The marriage of the daughter of the Count of Paris to the Crown-Prince of Portugal and the demonstrations that followed left no doubt that the head of the Bourbons had set up as a pretender. A bill for the expulsion of the princess passed the Senate June 22, and the Count of Paris awaited the notice at his castle of Eu, where a crowd of sympathizers, among whom were 150 deputies, had gathered to manifest indignation and pay homage to their future King. A manifesto was published by Philip, Count of Paris, on June 24, the day he departed from Chateau d'Eu, in which he said, "I have confidence in France. At the decisive hour, I shall be ready." On this same day Prince Napoleon left for Geneva, while his son and rival, after making a speech to ten thousand sympathizers, took the train for Brussels.

The Duc d'Aumale was not included in this act of expulsion, but his com-

mission in the army was cancelled. He therefore wrote to President Grévy denying that he had any power to do this and appealed to the officers of the army to sustain him. General Boulanger, Minister of War, replied that the claim that officers could only be cashiered by court-martial did not apply to Orleans princes, and Duc d'Aumale retorted that this sarcasm came with ill grace from an officer who had been indebted to him for his promotion. The Minister of War denied the indebtedness, but letters were published in the Royalist newspapers that expressed his gratitude to the Duc d'Aumale for his patronage which General Boulanger could not deny. An angry letter from the Duc to President Grèvy led to his expulsion by special decree. In October of that year the expelled Duc made a gift of his estates at Chantilly to the French Institute for a museum, reserving however an annuity during life. The gift including works of art and furniture was accepted and approved by the Council of State. Several members of the French nobility who held diplomatic positions at the principal continental courts resigned because of the expulsion of the princes.

Much distrust was awakened when a Radical like General Boulanger was made Minister of War, but his energy and practical sense as well as the brilliant success of the measures he introduced caused him to be very popular. He fought a duel on July 16 with Baron Larienty because of criticism in regard to the letter to the Duc d'Aumale which added to his popularity.

The bodies known as the Councils-General met in all the departments on August 16. Of these seventy-two were with the Republicans and only eleven with the Conservatives. Jules Ferry delivered a speech in the Council-General of the Vosges department appealing to the Royalists to abandon their false hope and take an active part in the politics of the Republic. The Radicals regarded the proposition as treason, but the Orleanist papers promised Ferry a truce if his party would bring about a return of the expelled princes. They with the Bonapartists carried on a vigorous campaign in the August elections in which they gained seven seats. The relation of the Councils-General to the national politics is remote and of importance only in case of revolution or the illegal dissolution of the Chambers. A ministerial crisis arose in October because of the attitude of the government towards a serious labor strike at Vierzon where the gendarmes were called out to quell the disturbance. A Socialist by the name of Baudin was arrested for leading the strikers. He was a member of the Council-General for the department. October 5, when the workmen who were wishing to work were returning from the factories, they were beset by a mob of 4,000 men and women. The gendarmes who protected the non-strikers were attacked and the mob was charged upon by a squadron of dragoons, and many were wounded. When the ministry was attacked in strong language for its policy, the Minister of the Interior, M. Sarrien, demanded a vote of approval which was denied. Whereupon he and five others sent in their resignations. October 19, the Radicals declared that the situation arose from a misunderstanding and the ministers retained their portfolios. The cabinet went out

of office however in December on account of the want of agreement between the Minister of Finance in relation to the imposition of increased taxes to make up the large demands of the annual budgets. The opposition demanded the abolition of certain useless offices and economy in expenditures. The proposition to abolish 360 sub-prefects was carried against the government on December 3, and the same evening the ministers sent in their reignations. On December 8 a new cabinet was formed with M. Goblet as Prime Minister, in which General Boulanger and three others of the former cabinet were retained. The budget could not be completed before the expiration of the session of the Chambers and the cabinet voted two months' expenditures on account.

The Goblet ministry was lacking in elements of strength and the programme for the raising of revenue which it presented did not meet the approval of the Chambers. The question of its displacement gave rise to much anxiety on account of the military situation. General Boulanger had prepared to increase the efficiency of the army and had constructed barracks on the German frontier where he proposed to mobilize the army. This had been followed by the alarming speech of Prince Bismarck in the German Reichstag and the increase of the army. The authorities of Germany had forbidden the export of horses, called out reserves and had commenced preparations on the French frontier that looked toward an invasion in the Spring. To abandon the policy of the Minister of War, or to remove him from office would appear to indicate fear. The minds of statesmen were perplexed, as indicated by the vote taken May 17, 1887, but the government was overthrown by a combination of the Reactionists, Republicans and 58 Moderates led by M. Ferry. A new ministry was constituted May 30 by M. Rouvier as President and "All Republicans, all patriots" were urged to help in the work of reconciliation. The Extremists who were left without representation in his cabinet demanded of M. Rouvier if he intended to govern with a Republican majority. This he affirmed and on a motion of want of confidence he received a majority of 285 against 139 in the Chamber of Deputies.

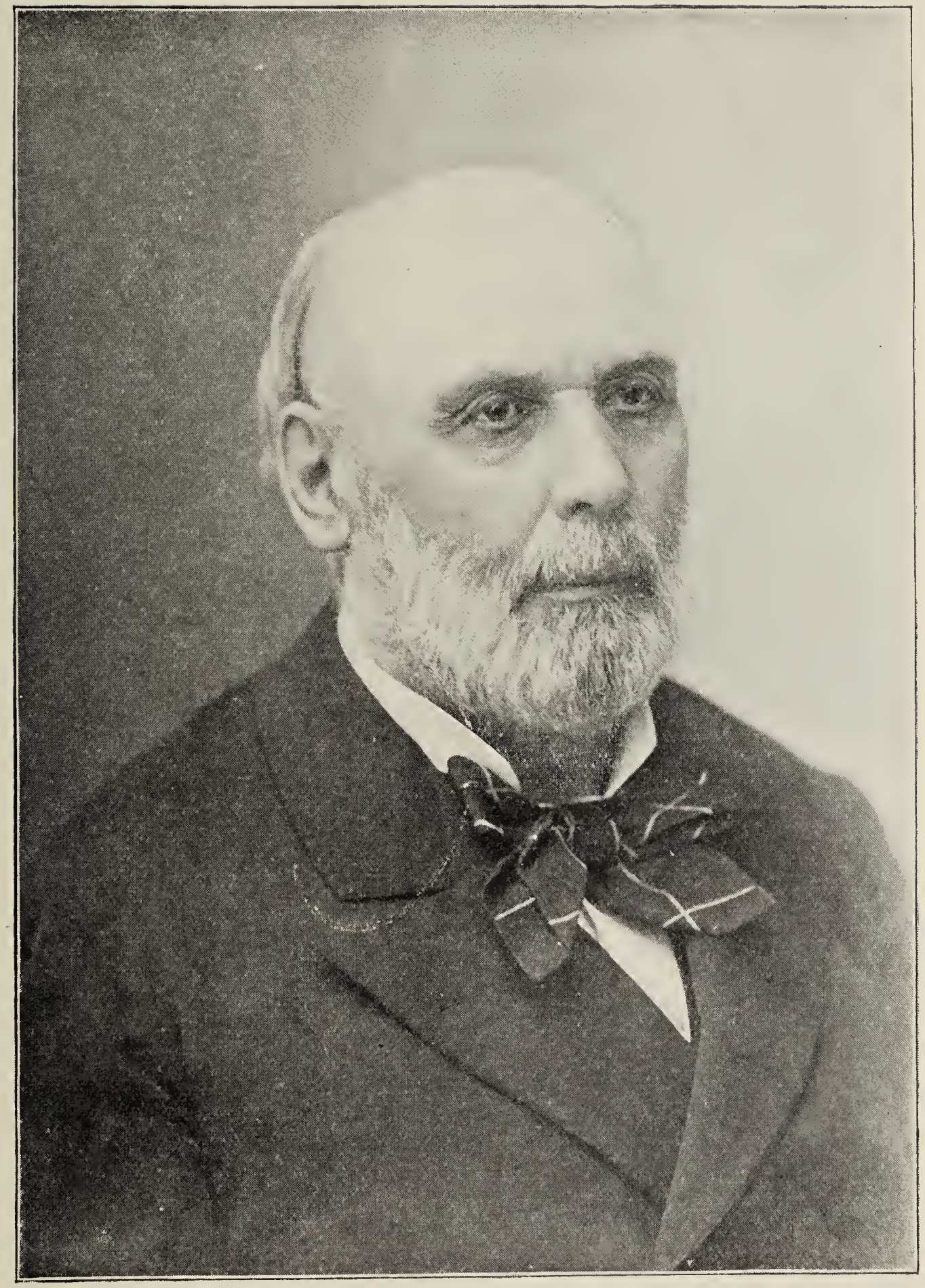
The military organization bill which had been prepared by General Boulanger was taken up by the new cabinet and in consequence General Saussier, commandant of Paris, who insisted upon its withdrawal, was succeeded by General Ferron as Minister of War. The debate began June 5 but in July the measure was abandoned by its friends, and the Chambers adjourned July 23 almost barren of any legislative results.

Upon retiring from office as Minister of War, General Boulanger had issued a farewell order to the troops contrary to precedent, which closed with the words: "I shall be the first to set you the example of two-fold discipline, at once military and republican." A grand military festival which he declined to attend was arranged for the retiring minister on May 31. Crowds gathered around the Opera, cheered for Boulanger and marched to the Ministry of War clamoring for his return. Troops appeared and drove the shouting and singing mob from the square. The general was assigned to the command of the

Clermont-Ferrand Army Corps and upon his departure for his new post received a noisy demonstration in the streets of Paris, at the station in Lyons and in the towns along his route. The Rouvier cabinet was charged with being under foreign pressure in the Chambers and this remark caused such an uproar that the Speaker tendered his resignation, which however was not accepted. There was intense ill feeling between Germany and France on account of the military and political situation which led to the expulsion of a large number of citizens of Alsace-Lorraine, among whom was a deputy in the German Reichstag named Antoine. A German officer decoyed a French functionary to the frontier and caused his arrest. Proof was adduced in military trials that General Boulanger had prepared an elaborate system of military intelligence that necessitated the service of paid agents in Germany. An official in the French war office was detected in giving up documents to an *attaché* of the German legation. Arrest of all alleged spies was made and the feeling was so intense that persons from Germany were not safe anywhere in France. After the retirement of General Boulanger the excitement gradually subsided.

After considerable diplomatic correspondence the mobilization of the French army which the former Minister of War had arranged to take place on the German frontier was changed to the frontier of Spain. The bills for this mobilization were issued on August 17 and the troops were concentrated in from two to six days and for ten days carried on their evolutions and manœuvres ending with a march to the border to repel a putative invader. A scandal involving the names of two French generals in connection with the sale of decorations of honor caused the trial and conviction of General Caffarel on the charge of dishonorable conduct and he was placed on the retired list at half pay. The other general, the Comte d'Andlan, senator and a man of considerable military and literary ability, fled from the country and was sentenced *in contumaciam*. General Boulanger charged the new Minister of War with pushing the investigation of General Caffarel with the intention of involving him in the scandal. General Farron thereupon ordered General Boulanger to hold himself in close confinement at his own house for thirty days.

M. Wilson, the son-in-law of the President, M. Grévy, was also involved in the scandal connected with the sale of decorations and another affecting the detective bureau. He was accused of making use of his official position to gain millions on the Bourse. Popular suspicion began to extend to his father-in-law, the President, with whom he lived, and when M. Wilson appeared before an assembly of his constituents to answer for his actions as deputy, he was asked to resign. A committee of the Chamber of Deputies began an investigation into his official conduct. Among the other delinquencies charged against him, was that of using the official stamp of the Elysees to forward his private letters and effects through the mail. He confessed to this charge and restored 40,000 francs to the postal authorities which he had thus withheld. During the pending investigation two letters which M.



**M. JULES GRÉVY.**

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Wilson had written, in which were sentences compromising M. Grévy, were missing. The prefect of police, M. Gragnon had taken them to the President, who threw them into the fire and ordered his son-in-law to rewrite them, omitting the offensive sentences. The original letters had been written in 1884 but the transcripts were written upon paper bearing a water-mark which had not been used until 1885. The trial of M. Wilson and the police officials occurred in December, 1887, but the accused were judged not guilty upon technical points solely. Popular opinion was aroused to such an extent by the discovery of the suppression and falsification of judicial evidence that M. Gragnon was dismissed from office and the Minister of Justice resigned, but M. Wilson refused to resign as deputy in order that he might be brought to criminal trial. A motion was made, that his immunity as a deputy be waived and M. Grévy threatened to resign as President if the vote to prosecute his son-in-law should pass. The vote was taken November 17 and unanimously carried. November 20 a vote directed against the President of 328 to 242 caused the resignation of the cabinet. M. Grévy declared that he would not yield to an unconstitutional agitation or to legislative pressure. He made several ineffectual attempts to form a cabinet, but every one to whom he appealed declined to attempt the task, and November 23 announced his intention to resign. He recalled M. Rouvier and the former cabinet, who consented to hold office only long enough to deliver his letter of resignation. November 26, he authorized M. Rouvier to announce his retirement, but the same afternoon recalled the note. He then authorized the Prime Minister to request the Chambers not to meet until December 1, when he would communicate with them. Excitement in Paris ran very high and many feared a *coup d'état* would lead to a revolution. The Chambers met December 1, to hear the promised message and M. Grévy informed the ministers that in view of the danger of insurrection and the popular demand from all parts of France he should not retire. The ministry resigned and the Chambers adjourned for two hours. They met and again adjourned in expectancy of the communication promised it. The next day, December 2, 1887, M. Grévy resigned and a congress to elect a new President was summoned to meet December 3. There was much rioting in the streets of Paris but the mobs were checked and finally put to flight by the vigilant troops. The Municipal Council met in the evening and passed a resolution against the election of M. Ferry. The friends of this gentleman had hoped to elect him but he withdrew as did also M. de Freycinet in favor of M. Sadi-Carnot, who was elected by 616 votes against 210 cast for other candidates.

The Rouvier cabinet again handed in their resignations, this time to the new President, and he had great difficulty in forming one, but finally an Opportunist cabinet was constituted with M. Tirard as Prime Minister. In President Carnot's inaugural, read to the Chambers December 13, he declares himself to be "one of the most modest servants of France" and appeals to the deputies to sustain his policy of progress, reconciliation and concord. There had been an attempt, by a desperate man seeking notoriety, on

the life of M. Ferry, but he escaped with only a slight wound from a revolver shot, December 10. The old fear of a Paris Commune and Central majority had been the controling motive in the formation of the Tirard cabinet.

There was fighting during the year 1887 in Tonquin. The French had been unsuccessful in two attempts in January to dislodge the rebel force from Than Hoa, but a few weeks later Colonel Brissaud captured a force in that district and by June the rebels had been driven into the remote districts. The delimination of the line between China and Tonquin had been completed by that time. A ministerial decree was issued in August fixing the tariff duties for Cochin-China, Cambodia, Annam and Tonquin. In Africa the French had made treaties with the chiefs of what was known as the Badiboo district. The British officers at Lagos led a force into this tract in April, 1887, and placed a chief friendly to them in authority, whereupon the French repelled him and reinstated their own favorite, and raised the flag of the Republic. The British advanced from Lagos, pulled down the French ensign and raised their own. Both governments then sent gunboats and higher officials into the country and began diplomatic correspondence over the subject. Sir Samuel Rowe, Governor of the British West African settlements, hoisted the English flag at several points on the Gambia River, but the French practically held possession of the country. A convention was concluded between France and the Congo Free State in April, 1887, which changed the original boundaries in favor of the former. Agreements were entered into between England and France deciding upon a line beyond which each should not operate against the other on the Somali coast.

The Tirard cabinet continued in power until March 30, 1888, when an adverse vote in favor of a revision of the Constitution was taken. The motion which led to the overthrow was made by M. Laguerre, leader of the faction of General Boulanger, which controlled only thirteen deputies. But Royalists and Bonapartists united with the faction led by M. Clemenceau, the cousin of Boulanger, who was now his opponent, supported the motion and it was carried by a vote of 268 to 234. These differing factions were committed to the revision of the Constitution from their several standpoints and thus united on the vote. The President of the Chamber, M. Floquet, was invited to form a cabinet and completed his list on April 3. The Premier had presided over the Chamber with much dignity and perfect impartiality, rebuking the Radicals who had wished to oppress their colleagues when they moved to hold a session on Good Friday, and openly condemning the vote in favor of revision. "Republican concentration" was the watchword of the new government and they asked in regard to the proposed revision of the Constitution to be intrusted with the duty of indicating the propititious time to begin a work of such importance which was destined to place the political organization in complete harmony with republican principles. In the first ballot for a President of the Chamber to succeed M. Floquet there was no election. In the second there was a tie vote between M.M. Meline and Clemenceau giving the election to the first by seniority in age.

After the Easter recess the Premier informed the Chamber that the cabinet desired strength to deal with pretenders, whether draping themselves in the flag or speaking in plebiscitary enigmas. He was challenged to say whether revision was indefinitely postponed and replied, asking the Chamber to wait until the demand for revision ceased to be a cloak for conspiring dictators or a Royalist snare. The order of the day was then carried by a vote of 379 to 177. The government was censured by the Senate for not dismissing the *mairie* of Carcassonne who had been convicted of an election fraud that was intended not to alter the result but to obviate a second ballot. On appeal to the Chamber a vote of confidence was passed by 326 to 173. Charges against the monks of a reformatory at Citeaux led to the passage of a bill to suppress all male religious orders, which the Senate defeated. The army bill which had been up for many years obliging universal military service was finally passed at this session.

General Boulanger had been presented as a candidate for the Chamber of Deputies in four departments while he was in military service, and the Minister of War sought an interview with him and after receiving his positive denial that he had personally taken any part in the election, ordered him to return to Clermont and take care that his friends should not use his name improperly. He soon broke his parole and was found in Paris by an army officer. He was relieved of his command and brought before a court-martial consisting of five generals, March 26, 1888. This was the occasion of demonstrations for and against him and while his trial was pending he was elected deputy from Aisne, but as he was ineligible he withdrew in favor of one of his partizans. At the trial he claimed that he came to Paris to visit his sick wife and again denied that he had personally taken part in the election canvass. He was confronted with telegrams in cipher which he had sent out, and could answer nothing. The court-martial unanimously condemned him and he was placed on the retired list. He could now openly take the field as a candidate for the department of Nord. All the enemies of the third republic supported him and he was intensely popular because of the reforms he had instituted when Minister of War. The common soldiers and the peasantry regarded him as the creator of the army and looked forward to the time when it would be able to avenge the disaster of Sedan. He called himself a democratic Republican, although his friends and backers were Bonapartists. He hinted at a revision of the Constitution on the model of that of the United States, in which the president should be elected by the people and the cabinet should be responsible to him and not to parliament. He was elected in the Nord by a majority of 100,000, and also in the Dardogne but took his seat as a deputy from the Nord department, June 4. He brought forward a motion for the dissolution of the Chamber, July 12, denouncing the existing Chamber and the government. The Premier replied in caustic terms and referred to him as a frequenter of vestibules who passed into antechambers. Boulanger retorted that M. Floquet had "impudently lied" and placed his resignation in the hands of the Speaker. A duel with swords followed in which

General Boulanger was wounded. This caused the soldier much humiliation because his antagonist had the reputation of being unskilled in its use. On August 19, he was a candidate for election in three departments, in all of which he was elected. After this political triumph he traveled incognito throughout Europe, while the whole continent was alarmed at the situation. But on October 24, he appeared before the Committee of Revision, having two days before taken his seat in the Chamber as deputy for Somme. There was at once a renewal of disquieting popular agitation and many collisions took place between Boulangists and anti-Boulangists. In October the police were ordered to seize pictures representiug him driving out the deputies as they were sold in the street, also portraits in uniform of the Comte de Paris and Prince Victor Bonaparte.

The entire summer of 1888 was one of unrest and agitation because of labor strikes of wide extent. These were largely instigated by revolutionist leaders. They began at the celebration of the Communist insurrection May 27. As a wreath was being deposited at the foot of the wall where the Communists were shot down by the Versailles troops an Anarchist named Lucus fired a shot at Rovellan who bore the wreath and wounded two Blanquists in the crowd. A fight ensued which was quelled by the police. July 25 there was a strike in the building trades of Paris which was begun by the workmen of the exhibition grounds at the Champs de Mars. By the 31st there had 9,812 names of strikers been enrolled at the Syndical chamber. The cutters joined the strike in August. The government announced that no interference would be permitted with the combination of strikers nor intimidation of laborers who desired to work. The agitation spread to the provinces. Disturbances accompanied with violence occurred at Amiens and at Calais. The funeral of General Eudes, which was to occur August 8, gave rise to two serious conflicts with the police, in which not only many Anarchist leaders but also spectators, even women and children, were wounded by the swords of the officers. The procession was to start from the Bourse de Travail, the rallying place of the strikers, but the government sent troops to close the hall and stop all the approaches. The joiners and cabinet-makers struck in sympathy August 13 and the workmen on the Eiffel tower also left work and did not resume until their demands were granted. A desperate fight with the police and the strikers took place at the coal mines of Treuiel on September 26.

The foreign relations of the republic were somewhat strained during the year 1888. The regulation adopted by the German government in regard to foreigners passing the French frontier into Alsace-Lorraine required that the passports should have the *visè* of the German embassy in Paris. This proved a great annoyance to travelers of all nationalities who entered Germany by that route, many of whom were stopped. Some of the German travelers were roughly treated by the inhabitants of the French border districts, which led to an attack by the German official press denouncing France as a "savage country," and calling upon other nations to treat her as an un-

civilized country. Two French correspondents were expelled from Berlin for writing to Paris matter that was insulting to high officials July 20. This gave rise to diplomatic correspondence between the two governments and popular feeling ran high upon both sides. The occupation of Tunis by the French had awakened the jealousy of Italy, and when the Triple Alliance between Italy, Austria and Germany was made public, the sensitiveness occasioned by the negotiations for a commercial treaty between France and Italy prevented a satisfactory conclusion and they were suspended from January until June. Before the negotiations were resumed another conflict with Italy arose over the question of taxes in the town of Massowah in Abyssinia which had been occupied by the Italian troops. The military governor had imposed a tax on traders and land proprietors on May 30 and followed this with a license tax on liquors and food on June 1. French merchants on advice of their government had refused to pay these taxes. Bitter correspondence followed and Italy appeared to be technically in the wrong, but the discussion gave Turkey a chance to renew the claim of suzerainty over the western coast of the Red Sea. Russia joined with France in the protest of the Porte. The affairs of the Panama Canal Company reached a desperate crisis in December of this year. M. de Lesseps had expended 1,400,000,000 francs upon this gigantic work and after repeated appeals the French chamber authorized a lottery loan June 8, which had failed to realize the expectations of the projectors and the company was obliged to suspend payments. The chamber refused to permit this suspension for three months and M. de Lesseps and his associates resigned from the administration of the company and the tribunal of the Seine appointed judicial liquidators December 14.

## TARIFF, ANARCHISTS AND MELINITE.

A new tariff system was inaugurated and the former treaties with Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Portugal, and the Netherlands, running to February, 1892, were denounced in order that these nations might enjoy the same rights as the countries under the most favored nation clause. England, Germany, Denmark, Russia and Austria, all had such a clause in their treaties with France. The United States was not included in this list, therefore a separate and special treaty had to be negotiated. This was opened by France demanding the application of the reciprocity clause of the American Tariff Act and offering that skins, sugar and molasses to the value of 100,000 francs per annum be admitted free into the United States, and in return American products of the same value be admitted free into France.

A council of labor was held in Paris, February 18, 1891, at which the Minister of Commerce, Jules Roche, presided. It recommended that a Bureau of Labor be constituted, modeled after that of the United States. This recommendation was approved by the cabinet.

Great precaution had been taken throughout France to prevent serious outbreaks of the anarchists on May 1. Cavalry patrolled the streets of Paris and 300 anarchists who had been arrested the day before were detained as

suspected persons. Cunningham Graham, a socialistic member of the British Parliament, attempted to lead a demonstration but was arrested. In Lyons the people resisted the police and stoned the cavalry, but were finally dispersed. In Marseilles a squadron of horse charged upon the crowd and broke up the demonstration in progress. Many arrests were made, among which was that of Deputy Antide Boyer. At Fourmies there was a strike of the miners, one half of whom left work, and a mob of 1,200, armed with sticks, attempted to release some of their companions who had been arrested in the morning for interfering with those who were willing to work. The troops charged with fixed bayonets and an entire regiment had to be called upon to quell the disturbance. Fourteen persons were killed and forty were wounded. Fresh strikes followed at Lyons, Bordeaux, Charlerille, and other places. The Chamber of Deputies, by an overwhelming majority, refused to investigate the Fourmies affair on the ground that it would be an insult to the army. The government seemed to have adopted a new policy upon the question; for at the beginning of the year a bill to regulate the labor of women and children in factories was introduced into the chambers, and ten hours was made the maximum length of a day's work. But to fix upon Sunday as a legal rest day was rejected. The twelve-hour law of 1848 was extended to railroad firemen, engineers, and signal-men, to employees on all omnibus and transportation lines chartered by state or municipality. Gerville Reache, a Deputy for Guadeloupe, charged the Minister of Marine with delivering melenite, or smokeless powder, to the Armstrong Company of England. M. Turpin, one of the inventors of picric acid, a base of melenite, and M. Tripone, captain in the territorial army, were arrested on the charge of treason in selling the secret of the composition of this destructive to a foreign firm. France had previously paid M. Turpin 251,000 francs for the secret of manufacturing picric acid and he was not to divulge it to anyone. M. Tripone, who had acted as agent for the Armstrong Company, obtained some real melenite and contracted with the firm to teach the process of manufacture. M. Fasselar, an officer, and M. Feuvier, an engineer, were implicated with him. Turpin pretended penitence and said that he had refused the offer of 750,000 francs from Germany and Italy for the secret. He had only told the Armstrong Company the process of making picric acid and he had accused Captain Tripone in 1889 and again in 1890, but could not sustain his charges by evidence. M. Turpin published a book giving the secret, and although he was arrested under the Spies Act, M. de Freycinet denied that this was the real melenite. A vote of confidence sustained the ministry by 338 to 137. The four culprits were tried, convicted, and sentenced to fine, imprisonment and loss of civic rights for five years. Captain Tripone in addition to this was exiled for ten years.

Cardinal Lavigerie proposed the abandonment of the Royalist's party and the formation of a Christian and conservative party within the republic and Pope Leo XIII. declared in an encyclical that the Holy See made no pretense to interfere with political systems. The Cardinal Archbishop of Paris

issued a letter to the French clergy in conformity with the letter of the Pope. This gave rise to a stormy scene in the Senate. The connection of General Boulanger in a plot for the restoration of the Orleanists was proved and his suicide immediately followed.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS AND LEGISLATION.

The foreign relations of the republic received a strain during the year. The Empress Dowager Friedrich of Germany visited Paris incognito for the purpose of settling an estate, and, while there, privately made overtures to certain French artists to take part in an international Art Exhibition at Berlin. Some of the artists accepted and others published their declination on patriotic grounds. The President of the French republic could not call upon the Empress Dowager because she had come incognito, but when she visited St. Cloud and Versailles certain patriotic demonstrations by the populace caused her to hastily leave for England. The German Emperor was highly incensed at this affront to his mother and retorted by rescinding the relaxation upon the passport system in Alsace and Lorraine. He, however, quickly retrieved his mistake and permitted the through trains on the railroads to pass without annoyance. July 16, 1891, M. Laur proposed a baseless question in the Chamber, which was sustained by a vote of 286-203, but the very next day M. de Freycinet demanded and received a vote of confidence, 319 to 103. July 23, the French fleet visited Cronstadt and were so cordially received by the Russian officers that there arose the rumor of an alliance between Russia and France. But the invitation of Queen Victoria for the French fleet to visit Portsmouth on returning from Russia was accepted. The speech of the German Emperor to his officers in which he referred to the first Napoleon as "a Corsician *parvenu*" caused an outbreak of popular feeling, and the production of Wagner's "Lohengrin" was made the occasion of anti-German demonstrations, but the excitement soon subsided.

The high protective tariff bill was finally passed January 7, 1892, by a vote of 394 to 114, and on the 11th the session closed. The new session by the amended Constitution met on the second Tuesday of January, the 12th. M. Floquet was re-elected President of the Chamber, and M. Royer of the Senate. On January 17 a bill on associations, the principal features of which were restrictions upon religious associations, was introduced. Such associations as are contrary to law, morality or public order, were to be suppressed. On January 19 an interpellation based upon serious newspaper attacks on M. Constans, the Minister of the Interior, was rejected. Owing to words spoken in the heat of debate the minister struck M. Laur a number of blows, and the President of the Chamber put on his hat and left the chair, thus closing the session. A reluctant challenge to fight a duel was sent to M. Constans by M. Laur, but it was declined and the affair ended. February 18 a motion of urgency on the Associations bill was offered by the Radicals, who feared that the government intended to withdraw the measure because of the conciliatory attitude of the Vatican. M. de Freycinet called for a vote

of confidence. The order of the day was rejected by a vote of 282 to 210, and M. de Freycinet at once announced the resignation of the cabinet. The new cabinet was formed by M. Loubet, February 28, and the ministerial declaration was read March 3. The defense of all the republican laws was put forth as the primary object, and the military bill was placed in the first rank. Priority was given in the legislative programme to the labor bills. The ministry was challenged to explain the negotiations with the Vatican, and M. Ribot, Minister of War, declared that there had been none, but that the pope's encyclical was spontaneous, and that his Holiness had expressed his intention to avoid political conflicts. The cabinet was sustained by a vote of 341 to 91. M. Ricard, the Minister of Justice and Worship, applied the laws against clerical activity in politics more vigorously than his predecessor. May 3, 1892, the pope published a second encyclical to the French cardinals, in which he declared that a republican form of government was as divinely sanctioned as a monarchy.

## ANARCHISTS AND THE PANAMA SCANDAL.

The anarchists were especially active during the year. There was a dynamite explosion at Faubourg St. Germain, Paris, March 1, in front of a house occupied by the Princess Sagan, and another on March 12, at the house of a judge who had presided at the trial of an anarchist. On March 15 there was still another at the Laban barracks. A bill was passed to punish with death any attempt to blow up edifices, dwellings, bridges, ships, boats, or vehicles of any kind. The theft of an amount of dynamite at Soissy-Sous Etoiles was being investigated when, on March 16, a cartridge was exploded against the door of the president of the criminal court, but the explosion of dynamite at Rue Clichy was the most destructive. This was supposed to be an attempt against the life of M. Bulot, the deputy public prosecutor. Many persons were injured, and the police at once expelled all foreign anarchists. Ravachol, an anarchist ringleader, avoided arrest until April 25, when he was identified by a waiter in a public restaurant and taken into custody. One hundred and twenty-two suspected persons were arrested. This ringleader, Ravachol, and another were tried and convicted April 27, and sent to the guilotine.

The Carmaux strike and the exaggerated rumors in connection with the Panama canal scandal led to the speedy overthrow of the Loubet ministry. The Chamber assembled after the summer recess on October 20. The Right accused the cabinet with laxity in dealing with the strikers, and the Radicals accused them of truckling to the employers. Several measures which were introduced by the government were voted down, but none of them of sufficient importance to warrant resignation. The sudden death of Baron de Reinach after the loss of certain incriminating documents led to the rumor of suicide, although the physician had given a certificate of death from natural causes. On November 28 the Minister of Justice was asked why an autopsy

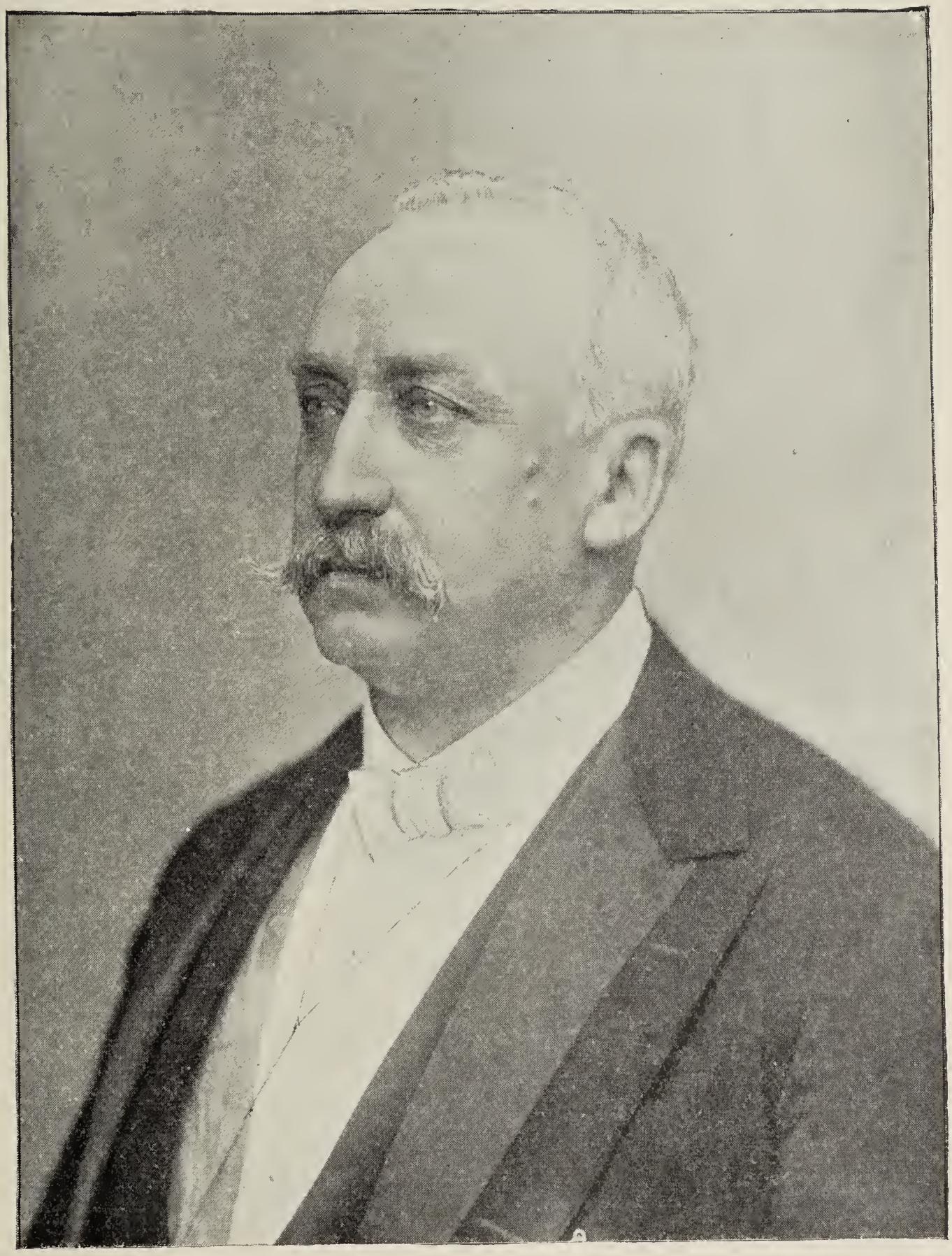
had not been ordered. M. Brisson introduced a resolution expressing regret that the authorities had not sealed the papers of Baron de Reinach. At once M. Loubet denied negligence, and when a vote of confidence was proposed demanded the order of the day, pure and simple. It was lost 304 to 219, and at once the resolution of M. Brisson was passed by 393 to 3. The cabinet promptly resigned, and M. Brisson attempted to form one which should sift the Panama scandal to the bottom, but he was not successful. The parliamentary commission of which he was president, continued their investigations through the ministerial crisis, but could accomplish little because the public prosecutor, M. Beauvepaire, would not produce the evidence and documents which had come into his possession against the company. December 5 a cabinet was formed by M. Ribot, and they decided to give the commission the evidence and the documents in the case, whereupon M. Beauvepaire resigned his office. Many of the checks of Baron Reinach were traced to deputies and senators, and the fact came out that on the eve of his death, M. Rouvier, the Minister of Finance, and M. Clemenceau had been with him and had endeavored as his friend to restrain and stop the severe newspaper attacks upon him. M. Rouvier resigned his portfolio, and a post mortem disclosed the fact that the Baron had died from poison. The portfolio of finance was given to Pierre Emmanuel Tirard, who had honorably held it twice before, and once been premier. Charles de Lesseps and others were arrested and committed without bail. One hundred and four deputies, a number of senators and ex-ministers of state were implicated in the charges of bribery. At the judicial investigation in January, 1893, Charles de Lesseps made a clean breast of his transactions, and claimed that he only was at fault and his fellow directors acted solely under his direction. The ex-minister, M. Rouvier, in the Chamber, defended his part in the affair. True bills on the charge of bribery were found against Charles de Lesseps and nine others. Two of the implicated persons had previously died. The trial for fraud of the president of the Panama Company, the aged and paralytic Ferdinand de Lesseps, and the other directors, ended February 9, and they were sentenced to fine and imprisonment. In the case of the aged father the imprisonment was remitted. He died November 7, 1894. The trial for bribery began March 8, and resulted in conviction. Charles de Lesseps was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, concurrent with the former sentence. At the end of 1893 the only prominent person left in prison as the result of these trials was M. Barhaut, former Minister of Public Works. Two members of the Ribot cabinet were forced to resign because of the result of the investigation, and a reconstruction followed on January 12. This cabinet was defeated on the budget question, and another one was gazetted on April 4, with M. Dupuy as premier. In the report on the Panama scandal M. Floquet and M. de Freycinet were exonerated, but M. Rouvier was blamed for receiving private money for public purposes. The legal existence of the next Chamber was extended to May 31, 1898, in order to have the general elections occur in the spring rather than in the autumn. This

year the elections came on August 20, and resulted in the disappearance of the Boulangist faction as a power in politics.

The visit of the Russian fleet at Toulon in return for the visit of the French fleet in 1891 was made the occasion for a magnificent demonstration of friendship. The Russian grand dukes visited President Carnot at Nancy and immediately after the arrival of the fleet, October 13, he sent a warm letter of thanks to the Czar to which the latter replied in formal phrase. When the two ships which had been dispatched to Constantinople to bear the compliments of the French navy to the Czar, then on a visit to that capital, arrived, they were received with marks of great courtesy. Chancellor Caprivi had accepted the rumor of a France-Russian understanding. The *Nachrichten*, the organ of Prince Bismarck said, "the triple alliance as such does not threaten Russia or her policy, but as soon as a suspicion arises that its influence is to be exercised for the defence of England's anti-Russian interests, Russia's resentment is aroused." The naval demonstration at Toulon was magnificent in the extreme. Russian and French flags were displayed entwined together on land and in the harbor. Admiral Avillan and sixty of his officers visited Paris conducted by the President of France and the president of the City Council. They were fêted by the French with balls, dinners and public demonstrations of esteem. Returning to Toulon they witnessed the launching of the war-ship, *Jauréguiberry* on October 27 and then sailed away.

## ASSASSINATION AND RESIGNATION.

The newly elected Chamber met November 14 and elected Casimir-Périer as its president. After several ineffectual attempts to constitute a cabinet M. Carnot asked Casimir-Périer to form one November 30. One week later he handed in his list and entered upon office. This new premier declared that France was equally adverse to reaction and to socialism. The socialists at once became the dominant element in the opposition, but the cabinet was sustained on all questions brought forward by them until May 22, 1894, when the socialists caused a defeat on the passage of the eight hour bill, and the discussion that arose in that connection. The Minister of Public Works was asked why he had issued an order refusing to allow the employees of the railroads to attend the convention in Paris. It was claimed that the law protecting trade unions applied to the employees of the state as much as to private corporations. The order of the day, pure and simple, was rejected by a vote of 265 to 225 and the cabinet resigned. M. Dupuy was again called upon and he constituted a cabinet May 29. This new cabinet had been in office scarcely a month when the President of the Republic met his death at the hand of an assassin in the streets of Lyons. He was attending fêtes given in his honor and had dismissed the special guard furnished by the police when an Italian anarchist named Santo sprang from the throng to the step of the landeau in which M. Carnot was riding and fatally stabbed him. He died that night and the anti-Italian feeling ran so high that workmen of that nationality were not safe, especially in the south of France. The govern-



FELIX FAURE.

ment assured the authorities at Rome that their co-patriots would be protected by the French police. The excitement subsided and the assassin was tried, convicted and executed.

A hurried meeting of the National Assembly was called as provided for by the Constitution and three days after the death of President Carnot, his successor was elected on the first ballot June 27. Casimir-Périer was thus elevated to the highest office in the nation. The cabinet as a matter of form resigned and M. Dupuy was entrusted with the task of forming a new one. The president and the cabinet became the center of severe and continued attacks during the summer and fall, and when the chamber assembled in November an investigation into alleged corruption in connection with the management of the railroads was demanded. The President was accused of shielding certain personal friends who were corruptionists. M. Dupuy at once resigned and no one to whom the President applied would undertake to form a cabinet. Yielding to the pressure of his family friends M. Casimir-Périer resigned his office on January 15, 1895, and January 17, M. Felix Faure was upon the second ballot in the National Assembly elected to succeed him.

## A NEW PRESIDENT AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

On April 24, 1895, the French government united with Russia and Germany in a vigorous protest against the acquirement of territory in China by Japan after her victorious war with the former. The French army in Madagascar under command of General Ducheane captured Antananarivo, the capital of that island, September 27. The Queen and her husband fled from the city. The ministry of M. Ribot, which had come into power with the presidency of M. Faure, resigned October 28 and was succeeded by a cabinet led by M. Bourgeois December 1, 1895.

In the month of April, 1896, there arose a conflict between the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies over the refusal of the former to vote the credit for Madagascar which had passed the Chamber. This forced the resignation of M. Ribot and his ministry April 23. France was in an uproar, for the crisis had aroused intense excitement in every party and among all classes. Early in the morning of April 24 the President, M. Faure, conferred with M. Loubet, vice-president of the Senate, M. Brisson, president of the Chamber and other leaders in relation to a new cabinet. M. Loubet assured him that the Senate having asserted its constitutional prerogatives would not offer any factitious opposition to the formation of a cabinet from any combination of parties. M. M. Brisson and Poincare advised M. Faure to form a Radico-Republican cabinet. Later in the day the President had an interview with M. Meline, one of the leaders of the Opportunists. The latter desired to have the chambers dissolved and to appeal to the country. The activity and excitement of the socialists, who regarded the late cabinet as more nearly representing their theories than they could hope for, was intense. The Senate's action had incensed them and this feeling was greatly increased

when it was known that the credits asked for Madagascar had been unanimously voted by the same body whose adverse vote had compelled M. Bourgeois to resign. The news rapidly circulated, angry threats were heard, and excited men gathered in groups only to be dispersed by the police. There was an immense meeting of the socialists in Tivoli Vauxhall on the evening of April 24, attended by many deputies. M. Pellitan, leader of the Radicals, made an impassioned address. A resolution censuring the Senate and demanding a revision of the Constitution elicited the cry, "Down with the Senate," all over the house. A turbulent mob marched to the boulevards in a solid body with the same cry against the Senate. Many arrests were made by the police, who vainly attempted to prevent the mass of people from reaching the boulevards. The action of the Chamber of Deputies had brought the constitutional crisis to an acute stage and the dissolution of the chambers was generally expected. The socialists demanded the summoning of the National Assembly and the Conservatives predicted a presidential as well as ministerial crisis. The excitement gradually subsided, and M. Méline was induced to form a cabinet of Moderates and Liberals, April 23, 1896. The Chamber at once passed a vote of confidence by a decided majority of 231 to 196 votes.

On April 30, M. Méline, in a statement of the policy of the new cabinet, declared that the probate laws and the laws regulating the drink traffic would be strongly urged by the government, and promised economy in the administration. No efforts would be spared to aid the interests of agriculture, to regulate the hours of labor, to complete the national defense and to organize pension funds.

Émile Zola was rejected as a candidate to the French Academy, May 28. The celebrated French painter, Bouguereau, married his distinguished artist-pupil, Miss Elizabeth Gardner, of Exeter, N. H., on June 23, 1896.

# FRANCE.–CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

*b*, *d*, *fl*, stand respectively for *born*, *died* and *flourished*.

B.C.

587 The Gauls in Germany and Italy.
340 The Gauls in Greece.
283 A Roman army destroyed by the Gauls at Aretium.
279 The Gauls near Delphi.
241 The Gauls attacked by Eumenes and Attalus.
154 Marseilles calls in the assistance of the Romans.
122 Sextius founds Aquæ Sextiæ in Provence.
118 Foundation of Narbo Martius.
102 Marius defeats the Teutons in two battles.
100 Birth of Julius Cæsar.
58 Cæsar obtains the government of Cisalpine Gaul for five years. Attacks the Helvetii.
51 Gaul made a Roman province.

A.D.

70 Civilis surrenders.
79 Death of Sabinus and of his wife Eponina.
273 The Emperor Aurelian in Gaul.
273 Battle of Châlons-sur-Marne.
277 Probus goes on an expedition to Gaul, in which country the Franks settle about this time.
305 The Franks defeated by Constantius in Gaul.
355 The Franks take Cologne, and destroy it; Julian named prefect of Transalpine Gaul.
357 Julian defeats six German kings at Strasburg.
413 The kingdom of the Burgundians begins under Gondicarius.
420 Pharamond supposed to begin the kingdom of the Franks.

A.D.

426 Aëtius defeats the Franks on the borders of the Rhine.
438 The Franks obtain a permanent footing in Gaul.
451 Battle of Châlons.
458 Childéric, king of the Franks, deposed by his subjects.
462 The Ripuarian Franks take Cologne from the Romans.
463 Childéric recalled by the Franks.
477 Marseilles, Arles, and Aix occupied by the Visigoths.

*Merovingian Dynasty.*

481 Death of Childéric; his son Clovis succeeds to the throne.
486 Battle of Soissons gained by Clovis against Siagrius, the Roman general in Gaul.
493 Marriage of Clovis with Clotilda.
496 Clovis, king of France, is baptized after the battle of Tolbiac.
501 Gondebaud, king of the Burgundians, publishes his code, entitled "La Loi Gombette."
507 Battle of Vouillé, near Poictiers; Alaric is defeated and slain by Clovis.
509 Clovis receives the titles of Patrician and Consul.
510 Clovis makes Paris the capital of the French dominions.
511 Clovis dying, his dominions are divided among his children.
524 Battle of Voiron; Chlodomir, king of Orleans, is killed by Gondemar, king of Burgundy.

A.D.

531 Thierry, king of Metz, seizes Thuringia from Hermanfroi.

532 The kingdom of Burgundy ends, being conquered by Childebert and Clotaire, kings of Paris and Soissons.

556 Civil wars in France; the dominions of Theodebald, king of Metz, are divided between Clotaire, king of Soissons, and Childebert, king of Paris.

558 Childebert dies, and is succeeded by his son Clotaire, who becomes sovereign of all France.

560 Chramn, natural son of Clotaire, defeated and burnt alive.

567 Death of Charibert, king of Paris; his territories are divided among his brothers; but the city of Paris is held by them in common.

577 Rivalry of the two queens, Brunehaut and Frédégonde.

612 Théodebert II., king of Austrasia, defeated and confined in a monastery by his brother, Thierry II., king of Orleans and Burgundy.

613 Clotaire, king of all France; death of Brunehaut, widow of Sigebert, king of Austrasia.

628 Clotaire II., king of France, dies, and is succeeded by his son Dagobert.

631 Childéric, son and successor of Charibert, poisoned by Dagobert, who remains sole monarch of France.

638 Dagobert, king of France, is succeeded by his two sons, Sigebert II. in Austrasia, and Clovis II. in Neustria and Burgundy. The *Maires du Palais* begin to usurp the royal authority.

678 Death of Dagobert II., king of Neustria; Martin and Pépin Heristal, mayors of the palace. Thierry III. is suffered to enjoy the title of king of Austrasia.

A.D.

691 Clovis III. king.

715 Charles Martel, son of Pépin Heristal, governs as mayor of the palace.

717 Charles Martel defeats king Childéric II. and the Neustrians.

732 Charles Martel defeats the Saracens.

735 Charles Martel becomes master of Aquitaine.

737 On the death of Thierry III., Charles Martel governs France, with the title of duke, for six years.

741 Charles Martel dies, and is succeeded by his sons, Carloman in Austrasia and Thuringia, and Pépin in Neustria, Burgundy and Provence.

742 Pépin places Childéric III. on the throne of Neustria and Burgundy. —Charlemagne *b.*

*Carlovingian Dynasty.*

752 Pépin deposes Childéric, confines him in a monastery, and is consecrated at Soissons.

754 Pépin's expedition into Italy.

758 Pépin reduces the Saxons in Germany.

768 Pépin dies at St. Denis, and is succeeded by his sons Charles and Carloman.

771 Carloman dying in November, Charlemagne remains sovereign of all France.

772 Charlemagne begins the Saxon war, which continues thirty years.

773 Charlemagne defeats the troops of Didier, king of the Lombards, and and lays siege to Pavia.

774 Surrender of Pavia, and capture of Didier.

776 The abbey church of St. Denis, near Paris, founded.

778 Battle of Roucevaux.

784 Charlemagne defeats Witikind and the Saxons.

791 Charlemagne defeats the Avari, in Pannonia.

A.D.

793 The Saracens ravage Gallia Narbonnensis, where they are at length defeated by Charlemagne.

800 Charlemagne crowned king of Italy and emperor of the West.

806 Partition of the empire.

813 Charlemagne associates his son Louis, surnamed the Debonnair, or the Pious, to the Western Empire.

814 Charlemagne dies; succeeded as emperor and king by his son Louis.

817 Louis divides his empire among his children.

840 Louis the Debonnair dies; his eldest son, Lothaire, has Italy, with the title of emperor; Charles the Bald, the kingdom of France; and Louis, that of Bavaria or Germany.

841 Battle of Fontanet.

843 New partition of the French dominions in an assembly at Thionville.

844 Charles the Bald defeated in Aquitaine by Pépin II.

877 Charles the Bald poisoned. His son, Louis II., surnamed the Stammerer, succeeds him.

879 Louis the Stammerer dies, and is succeeded by his sons, Louis III. and Carloman. Boson seizes Dauphiny and Provence, and begins the kingdom of Arles.

880 The Normans invade France, and destroy several abbeys.

881 Louis III., king of France, defeats the Normans at Saucourt.

882 Louis III. of France dies, leaving his brother Carloman sole sovereign. Hincmar *d.*

887 Paris besieged by the Normans.

888 On the death of Charles his dominions are divided into five kingdoms.

911 A part of Neustria granted to Rollo, as Normandy, by Charles the Simple.

987 Hugh Capet king.

996 Paris made the capital of all France.

A.D.

1060 Philip I. (the Fair) king.

1108 Louis VI., *le Gros* (the Lusty), king.

1135 Letters of franchise granted to cities and towns by Louis VI.

1146 Louis VII. joins the Crusades.

1180 Philip (Augustus) II. king.

1214 Philip def'ts the Germans at Bouvines.

1223 Louis VIII. king.

1224 Louis frees his serfs.

1226 Louis IX., called St. Louis, king.

1250 to 1270 St. Louis defeats King Henry of England; joins the Crusades; captures the city of Damietta, in Syria; is made prisoner; finally dies before Tunis.

1266 Naples and Sicily conquered by Charles of Anjou.

1270 Philip III. (the Hardy) king.

1285 Philip IV. (the Fair) king.

1301–02 Philip quarrels with the pope.

1307–14 Philip suppresses the Knights Templar, and burns the Grand Master at Paris.

1314 Union of France and Navarre. Louis X. king.

1316 John I., a posthumous son of Louis X., king. Dies at the age of four days.

1316 Philip V. (called "the Long") king.

1322 Charles IV. king.

1328 Philip VI. (founder of the House of Valois) king.

1346 France invaded by the English. Philip defeated at Crecy by Edward III.

1347 Edward III. takes Calais.

1349 Dauphiny annexed to France.

1350 John II. king.

1356 John defeated at Poictiers by the English, made prisoner and carried to London, where he dies.

1364 Charles V. (called the Wise) king.

1380 Charles VI. king.

1407 The pope lays France under an interdict.

1415 The English defeat the French at Agincourt.

A.D.
1420 Henry V., of England, acknowledged heir to the kingdom.
1422 Henry VI., of England, crowned at Paris, the duke of Bedford acting as regent.
1422 Charles VIII. king. The French, under the leadership of the Maid of Orleans, take up arms for their independence, in 1429.
1423 Battle of Crevant (June).
1428 The duke of Bedford defeats the French at Verneuil (August 16).
1428 The siege of Orleans begins on the 12th of October.
1429 Battle of Herrings (12th February). Joan of Arc obliges the English to raise the siege of Orleans.
1431 Trial and death of Joan of Arc.
1435 Treaty of Arras.
1436 Paris recovered by the French, on the 13th of April.
1437 Siege of Montereau. Charles VII. makes his solemn entry into Paris.
1440 The "Praguery."
1444 Truce between England and France signed at Tours.
1449 War renewed between England and France.
1450 Battle of Formigny gained over the English. Agnes Sorel *d.*
1451 The English evacuate Rouen and several places in France. Campaign in Guyenne.
1453 Talbot *d.*
1456 Jacques Cœur *d.*
1461 Louis XI. king of France.
1464 The league against Louis XI. of France, called "La Guerre du Bien Public."
1465 Treaties of Conflans and of Saint-Maur.
1467 Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, *d.*
1468 Louis XI. at Péronne. Revolt of the Liégese.
1476 Charles, duke of Burgundy, defeated at Granson (20th of June).
1477 The duke of Burgundy slain at Nancy.

A.D.
1479 Battle of Guinegate.
1483 Louis XI. *d.* Rabelais *b.* Luther *b.* Charles VIII. king of France.
1484 The States-General convoked at Tours.
1488 Battle of St. Aubin; the duke of Brittany is defeated and the duke of Orleans taken prisoner (28th of June).
1492 Brittany united to the French crown.
1494 Charles VIII., king of France, goes on an expedition into Italy.
1495 Battle of Fornovo between Charles VIII. and the Venetians (6th July). Clément Marot *b.*

*Branch of Orleans.*

1498 Death of Charles VIII., king of France (April 7th).
1499 Louis XII., king of France, takes possession of Milaness, and enters Milan on the 6th of October.
1500 Insurrection at Milan.
1501 Louis XII. of France and Ferdinand V. of Spain seize on the kingdom of Naples.
1503 The power of the French in Naples ends with the loss of the battles of Cerignola, Seminara, and Garigliano. Pope Alexander VI. *d.* Michel de l'Hospital *b.*
1504 Truce between France and Spain.
1508 The pope and the emperor join the king of France in the treaty of Cambray, against the Venetians.
1509 Battle of Agnadello (14th of May). Calvin *b.* Etienne Dolet *b.* Martial d'Auvergne *d.*
1510 Cardinal d'Amboise *d.*
1512 Battle of Ravenna. Gaston de Foix *d.*
1513 The French defeated by the Swiss in the battle of Novarra. Jacques Amyot *b.* Pope Julius II. *d.*
1514 Anne of Brittany *d.*

*Branch of Angoulême.*

1515 Battle of Melegnano between the

A.D.

French and Swiss. Louis XII. *d.* Ramus *b.*

1516 Treaty of Noyons signed on the 16th of August.

1520 Interview between Henry VIII. of England and Francis I. of France (4th of June). Pierre Viret *b.*

1521 League between the emperor Charles V. of Spain and Henry VIII. of England, against the king of France.

1523 League against Francis I. of France, by Pope Clement VII., the emperor, and the Venetians. Bayard *d.* The memoirs of Commines published.

1525 Francis I. taken prisoner in the battle of Pavia (24th of February), and sent to Madrid.

1526 Treaty of Madrid (14th of January). Francis is restored to liberty. The Holy League.

1527 Henri Estienne *b.* Brantôme *b.*

1529 Peace of Cambray, between Charles V. and Francis I. Louis de Berquin put to death. Etienne Pasquier *b.*

1536 League between Francis I. of France and Solyman II., sultan of the Turks, against the emperor Charles V. Vanquelin de la Fresnaye *b.*

1543 Treaty of alliance between Sultan Solyman and Francis I. of France against the emperor Charles V.

1544 Battle of Cerisoles. Treaty of Crespy (18th of September). Bonaventure des Périers *d.* Clément Marot *d.* Du Bartas *b.*

1545 Massacre of the Vaudois. Robert Garnier *b.*

1547 Henry II. king of France.

1548 Rebellion in the South of France. La Boétie writes his *Contre un.* First edition of the Salic law.

1556 Charles V. resigns the crown of Spain and all his other dominions and retires to the monastery of St. Just. Malherbe *b.*

A. D.

1557 Battle of St. Quentin (10th of August).

1558 The French recover Calais from the English. Mellin de St. Gelais *d.*

1559 Henry II. *d.* Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis. Edict of Ecouen. Amyot translates Plutarch. Anne Dubourg put to death.

1560 Conspiracy of Amboise. Francis II. *d.* Charles IX., king. Joachim du Bellay *d.*

1562 Massacre of Vassy. Battle of Dreux (19th December).

1563 The duke of Guise is assassinated by Poltrot (24th February). Peace of Amboise.

1567 The religious wars recommence in France; battle of St. Denis, between the prince of Condé and the constable Montmorency, in which the latter is mortally wounded.

1569 The Huguenots defeated in the battles of Jarnac, on the 13th May, and of Moncontour, on the 3d October.

1572 Massacre of the Huguenots at Paris, on Sunday, the 24th August. Ramus *d.* Jean Goujon *d.*

1574 Charles IX. *d.* Hotman publishes his *Franco-Gallia.*

1576 Edict of pacification in France.

1584 The Cardinal de Bourbon proposed as eventual king of France. La Croix du Maine publishes his *Bibliothèque Française.*

1587 Battle of Coutras (10th of October), the Duke de Joyeuse is defeated by Henry, king of Navarre. An Arabic lectureship is created at the *collège royal.*

1588 The duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal murdered at Blois.

*Dynasty of the Bourbons.*

1589 Henry III. of France murdered (22d of July). Henry IV. of Navarre succeeds to the vacant

A.D.

throne. Battle of Arques. Ronsard, Hotman *d.*

1590 Battle of Ivry (4th of March). Germain Pilon, Jean Cousin, Du Bartas, Cujas, Ambrose Paré, Palissy *d.* Théophile de Viaud *b.*

1591 The pope excommunicates Henry IV.: the parliament of Paris oppose the sentence. Guy Coquille's *Libertés de l'église de France* published. La Noue *d.*

1593 Henry IV. abjures the Protestant religion, on Sunday, the 25th of July, at St. Denis. The *Satire Ménippée* published. Amyot *d.*

1594 Henry IV. anointed at Chartres: attempt on his life (17th December), Pierre Pithou fl. Balzac, St. Amand *b.*

1595 Battle of Fontaine-Française. Desmarets de St. Sorlin *b.*

1598 Edict of Nantes (April). Peace of Vervins signed on the 22d of the same month. Voiture *b.*

1602 Marshal Biron's conspiracy detected and punished.

1610 Henry IV. assassinated by Ravaillac (4th of May). Louis XIII. king of France. Scarron, La Calprenède *b.*

1617 Murder of Concini.

1621 The civil war renewed with the Huguenots in France, and continues nine years. The Benedictines of the congregation of St. Maur receive their statutes. La Fontaine *b.*

1628 Rochelle besieged and taken by Louis XIII. (18th of October).

1629 Peace restored between France and England. Malherbe *d.* Corneille brings out *Mélite*, his first play.

1630 Treaty of Cherasco. "Journée des Dupes." Hardy, Agrippa, d'Aubigné *d.*

1632 Battles of Lutzen and of Castelnaudary. Fléchier, Bourdaloue *b.*

1636 Treaty between Louis XIII. of

A.D.

France, and Christina, queen of Sweden (10th of March). Port Royal des Champs founded. *Le Cid* brought out. Boileau *b.*

1642 Conspiracy of Cinq-Mars. Richelieu *d.*

1643 Louis XIII. *d.* (4th of May). The Duke d'Enghien, afterward prince of Condé, defeats the Spaniards at Rocroy (9th of May). St. Cyran *d.*

1648 The prince of Condé defeats the archduke at Sens (10th of August). Treaty of Munster (14th of October) between France, Sweden and the empire. The civil war of the Fronde breaks out in Paris. Mersenne, Voiture *d.* La Sueur finishes his series of paintings illustrating the history of St. Bruno.

1659 Peace restored between France and Spain, by the treaty called the "Peace of the Pyrenees." Louis XIV. marries the Infanta of Spain. Molière and the *Précieuses ridicules.*

1661 Cardinal Mazarin *d.* Bossuet's first sermon before Louis XIV.

1667 War renewed between France and Spain. Molière and *Tartuffe.* Racine and *Andromaque.*

1668 A triple alliance between Great Britain, Sweden, and the States-General, against France (23d of January.) Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, between France and Spain (22d of April). Racine and *Les Plaideurs*, Molière and *L'Avare.* Le Sage *b.*

1672 War declared by England and France, against the Dutch. A treaty between the empire and Holland, against France (15th of July). Boileau and *Le Lutrin.* Molière and *Les Femmes savantes.*

1673 The English and French defeat the Dutch (28th of May) at Schonvelt; again (4th of June), and (11th of August) in the mouth of the Texel. Louis XIV. declares war against

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Spain (9th of October). Racine and *Mithridate.*

1674 Battle of Seneffe, in Flanders, between the prince of Orange and the prince of Condé (1st of August). First settlement of the French at Pondicherry. Marshal Turenne defeats the Imperialists. Chapelain *d.* Racine and *Iphigénie.* Malebranche and the *Recherche de la Verité.*

1675 Conference for a peace held at Nimeguen. Madame de la Vallière takes the veil.

1678 Peace of Nimeguen (31st of July). La Fontaine publishes his second series of fables. Ducange's Latin Glossary.

1681 The city of Strasburg submits to Louis XIV. Mabillon publishes his *De re diplomatica.*

1684 Luxemburg taken by Louis XIV. A truce between France and Spain concluded at Ratisbon (31st of July) and between France and the empire (5th of August). P. Corneille *d.*

1685 Louis XIV. revokes the edict of Nantes.

1686 Treaty of alliance between Germany, Great Britain, and Holland against France. Condé *d.*

1689 The French fleet defeated by the English and Dutch in Bantry Bay (1st of May). Racine and *Esther.*

1690 Battle of Fleurus; Luxemburg defeats the allies (21st of June). The allied English and Dutch fleets defeated by the French off Beachy Head (30th of June).

1691 A congress at the Hague, in Jan. Mons taken by the French (30th of March). Louvois *d.* Racine and *Athalie.*

1692 Battle of La Hogue: the English defeat the French fleet (19th of May). Namur, in Flanders, besieged and taken by Louis XIV.

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(25th of May). Luxemburg defeats the allies at Steinkirk (24th of July).

1693 The English and Dutch fleets defeated by the French off Cape St. Vincent (16th of June). The duke of Savoy defeated by Marshal Catinat, at Marsaglia (24th of September). Pelisson, Bussy-Rabutin, Madame de La Fayette, Mdlle. de Montpensier *d.*

1697 Peace of Ryswick (11th of September) between Great Britain and France —France and Holland—France and Spain; and on the 20th of October, between France and the empire. Santeuil *d.* The Abbé Prévost *b.*

1698 The first treaty of partition between Great Britain, France and Holland signed (19th of August) for the dismemberment of Spain, to Charles II., king of that country, makes his will in favor of a prince of the house of Bourbon. Le Nain de Tillemont *d.*

1700 Charles II., king of Spain, *d.* (21st of October). The duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., succeeds by the name of Philip V.

1702 Battle of Luzzara, in Italy (4th of August); the Imperialists defeated by the French; the French fleet destroyed in the port of Vigo, by the British and Dutch (12th of October). Jean Bart *d.*

1704 Battle of Hochstedt or Blenheim (2d of August). Bossuet, Bourdaloue *d.*

1706 Battle of Ramilies (12th of May); the French are defeated by the duke of Marlborough.

1708 Battle of Audenarde (30th of June), the French defeated by the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Regnard and *Le Légataire universel,* Le Sage and *Turcaret.*

1709 Battle of Malplaquet (31st of Aug.)

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the French defeated by the allies. Mons taken by the allies (21st of October). Port Royal des Champs destroyed.

1710 Battle of Villa Viciosa (29th of November), the Imperialists, under Count Stahremburg, are defeated by Philip V.

1712 Negotiations for a general peace opened at Utrecht. Jean Jacques Rousseau *b.*

1713 Peace of Utrecht, concluded by France and Spain, with England, Savoy, Portugal, Prussia, and Holland, signed on the 30th of March O.S. Fénelon publishes his *Traité de l'existence de Dieu.*

1714 The bull "Unigenitus" received in France.

1715 Louis XIV. *d.* (21st of August), succeeded by his great-grandson, Louis XV., under the regency of the duke of Orleans. Malebranche, Fénelon *d.* Le Sage's *Gil Blas.*

1717 Triple alliance between Great Britain, France and Holland, signed at the Hague (24th of December). The memoirs of Cardinal de Retz published. Massillon's *Petit Carème* preached.

1718 Quadruple alliance between Germany, Great Britain, France, and Holland, for the maintenance of the treaties of Utrecht and Baden. Conspiracy of Cellamare. Great Britain declares war against Spain (11th of December). Voltaire and *Œdipe*, his first tragedy.

1719 The Mississippi scheme at its height in France. Madame de Maintenon *d.*

1720 The French Mississippi company dissolved. The plague breaks out at Marseilles, and causes great distress.

1723 Duke of Orleans *d.* Voltaire publishes his *Poème de la Ligne* (*La Henriade*).

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1725 Treaty of Hanover, between Great Britain, France, and Russia, against Germany and Spain (3d of September).

1733 Stanislaus proclaimed king of Poland (5th of October).

1734 The Imperialists defeated by the French and Piedmontese at Parma (18th of June), and in the battle of Guastalla, by the king of Sardinia, and the Marshals Coigny and Broglie (8th of September). Montesquieu's *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains.*

1735 Treaty of Vienna (3d of October). Voltaire publishes his *Lettres philosophiques.*

1740 The Emperor Charles VI. *d.* (9th of October). Voltaire publishes his *Essai sur les mœurs.*

1741 The archduchess Maria Theresa crowned queen of Hungary at Presburg (25th of June).

1743 Battle of Dettingen (16th of June). Cardinal de Fleury *d.* Voltaire and *Mérope.*

1745 Battle of Fontenoy; the French defeat the allies, commanded by the duke of Cumberland.

1746 (April 16th) Battle of Culloden.

1746 (September 30th) Count Saxe defeats the allies at Raucoux. Vauvenargues and the *Introduction à la connaissance de l'esprit humain.*

1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, between Great Britain, France, Spain, Austria, Sardinia, and Holland (7th of October). Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois.*

1754 (April 17th) the French attack an English fort on Monongahela, and Logstown on the Ohio. General Braddock defeated and killed by the French (July 9th), near Fort Du Quesne, on the Ohio.

1756 May 29th, Admiral Byng defeated by the French. The duke of

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Richelieu takes Port Mahon (June 28th).

1757 Damien attempts to assassinate Louis XV. The French garrison of Chandernugger surrenders to the British (March 23d). Battle of Hastenbeck, the French defeat the duke of Cumberland (July 26th). The marquis of Montcalm besieges Fort George (August 3d), the English surrender on the 9th. Convention of Closter-Seven, between Marshal Richelieu and the duke of Cumberland (September 8th). Battle of Rosbach (November 5th).

1758 March 14th. The French garrison in Minden capitulates. The French defeated at Crevelt (June 23d). Helvétius publishes *De l'Esprit.* Quesnay's *Tableau économique.*

1759 (September 30th.) The British defeated by the French in the East Indies, near Arcot. Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse.*

1760 (April 28th.) The English defeated by the French near Quebec. Mdme. de Souza *b.*

1761 (August 15th.) The family compact concluded between Louis XV. of France and Charles III. of Spain. Voltaire's *L'Ingénu.*

1762 (August 6th.) The Jesuits suppressed in France. Treaty of peace signed at Fontainebleau, between France, Spain and Great Britain. Rousseau's *Emile.*

1763 (February 10th.) Peace of Paris, between Great Britain, France and Spain, acceded to by Portugal. L'Abbé Prévost *d.*

1767 (May 15th.) Corsica ceded to France, by the Genoese. Benjamin Constant, Fiévée, *b.*

1769 Napoléon Bonaparte, Cuvier, Châteaubriand, *b.*

1774 (May 10th.) Louis XV. of France *d.* Succeeded by Louis XVI.

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1778 (February 6th.) Treaty of alliance and defence between France and the Americans. Pondicherry taken by the British. Rousseau, Voltaire, *d.* Buffon's *Epoques de la nature.*

1782 (April 12th.) Sir George Rodney defeats the French fleet under Count de Grasse, off Dominica. Another engagement near Trincomalee, on the same day; and a third in September.

1783 (January 20th.) Preliminaries of peace between Great Britain, France and Spain, by which the independence of America is confirmed.

1788 (November 6th.) The French notables, convoked by Louis XVI., assemble at Paris. Buffon *d.* Bernardin de St. Pierre's *Paul et Virginie.*

1789 (May 4th.) The States-General of France assemble. The Bastille at Paris destroyed (July 14th). Chénier's *Charles IX.* performed.

1790 Confederation of the *Champs de Mars;* the king takes the oath to the constitution, July 14th.

1791 Death of Mirabeau, April 2d. Flight of the king and queen. They are arrested at Varennes, June 21st. Louis (now a prisoner) sanctions the National Constitution, September 15th.

1792 First coalition against France. Commencement of the great wars, June. Battle of Valmy; the Prussians defeated, and France saved from invasion, Sept. 20th. Attack on the Tuileries by the mob, Aug. 10th. Massacres in the prisons of Paris, Sept. 2–5. Opening of the National Convention, Sept. 17th. The convention abolishes royalty; declares France a republic, Sept. 20–22.

1793 Louis XVI. beheaded, Jan. 21st. War against England declared,

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Feb. 1st. Insurrection in La Vendée begins, March. Proscription of the Girondists. Beginning of the Reign of Terror, May 31st. Charlotte Corday kills Marat, July 13th. Execution of Marie Antoinette, Oct. 16th.

1793 The Duke of Orleans, Philippe Egalite beheaded, Nov. 6th. Madame Roland executed, Nov. 8th.

1794 Danton and others guillotined, April 5th. Robespierre and seventy-one others guillotined, July 28th. Close of the Reign of Terror.

1795 The Dauphin (Louis XVII.) dies in prison. The Directory, Nov. 1st.

1796 Bonaparte wins the victories of Montenotte, Mondovi, and Lodi, in Italy.

1796 The conspiracy of Babœuf suppressed.

1797 Pichegru's conspiracy fails.

1797 Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt. Destruction of the French fleet near Alexandria by Nelson.

1799 Bonaparte returns from Egypt. Deposes the Council of Five Hundred, and is declared First Consul, Nov. 10th.

1800 Battle of Marengo. Great victory by Bonaparte over the Austrians. Attempt to kill the consul by means of an infernal machine, Dec. 24th.

1802 Peace with England, Spain and Holland signed at Amiens, March 27th. Legion of Honor instituted. Bonaparte made "consul for life," Aug 2d.

1803 Bank of France established. War with England.

1804 Conspiracy of Moreau and Pichegru against Bonaparte fails. Execution of the Duke d'Enghien. The empire formed. Napoleon proclaimed emperor, May 18th.

1805 Napoleon crowned king of Italy, May 26th. Battle of Trafalgar.

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Destruction of the French fleet, Oct. 21st. Battle of Austerlitz. Austria humbled, Dec. 2d.

1806 Defeat of Prussians at Jena, Oct. 14th.

1808 New nobility of France created.

1809 Divorce of the Empress Josephine. Napoleon defeated at Aspern and Essling. Victorious at Wagram.

1810 Union of Holland with France.

1812 War with Russia. Napoleon invades Russia. Great victory of the French at Borodino, Sept. 7th. Disastrous retreat of the French from Moscow.

1813 Alliance of Austria, Russia, and Prussia against Napoleon. Battle of Leipzig. Napoleon defeated, Oct. 16–18. The Allies invade France from the Rhine; the English from Spain.

1814 Surrender of Paris to the Allies, March 31. Abdication of Napoleon, April 5. Napoleon goes to Elba, May 3. Louis XVIII. enters Paris May 3. The Bourbon Dynasty restored. The Constitutional Charter established, June 4th–10th.

1815 Napoleon leaves Elba; lands at Cannes, March 1st, and proceeds to Paris. Is joined by all the army. The Allies form a league for his destruction, March 25. Napoleon abolishes the Slave Trade, March 29. Leaves Paris for the army, June 12. Battle of Waterloo. Final overthrow of Napoleon, June 18. Napoleon reaches Paris June 20. Abdicates in favor of his son, June 22. Reaches Rochefort, where he intends to embark for America, July 3. Entry of Louis XVIII. into Paris, July 3. Napoleon goes on board the "Bellerophon" and claims the "hospitality" of England, July 15. Upon reaching England is transferred to the

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"Northumberland," and sent a prisoner to St. Helena, Aug. 8. Arrives at St. Helena, Oct. 15. Execution of Marshal Ney, Dec. 7.

1816 The family of Napoleon forever excluded from France.

1820 Assassination of the Duke de Berri, Feb. 13.

1821 Death of Napoleon I., May 5.

1824 Death of Louis XVIII., Sept. 16. Charles X. king.

1827 National Guard disbanded. War with Algiers. Riots in Paris. Seventy-six new peers created.

1829 The Polignac administration organized.

1830 Chamber of Deputies dissolved, May 16. Capture of Algiers, July 5. Revolution of July Flight and abdication of Charles X. Louis Philippe king. Polignac and the ministers of Charles X. sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

1831 The hereditary peerage abolished.

1832 Insurrection in Paris suppressed.

1833 Failure of the attempt of the Duchess de Berri.

1834 Death of Lafayette, May 20.

1835 Fieschi attempts to kill the king, July 28, and is executed, Feb.6, 1836.

1836 Louis Alibaud fires at the king, June 25; is guillotined, July 11. Death of Charles X., Nov. 6. Prince Louis Napoleon attempts an insurrection at Strasbourg, Oct. 30. Is sent to America, Nov. 13. The ministers of Charles X. set at liberty and sent out of France. Meunier attempts to kill the king.

1838 Death of Talleyrand, May 17.

1840 M. Thiers Prime Minister. Removal of the remains of the Emperor Napoleon I. from St. Helena to Paris. Prince Louis Napoleon, General Montholon, and others attempt an insurrection at Boulogne, Aug. 6. Prince Louis Napoleon

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sentenced to imprisonment for life, and confined in the Castle of Ham, Oct. 6. Darmes attempts to shoot the king, Oct. 15.

1842 The Duke of Orleans, the heir to the throne, dies from the effect of a fall, July 13.

1843 Queen Victoria, of England, visits the royal family at the château d'Eu. Extradition treaty with England.

1846 Lecompte attempts to assassinate the king at Fontainebleau. Louis Napoleon escapes from Ham. Joseph Henri attempts to kill the king.

1847 Jerome Bonaparte returns to France after an exile of thirty-two years. Death of the ex-Empress Marie Louise.

1848 Revolution of February 22d to 26th. Flight of the king and royal family. The Republic proclaimed, Feb. 26. The provisional government succeeded by an executive commission named by the assembly, May 7. Louis Napoleon elected to the assembly from the Seine and three other departments, June 13. Outbreak of the Red Republicans.

1848 Severe fighting in Paris, June 23d to 26th; 16,000 persons killed, including the Archbishop of Paris. Gen. Cavaignac at the head of the government, June 28. Louis Napoleon takes his seat in the assembly, Sept. 26. The Constitution of the Republic solemnly proclaimed, Nov. 12. Louis Napoleon elected president of the French Republic, Dec. 11. Takes the oath of office, Dec. 20.

1850 Death of Louis Philippe at Claremont, in England, Aug. 26. Freedom of the press curtailed.

1851 Electric telegraph between England and France opened. The Coup d'Etat. Arrest of the National

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Assembly, Dec. 2. Severe fighting in Paris. The president crushes the opposition, Dec. 3, and 4. The Coup d'Etat sustained by the people at the polls, and Louis Napoleon re-elected president for ten years, Dec. 21, and 22.

1852 President Louis Napoleon occupies the Tuileries, Jan. 1. The new constitution published, Jan. 14. The property of the Orleans family confiscated. The birthday of Napoleon I., Aug. 15th, declared the only national holiday. Organization of the Legislative Chambers (the Senate and Corps Legislatif), March 29. The president visits Strasbourg. M. Thiers and the exiles permitted to return to France, Aug. 8. The Senate petitions the president for "the re-establishment of the hereditary sovereign power in the Bonaparte family," Sept. 13. The president visits the Southern and Western departments, Sept. and Oct. At Bordeaux utters his famous expression, "The Empire is Peace." The president releases Abd-el-Kader, Oct. 16. Measures for the re-establishment of the empire inaugurated, Oct. and Nov. The empire re-established by the popular vote, Nov. 21; yeas, 7,839,552; nays, 254,501. The president declared emperor; he assumes the title of Napoleon III., Dec. 2.

1853 The emperor marries Eugénie, countess of Téba, Jan. 29. The emperor releases 4,312 political offenders, Feb. 2.

1853 Bread riots. Death of F. Arago, the astronomer, Oct. 2. Attempt to assassinate the emperor.

1854 Beginning of the Crimean war.

1855 Emperor and empress visit England in April. Industrial exhibition

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opened at Paris, May 15. Pianori attempts to assassinate the emperor, April 28. Bellemarre attempts to assassinate the emperor, Sept. 8. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visit France, August.

1856 Birth of the Prince Imperial, March 16. The treaty of Paris. Close of the Crimean war, March 30. Terrible inundations in the Southern Departments, June.

1857 The archbishop of Paris (Sibour) assassinated by a priest named Verger. Conspiracy to assassinate the emperor detected, July 11. Visit of the emperor and empress to England. Death of Gen. Cavaignac, Oct. 28. The Emperor Napoleon meets the emperor of Russia at Stuttgart, Sept. 25.

1858 Orsini and others attempt to kill the emperor by the explosion of three shells. Two persons killed and several wounded, Jan. 14. Passage of the Public Safety Bill.

1858 The empire divided into five military departments. Republican outbreak at Chalons crushed. Orsini and Pietri executed for attempting to assassinate the emperor. Visit of the queen of England to Cherbourg. Conference at Paris respecting the condition of the Danubian Principalities.

1859 The emperor warns the Austrian minister of his intention to espouse the Italian cause, Jan. 1. France declares war against Austria, and sends an army to the aid of Italy, May. The empress declared regent. The emperor takes command of the army in Italy. Arrives at Genoa, May 12.

1859 Battles of Montebello, May 20; Palestro, May 30th, 31st; Magenta, June 4; Malegnano, June 8, and Solferino, June 24; the allies vic-

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torious in each. Armistice arranged July 6. Meeting of the emperors of France and Austria at Villa Franca, July 11. Preliminary peace, July 12. The Emperor Napoleon returns to France, July 17. Peace conference meets at Zurich for arrangement of treaty between France and Sardinia and Austria. Peace signed, Nov. 12.

1860 The emperor adopts a free trade policy. Commercial treaty with England signed Jan. 23. Annexation of Savoy and Nice to France. The Emperor Napoleon meets the German sovereigns at Baden, June 15–17. Visit of the emperor and empress to Savoy, Corsica, and Algiers. The new tariff goes into operation, Oct. 1. The public levying of Peter's pence forbidden, and restrictions placed upon the issuing of pastoral letters. The emperor makes concessions to the Chambers in favor of freedom of speech. Important ministerial changes. The emperor advises the pope to give up his temporal possessions.

1861 Purchase of the principality of Monaco for 4,000,000 francs. Troubles with the church about the Roman question. The government issues a circular forbidding priests to meddle in politics, April 11. Commercial treaty with Belgium. France declares neutrality in the American conflict. France recognizes the kingdom of Italy, June 24. Meeting of the emperor and king of Prussia at Compiegne, Oct. 6.

1861 Convention between France, Great Britain, and Spain, concerning intervention in Mexico. Embarrassment in the government finances.

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Achille Fould made minister of finance.

1862 The Mexican expedition begun. The French conquer the province of Bienhoa, in Annam. Six provinces in Cochin China conquered, and ceded to France. The British and Spanish forces withdraw from the Mexican expedition. France declares war against Mexico. Peace with Annam. New commercial treaty with Prussia, Aug. 2. Great distress in the manufacturing districts in consequence of the civil war in the United States.

1863 Commercial treaty with Italy. Revolt in Annam crushed. Convention with Spain for the rectification of the frontier. Political troubles. Growing power of the opposition in the Chambers and throughout the country. The elections result in the choice of many opposition deputies, including Thiers, Favre, and others. The emperor proposes a European conference for the settlement of the questions of the day, Nov. 9. England declines to join the proposed conference, Nov. 25.

1863 The French army conquer Mexico, and occupy the capital.

1864 Treaty with Japan. Commercial treaty with Switzerland. Convention with Italy respecting the evacuation of Rome. Establishment of the Mexican Empire, with Maximilian, of Austria, as emperor.

1865 The clergy prohibited from reading the pope's Encyclical in the churches. Treaty with Sweden. The plan of Minister Duruy for compulsory education rejected by the Assembly. Death of the Duke de Morny. Visit of the emperor to Algeria. The English fleet visits Cherbourg and Brest. The French

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fleet visits Portsmouth. The Queen of Spain visits the emperor at Biarritz. Students' riots in Paris.

1866 The emperor produces a feeling of alarm in Europe by declaring his detestation of the treaties of 1815, May 6. He proposes a peace conference (in conjunction with England and Russia) for the settlement of the troubles between Prussia, Italy and Austria. Austria refuses to join in it, May–June. France declares a "watchful neutrality" as to the German-Italian war. The Emperor Napoleon demands of Prussia a cession of a part of the Rhine provinces. His demand is refused, Aug. Austria cedes Venetia to France, who transfers it to Italy. The French occupation of Rome terminated, Dec. 11.

1867 Settlement of the Luxemburg question by the London Conference. The great exposition at Paris, opened April 1.

1868 Riots in Bordeaux in March; in Paris in June.

1869 Great radical successes in the elections. The emperor makes new concessions in favor of constitutional government. Celebration of the one hundredth birthday of Napoleon the Great.

1870 The Plebiscitum, May 8. Quarrel with Prussia. War with Prussia begins, July 19. The emperor takes command of the army. Defeat of the French at Woërth and Forbach, Aug. 6. Decisive battle of Gravelotte, Aug. 18. Bazaine's army shut up in Metz. Battle of Sedan, Sept. 1. The Emperor Napoleon and the French army made prisoners of war, Sept. 2.

1870 Revolution in Paris. Fall of the empire. Flight of the empress, Sept. 7. The republic proclaimed in Paris, Sept. 7. Paris invested.

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1871 Paris bombarded by the Germans. The armistice, Feb. 28. Meeting of the Assembly at Bordeaux. Formation of a provisional government. Peace with Germany. Revolt of the commune. The second siege and capture of Paris.

1872 Reorganization of the government in France. A large part of the war indemnity paid.

1873 May 24. M. Thiers resigns the presidency. Marshal MacMahon chosen President of the Republic. Sept. Payment of the German debt.

1875 The legislative body reorganized—two Chambers created.

1875 Passage of a bill for the construction of a tunnel under the English Channel.

1876 March 7. Meeting of the new Chambers.

1877 Sept. 3. Death of M. Thiers.

1878 International Exposition at Paris.

1879 Resignation of President MacMahon. M. Jules Grevy elected President. Mar. 1. Prince Napoleon killed in Zulu land. Dec. 21. Resignation of Waddington ministry.

1880 Gambetta President of the Chambers. Religious orders suppressed.

1881 Financial Congress at Paris.

1881 Invasion of Tunis. April. Treaty signed May 12 giving France the protecterate. French troops enter Tunis, Oct. 10.

1882 Republicans gain twenty-two seats in the Senate. Jan. 3. Gambetta's ministry resigned. Aug. 7. Duclerk forms ministry. Revolt of Arabi Pasha in Egypt. May. French and English fleet before Alexandria. French government declines to take part in the war against Arabi.

1883 Jan. 1. Death of Gambetta buried Jan. 6. Death of General Chanzy, buried Jan. 8. Death of General Horise De Valdare, Jan. 8, by apoplectic fit on hearing of Chanzy's death.

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1884. Constitution revised. Occupation of Tonquin. The "Black Flags." Criticism of the war. Violation of treaty by the Chinese. Bartholdi's statue of Liberty presented to the United States. Cholera rages in Marseilles and Toulon. Senatorial Reform Bill passed.

1885. Anti-German sentiment. Speech of Emperor William. French Chamber restored the *Scrutin de liste;* preliminaries of peace with China signed; Floquet elected president of the Chamber; death of Victor Hugo; Black Flags defeated in Tonquin; Jules Grévy re-elected President.

1886. Strike at Decazville. General Boulanger popular. Goblet ministry. Freycinet elected president of the Senate. Banishment of the hereditary princes. Petroleum discovered.

1887. Decoration of Honor scandal. President Grévy resigns. M. Carnot elected President. Unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Jules Ferry.

1888. Tirard Cabinet. General Boulanger elected a deputy: deprived of army command and censured, organized a political party and wounded in a duel with Floquet. His duel with M. Floquet. Strained foreign relations.

1889. Floquet ministry overthrown. Downfall and flight of General Boulanger. International Exposition in Paris.

1890. The melenite scandal. Encyclical of Leo XIII. to French clergy. The Duke of Orleans imprisoned. Cabinet crisis. The de Freycinet Ministry installed.

1891. Council of Labor at Paris. The German passport difficulty. Visit of French fleet to Portsmouth. Death of Prince Napoleon Bonaparte. First telephone communication between London and Paris. Death of Ex-President Grévy. General Boulanger committed suicide.

1892. High protection tariff. Serious rioting at Carmaux. Dynamite explosions in Paris. Ravachol executed. Panama Canal Scandal and charges against deputies and other officials. M. Rénan died.

1893. Charles de Lesseps' confession and sentence. Ferdinand de Lesseps' death. Punishment of conspirators in the Panama scandal.

1894. President Carnot assassinated. M. Casimir-Périer elected as President.

1895. President Casimer-Périer resigns. M. Faure elected as President. Ex-United States Consul John L. Waller was sentenced by the French in Madagascar to 20 years' imprisonment for aiding the Hovas. The Russian, French and German Governments protested against the acquisition of Chinese territory by Japan.

1896. Conflict between the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Princess Marguerite of Orleans and the Duke of Magenta were married at Paris. The Bourgeois ministry in France resigned. The Meline ministry succeeded April 28.

# A SHORT SKETCH OF M. GUIZOT.

FRANCOIS PIERRE GUILLAUME GUIZOT, the great French statesman and historian, was born on the 4th of October, 1787, in Nimes, the capital of the department of Gard. He was the son of Protestant parents, in which faith he was educated. The father of M. Guizot perished on the scaffold April 8th, 1794, just before the end of that fearful reign of terror, which closed in July of that year with the fall of Robespierre. His mother escaped with her two sons to Geneva, where they were both educated. In 1805 young Guizot appeared in Paris, where he devoted himself to literature. His first work, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Universal de Synonymes de Langue Francaise* (in two volumes), appeared four years after. In the introduction of this work he displayed a most methodical cast of mind, which at once placed him in the front rank. The succeeding seven years was passed in most laborious literary study. The part which he has taken in the government of France, from the time of the second restoration to the year of his death, has received ample notice in the body of this history. He was a man of strict rectitude and almost austere morals; he never enriched himself from the public funds, but he could not escape the charge of having allowed others to do so from political motives. His sympathetic and repressive policy made him unpopular with the masses, since it was united with a cold and reserved personal manner. But wherever he went, to any of the capitals of Europe, he won the respect and esteem of those with whom he came in contact. He held the position of Lecturer on History at the Sarbonne, a celebrated academic body of Paris, until the government, in 1824, forbade his lectures. M. Guizot then betook himself once more to literature. In 1827 he was permitted to resume his lectures, which at once were attended by large and enthusiastic audiences. These lectures gave rise to quite a number of historical works of value. On the 1st of March, 1829, he again took his place in the Council of State, and was elected by the town of Lisieux January, 1830, to a seat in the Chambers; after this date he became quite prominent in public affairs, until the *coup d'etat* of December 2d, 1851, put an end to his political career. In 1837 he was entrusted by the government of the United States to write a life of Washington, and this work—*Vie, Correspondance et Ecrits de Washington*—was published in 1839–40. This procured him the honor of having his portrait placed in the House of Representatives at Washington. He was a very voluminous writer, and a list of all his works would require too much space. The work which caused the most astonishment was a publication, in 1861, defending the temporal power of the pope,—a strange position for a Protestant. He was thrice married, the first two ladies being women of literary ability. He died September 12th, 1874.



M. GUIZOT.

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